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# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

## SECOND PART

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✓ Apostolic fathers.

# THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

PART II.

S. IGNATIVS.  
S. POLYCARP.

REVISED TEXTS  
WITH INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES, DISSERTATIONS,  
AND TRANSLATIONS.

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IGNATIANA.



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I.

ANGLO-LATIN VERSION  
OF THE  
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## I.

# ANGLO-LATIN VERSION.

THE LATIN VERSION which follows has a special interest for Englishmen, as being a product of the remarkable but premature literary revival which distinguished the thirteenth century, and as giving the Ignatian letters in the only form in which they were known in this country till several years after the invention of printing. Its connexion with Robert Grossteste has been investigated in an earlier part of this work.

The two MSS of this Latin collection, *Caiensis* and *Montacutianus*, designated  $L_1$  and  $L_2$  respectively, have been already described. Previous editors, even where they have printed the whole collection, have disturbed the arrangement of the epistles as found in the MSS, so as to adapt it to the special purposes which they had in view. In the present edition the arrangement is preserved; and thus the whole body of Ignatian literature is now presented, as I believe, for the first time, as it was read by the more learned of our fellow-countrymen from the middle of the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth century.

The collection comprises sixteen epistles in all besides the Acts of Martyrdom; the Epistle to the Romans, which is incorporated in these Acts, being reckoned as one of the sixteen. In  $L_1$  however, where the epistles are numbered in order<sup>1</sup>, the Acts themselves are

<sup>1</sup> In  $L_1$  the number of the epistle is always noted in the margin, and sometimes incorporated in the title as well. In  $L_2$  the number is never given in the title (for the apparent exception of the Epistle to the Antiochenes see below,

p. 635), and probably also it was wanting in the margin. Ussher indeed has frequently left it in the margin in his collation of  $L_2$  with the transcript of  $L_1$ ; but it is plain that he did not pay much attention to these margins.



reckoned as one of the epistles (the twelfth), and the Epistle to the Romans as another (the thirteenth). Thus according to this reckoning there are seventeen epistles in all.

This collection falls into two parts.

(1) The *first*, which ends with the Acts of Martyrdom and the accompanying Epistle to the Romans, includes twelve epistles. This portion is a translation from a Greek original. The circumstances under which it was probably made have been already considered. It corresponds exactly in arrangement and contents with the Greek collection represented by the Medicean and Colbert mss, and must have been translated by Bishop Grossteste or his assistants from some similar Greek ms. At the close of this part is a summary of the contents. This is the main indication in the Latin mss that the first part is separate from the second.

(2) The *second* part consists of the four short epistles, which make up the correspondence of the saint with the Virgin and S. John. These epistles, as I have already stated, appear never to have existed in the Greek, and therefore cannot have formed part of Grossteste's version. How they came to be attached to this version it is impossible to say; but inasmuch as they occur in both the mss L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>, in the same form and arrangement, though these two mss are independent of each other, they must have held this position at a very early date, and it is not improbable that they were appended soon after the version was made. They were very popular in the middle ages, and appear to have been much read about this time<sup>1</sup>; so that no collection of the Ignatian Epistles would have appeared complete without them.

The great importance of this Anglo-Latin version of the Ignatian Epistles for textual criticism has been explained in the Introduction. But notwithstanding its acknowledged value it has never yet been treated with the consideration which it deserves. I hope that I have

<sup>1</sup> The following is an extract from a ms in the Bodleian, *Laud. Miscell.* 210, fol. 132 b (15th century): '*This letter sayyng wrot oure lady Marye w<sup>th</sup> here owne hand and sende hit to ignacie the martyr* The blessed virgyn marye wrote a pystyl to ygnacie the martyr in persecucion and seyde thus stonde you and doo manly in the feith; and thi spirit fuloute joy in god, and how myche Ion the evangelist

was pursuyd for prechyng of the gospel and destitute of mannus help and so myche he was relevyd be goddis help etc. Hugo de sancto victore in prologo super apocalipsi.' In the Catalogue (p. 182) these words 'Hugo etc.' are wrongly treated as the title to the next treatise. They refer to what has gone before, and give the source of the preceding quotation.

put it in a form which will render it at length available for critical purposes.

Of the extant MS L<sub>1</sub> I have made an entirely new collation. That this was not superfluous the facts will show. The MS was transcribed in the first instance for Ussher, and (so far as I can learn) has only been collated twice for subsequent editions. Of the numberless inaccuracies of the transcript from which Ussher derived all his knowledge of this MS I have already spoken. Moreover he has not (except in a very few instances) distinguished the respective readings of the two MSS which he employed. And lastly, his printed text contains several readings which are not found in either, and which (in some instances at least) have slipped in through mere inadvertence.

Of the subsequent collations the earlier was made by T. Smith for the text which accompanied his edition of Pearson's notes (A.D. 1709). After describing the MS in his preface, he adds, 'quem ego quoque ea qua potui accuratione contuli, correctis illius [collationis?], cujus opera usus est D. Usserius, aberrationibus.' The result is a much better text of this Latin version than Ussher's; but for critical purposes his collation is quite inadequate. He has not recorded a quarter of the various readings of L<sub>1</sub>. Though he has corrected some of Ussher's worst mistakes, he has sometimes given readings for which there is no authority either in the MS or in Ussher's printed text; e.g. *Smyrn.* 3 'carne ipsius et spiritu' for 'carni ipsius et spiritui,' and *Smyrn.* 6 'qualitate' for 'qualiter'; in neither instance giving any various reading, and in the latter distinctly stating that this is the rendering of the Latin translation.

The second collation to which I referred was made for Dr Jacobson's edition, and is thus described by him (*Patr. Apost.* I. p. xxxvii): 'Hujus codicis lectiones variantes humanissime ad usus meos exscripsit vir reverendus Johannes Jacobus Smith A.M., Coll. Caiensis Socius.' This collation is in many respects more correct than Ussher's transcript, and more complete than T. Smith's collation. But how far it is from being trustworthy, the following list of errors, gathered from the first six chapters of the Epistle to the Smyrnæans alone, will show.

| MS.   | COLLATION.             |
|---|------------------------|
| Inscr. <i>theoferus</i>                             | <i>Theopherus</i>      |
| <i>carismate</i> , several times                    | <i>charismate</i>      |
| <i>caritate</i>                                     | <i>charitate</i>       |
| <i>existenti</i>                                    | omitted                |
| <i>deo decentissime</i> probably, see below, p. 597 | <i>condecentissime</i> |

| MS.   | COLLATION.                       |
|---|----------------------------------|
| <i>Smirna</i>   | <i>Smyrna</i>                    |
| 1. <i>caritate</i>  | <i>charitate</i>                 |
| <i>videre ipsum</i>   | <i>videri ipsum</i>              |
| 3. <i>quando</i> (contracted)                                       | <i>quum</i>                      |
| <i>quoniam</i> (contracted)   | <i>quia</i>                      |
| <i>spiritaliter</i>   | <i>spiritualiter</i>             |
| 4. <i>ant<sup>o</sup>pomorthis</i>                                  | <i>anthropomorphis</i>           |
| 5. <i>Moisi</i>   | <i>Mosis</i>                     |
| <i>deum</i> (contracted)  | <i>dominum</i>                   |
| <i>michi</i>  | <i>mihi</i>                      |
| <i>panem q̄</i> , a contraction of<br><i>passionem que</i>          | <i>panem qui</i>                 |
| 6. <i>qualiter</i> (contracted)                                     | <i>quale</i>                     |
| <i>caritas</i>  | <i>charitas</i>                  |
| <i>nichil</i>   | <i>nihil</i>                     |
| <i>qualiter contrarie sunt sententie dei</i> (very much contracted) | <i>qualesque facti sumus dei</i> |
| <i>caritate</i>   | <i>charitate</i>                 |
| <i>vidua</i>  | <i>viduis</i>                    |
| <i>eucaristiam</i>  | <i>eucharistiam</i>              |

As this collation coincides with the Caius transcript, where it goes most wrong, as for instance in *panem qui* (§ 5) and *qualesque facti sumus dei* (§ 6), I suppose the collator must have allowed himself from time to time to consult the transcript instead of endeavouring to decipher the ms itself.

These two collations moreover, inadequate as they are in themselves, were confined to the seven epistles mentioned by Eusebius. The text of the other epistles has remained in the same state in which it was left by Ussher, without any fresh examination of the ms. Thus for instance, in *Ign. Mar.* 2 Ussher accidentally omitted the word ‘impellor,’ and the omission has been repeated by all subsequent editors, though the sense of the passage is destroyed thereby, and a reference to the ms would at once have supplied the missing word. In some respects the text has even deteriorated since Ussher’s time, for later editors have introduced errors of their own. Thus in *Hero* 3 a whole sentence, ‘Saluta deo decens presbyterium,’ is omitted in Cureton’s text (*Corp. Ign.* p. 146).

Of the disappearance of the other ms L<sub>2</sub> I have spoken in an earlier part of this work, where also I have described Ussher’s collation, which is preserved among his books and papers in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, but has been strangely overlooked by pre-



vious editors. By the kindness of the Provost and Fellows I have been allowed the use of this collation, which is indispensable for the criticism of the Latin text; and thus the readings of  $L_2$  are given in the present edition for the first time. Hitherto they have been left to conjecture, except in the very few passages where Ussher has distinctly mentioned it by name.

This collation however only commences in the middle of the Epistle to Polycarp, § 1 '[in] orationibus vaca indesinentibus,' the earlier leaves of the transcript having been lost. For the previous portion, the whole of the Epistle to the Smyrnæans and the commencement of the Epistle to Polycarp, I have supplied the defect by a collation of Ussher's printed text of this version, which I have designated  $L_u$ . As Ussher had only the readings of these two MSS before him, it may be presumed that his printed text, wherever it differs from  $L_1$ , gives the reading of  $L_2$ . This rule however can only be accepted as roughly and approximately true. Large allowance must be made for inadvertences and inaccuracies. For instance, in *Smyrn.* 9 Ussher omits 'Bene habet et Deum et episcopum cognoscere,' and possibly these words may have been wanting in  $L_2$ ; but, when we find him leaving out whole clauses elsewhere, where we are able by means of his own collation to convict him of inaccuracy, e. g. *Polyc.* § 2 'ut gubernatores ventos,' and *Ephes.* 1 'ut potiri possim discipulus esse' (not to multiply examples), the inference will appear highly precarious<sup>1</sup>.

Where a reading of this MS is distinctly given by Ussher in this collation, it is marked  $L_2$  simply; where it is only inferred from his silence, i.e. where he has not noted any divergence from the reading which he had before him in the transcript of  $L_1$ , it is given as  $L_2$ s.

In the following recension I have endeavoured to restore the text of the version to the condition in which it left the translator's hands. Thus I have not scrupled to make an alteration here and there, where the Latin text itself had obviously been corrupted in the course of transmission. Thus, for instance, I have cast out two apparent glosses, *Ephes.* 1, *Magn.* 2. Thus again in four passages, *Smyrn.* 8, *Ephes.* 3, *Magn.* 13, *Philad.* 3, I have substituted 'episcopi,' 'episcopo,' for 'ipsi,' 'ipso,' the corruption having arisen from an easy confusion of the Latin contractions,  $\overline{ip}i$ ,  $\overline{ep}i$ ,  $\overline{ip}o$ ,  $\overline{ep}o$ , and the Greek

<sup>1</sup> The first of these two omissions is supplied by Ussher in his table of *emendanda*, p. 241, but inaccurately, 'ut

gubernares ventos': the second is not mentioned at all.

text in all these cases deciding the true reading. On the same principle in *Mart.* 4 I have substituted 'ipsi' (*īpi*) for 'Christi' (*xpi*). So too I have not scrupled to alter 'assensores' into 'assessores' *Polyc.* 6, 'sollicitudine' into 'insollicitudine' *Polyc.* 7, 'potiri' into 'per potiri' *Ephes.* 1, 'salvificemini' into 'salificemini,' 'exacuens' into 'exacescens,' 'perfari' into 'profari' *Magn.* 10, 'suadeo' into 'suadeor' *Trall.* 3, 'præcipue' into 'præcipio' *Rom.* 4, 'fidei' into 'Dei' *Philad.* 9, 'sciant' into 'sitiant' *Ign. Mar.* 1, and (having regard to the contractions) 'deo' into 'dicit' *Tars.* 7; in all which cases the corruption was easy in the Latin text and quite impossible in the Greek. On the other hand I have not attempted to correct those errors which must be traced to the faulty Greek text which the translator had before him. For example, in *Mar. Ign.* 1 'et Sobelum' is left; for though there can be little doubt that the correct reading is *Κασσόβηλον* or *Κασσοβήλων*, it is equally clear that the Latin translator had *καὶ Σόβηλον* in his text.

In recording the variations of the MSS I have not (except in special cases and for particular reasons) included readings which are corrected *prima manu*. Nor again is any account generally taken of the punctuation of the MSS, which is arbitrary and valueless. The marginal glosses and notes moreover, of which a very few occur in *L*<sub>1</sub>, and which are frequent in *L*<sub>2</sub>, are not recorded, unless they have a bearing on the reading. Some of these, which have an interest of a different kind, are given in an earlier part of this work.

On the orthography of the MSS one or two points require explanation. In *L*<sub>1</sub> the diphthongs, *æ*, *œ*, are systematically disregarded and written *e* (e. g. *eterne*, *penitet*); and in this same MS *ci* is universally, or all but universally, written for *ti* (e. g. *Ignacius*, *propiciacio*). In both these cases the normal spelling is silently adopted. In other instances, where *L*<sub>1</sub> persistently departs from the normal orthography (e. g. *misterium*, *carisma*, *ammonere*), I have contented myself with noticing the fact at the first occurrence of the word.

Much error has arisen in previous collations from inattention to the contractions. Thus for instance, *quando*, *quoniam*, *quum*, *qui*, *quæ*, *quem*, *quia*, etc. have been confused; and again, *ergo*, *igitur*; and again, *tamen*, *tantum*. In this way various readings have been erroneously multiplied. In most cases there can be no doubt as to the force of the contraction. In some few instances, where a contraction in *L*<sub>1</sub> is ambiguous, I have given it the interpretation which accords with the Greek text or with the reading of *L*<sub>2</sub>.

It did not seem necessary to encumber the notes by pointing out



every instance where previous collators have misread  $L_1$ . In one or two cases I have done so, because the error was sufficiently important to call for notice, e.g. *Trall.* 5 'scire celestia' for 'super-celestia,' *Polyc.* 7 'in oratione' for 'in resurrectione'; but these are exceptional. As I have had the latest collation (that which is given in Jacobson's edition) constantly before me, the variations recorded in it and not noted by me have been deliberately rejected. Thus for instance the various readings, 'panem qui' for 'passionem quæ' *Smyrn.* 5 (see above, p. 592), 'optimum' for 'opportunum' *Trall.* 2, with many others, have disappeared.

On the other hand, some readings will appear in my text (on the authority of one or both of the mss) for the first time; and in most instances these bring the Latin into stricter accordance with the Greek than it is in the text of the printed copies. Thus for instance, 'veneremini' (ἐντρέπεσθε) for 'veneremur' *Magn.* 6, 'ipsos' (αὐτούς) for 'ipsas' *Philad.* 3, 'aponi' (προσθεῖναι) for 'opponi' *Ign. Mar.* 4, 'portus' (λιμένας) for 'Portum' *Mart.* 5, 'immunda inani gloria' (τῆς ἀκαθάρτου φιλοτιμίας) for 'mundi inani gloria' *ib.*, are read by both  $L_1$  and  $L_2$ . And again, in *Rom.* 7 'adjuvet; ipsi autem magis mei fiatis', and *Mart.* 5 'da ea quæ a nobis futura separatione; justo autem fieri ipsi secundum votum accidit,' the readings of  $L_2$ , involving in both cases a transposition, produce exact conformity to the Greek. The text, thus restored, is 'adjuvet ipsi; magis autem mei fiatis' (βοηθείτω αὐτῶ· μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ γίνεσθε) in the one passage, and 'de ea quæ a nobis futura separatione iusti fieri; ipsi autem secundum votum accidit' (τῶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν μέλλοντι χωρισμῶ τοῦ δικαίου γίνεσθαι· τῶ δὲ κατ' εὐχὴν ἀπέβαινεν).

The correspondence with the Virgin and S. John, forming the second part of this collection, is comparatively unimportant. It is found in a considerable number of mss besides  $L_1, L_2$ ; sometimes by itself, sometimes in connexion with the epistles of the Long Recension. In this latter case it sometimes precedes the twelve epistles of this Recension (e.g. *Flor. Laur.* xxiii. 20, *Palat.* 150, *Oxon. Magd.* lxxvi), and sometimes follows them (e.g. *Bruxell.* 20132). The various readings are very numerous, and the order of the four epistles is different in different copies.

For the sake of exhibiting the character of the variations, I have given a collation of three Oxford mss besides the readings of  $L_1, L_2$ , taking the *editio princeps* (Paris, 1495) as the basis of my text.



These three mss are:

(1) *Coll. Magdal.* lxxvi. fol. 213 a (15th century); see Coxe's *Catalogue* p. 43. This correspondence precedes the twelve epistles of the Long Recension, and the four letters composing it occur in the same order as in  $L_1 L_2$ .

(2) *Coll. Lincoln.* ci. fol. 48 b (15th century); see Coxe's *Catalogue* p. 48. The four epistles are found by themselves, and in the following order; (i) Ignatius to Mary; (ii) Mary to Ignatius; (iii) Ignatius to John ('De tua'); (iv) Ignatius to John ('Si licitum').

(3) *Bodl. Laud. Misc.* 171, fol. 140 a (end of 13th century); see Coxe's *Catal. MSS Laud.* p. 156. The epistles stand by themselves, and the order is the same as in the last-mentioned ms.

These epistles are sometimes accompanied in the mss by the testimony of S. Bernard and of Marcus Michael of Cortona (see Ussher p. cxliiii). This is the case in *Flor. Laur.* xxiii. 20, and in *Oxon. Magdal.* lxxvi.

The three mss are thus designated, [m] [l] [b]. Where the *editio princeps* obviously needed correction, this is done, and its reading [p] is given at the foot.

## IGNATIUS SMYRNÆIS.

**I** GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, ecclesiæ Dei Patris et dilecti Jesu Christi, habenti propitiationem in omni charismate, impletæ in fide et caritate, indeficienti existenti omni charismate, Deo decentissimæ et sanctiferæ, existenti in Smyrna Asiæ; in  
5 incoinquinato spiritu et verbo Dei plurimum gaudere.

I. GLORIFICO Jesum Christum Deum, qui vos sapientes fecit. Intellexi enim vos perfectos in immobili fide, quemadmodum clavifixos in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et carne et spiritu, et firmatos in caritate in sanguine Christi,  
10 certificatos in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, vere existentem *de genere David secundum carnem*, filium Dei secundum voluntatem et potentiam Dei, genitum vere ex virgine, baptizatum a Johanne ut *impleatur omnis justitia* ab ipso, vere sub Pontio Pilato et Herode tetrarcha clavifixum pro nobis in  
15 carne. A cujus fructu nos a divine beatissima ipsius passione,

IGNATIUS SMYRNÆIS]  $L_1$  has no title or heading of any kind; nor, except the blank space and the illuminated initial letter I, is there any indication that a new author begins. Of the manner in which  $L_2$  commenced no information is given.

1 Theophorus] *theoferus*  $L_1$ . 2 charismate] *carismate*  $L_1$ . The common form of the word is *carisma* in  $L_1$ . 3 indeficienti]  $L_1$ ; *indeficiente*  $L_u$ . 4 Deo decentissimæ]  $L_u$ . This is probably also the reading of  $L_1$ , though commonly deciphered *condecentissimæ*; but there is an erasure in the first syllable, and the contractions  $d\bar{o}$  (=deo),  $c\bar{o}$  (=con), are liable to confusion. Smyrna] *smirna*  $L_1$ . So  $L_1$  always writes these words, *Smirna*, *Smirneus*. On the other hand  $L_2$  appears to have had consistently *Smyrna*, *Smyrneus*. 6 vos] In  $L_1$  the beginning of the word is written over what seems like the first letter of *sic*, corresponding to  $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$  in the Greek text. 15 nos a]  $L_u$ ; *nos* (om. a)  $L_1$ .

ut levet signum in sæcula per resurrectionem in sanctos et fideles ipsius, et in Judæis et in gentibus, in uno corpore ecclesiæ ipsius.

II. Hæc enim omnia passus est pro nobis, ut salvemur. Et vere passus est, ut et vere resuscitavit seipsum; non quemadmodum infideles quidam dicunt secundum videri ipsum passum 5 esse, ipsi secundum videri existentes: et quemadmodum sapiunt, et accidet ipsis, existentibus incorporeis et dæmoniis.

III. Ego enim et post resurrectionem in carne ipsum vidi et credo existentem. Et quando ad eos qui circa Petrum venit, ait ipsis: *Apprehendite, palpate me, et videte quoniam non sum* 10 *dæmonium incorporeum.* Et confestim ipsum tetigerunt, et crediderunt convicti carni ipsius et spiritui. Propter hoc et mortem contempserunt; inventi autem sunt super mortem. Post resurrectionem autem comedit cum eis et bibit ut carnalis, quamvis spiritualiter unitus Patri. 15

IV. Hæc autem monefacio vobis, dilecti, sciens quoniam et vos sic habetis. Præmunio autem vos a bestiis anthropomorphis, quos non solum oportet vos non recipere sed, si possibile, neque eis obviare, solum autem orare pro ipsis, si quo modo pœniteant; quod difficile. Hujus autem habet potestatem Jesus Christus, 20 verum nostrum vivere. Si autem secundum videri hæc operata sunt a Domino nostro, et ego secundum videri ligor. Quid autem et meipsum traditum dedi morti, ad ignem, ad gladium, ad bestias? Sed prope gladium, prope Deum; intermedium bestiarum, intermedium Dei: solum in nomine Jesu Christi, ad 25 compati ipsi. Omnia sustinebo, ipso me fortificante qui perfectus homo factus est.

V. Quem quidam ignorantes abnegant, magis autem abnegati sunt ab ipso, existentes concionatores mortis magis quam

5 videri]  $L_u$ ; *videre*  $L_1$ .      6 videri]  $L_u$ ; *videre*  $L_1$ .      10 me]  $L_u$ ; om.  $L_1$ .  
 15 spiritualiter] *spiritualiter*  $L_1$ . In  $L_1$  these words are commonly, though not universally, written *spiritalis*, *spiritaliter*, etc. This seems to have been the case also with  $L_2$ .  
 17 anthropomorphis] *antropomorphis*  $L_1$ .      19 eis obviare]  $L_u$ ; *obviare eis*  $L_1$ . The varying position of *eis* throws suspicion upon it, and there is nothing corresponding to it in the Greek.  
 22 et ego]  $L_1$ ; *ergo et ego*  $L_u$ .  
 28 quidam] *quidam*  $L_1$ ; *quidem*  $L_u$ .      ignorantes abnegant]  $L_u$ ; *abnegantes ignorantes*  $L_1$ .  
 autem]  $L_u$ ; om.  $L_1$ .      29 sunt]  $L_u$ ; om.  $L_1$ .



veritatis: quos non persuaserunt prophetiæ neque lex Moysi, sed neque usque nunc evangelium, neque nostræ eorum qui secundum virum passiones. Etenim de nobis idem sapiunt. Quid enim juvat me quis, si me laudat, Dominum autem meum blasphemat, non confitens ipsum carniferum? Qui autem hoc non dicit, ipsum perfecte abnegavit, existens mortifer. Nomina autem ipsorum, existentia infidelia, non visum est mihi inscribere: sed neque fiat mihi ipsorum recordari, usque quo pœniteant in passionem, quæ est nostra resurrectio.

10 VI. Nullus erret. Et supercælestia et gloria angelorum et principes visibiles et invisibiles, si non credant in sanguinem Christi, et illis judicium est. *Qui capit, capiat.* Qualiter nullus infletur; totum enim est fides et caritas, quibus nihil præpositum est. Considerate autem aliter opinantes in gratiam Jesu Christi  
15 eam quæ in nos venit, qualiter contrarii sunt sententiæ Dei. De caritate non est cura ipsis, non de vidua, non de orphano, non de tribulato, non de ligato vel soluto, non de esuriante vel sitiante. Ab eucharistia et oratione recedunt, propter non confiteri eucharistiam carnem esse salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi pro peccatis  
20 nostris passam, quam benignitate Pater resuscitavit.

VII. Contradicentes ergo huic dono Dei perscrutantes moriuntur. Conferens autem esset ipsis diligere, ut resurgant. Decens est recedere a talibus, et neque seorsum de ipsis loqui neque communiter; attendere autem prophetis, præcipue vero evangelio, in quo passio nobis ostensa est et resurrectio perfecta est.  
25

1 Moysi] *moisi* L<sub>1</sub>. This name is commonly written *Moises* in L<sub>1</sub>, and *Moses* in L<sub>2</sub>. 4 Dominum] L<sub>u</sub>; *deum* L<sub>1</sub>. blasphemat] *blasfemat* L<sub>1</sub>. 7 visum est] L<sub>u</sub>; *est visum* L<sub>1</sub>. mihi] *nichi* L<sub>1</sub>; and so the word is always written in this MS, when not contracted. 11 visibiles et invisibiles] L<sub>u</sub>; *invisibiles et visibiles* L<sub>1</sub>. 12 Qualiter nullus infletur] L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>u</sub>. The Greek is τόπος μηδένα φυσιούτω. The translator therefore must have read ὅπως or τὸ πῶς for τόπος, as these words are commonly rendered *qualiter*. The inflexions, *nullus infletur* for *nullum inflet*, have probably been changed in the transmission of the Latin text, the contractions facilitating such changes. 13 nihil] *nichil* L<sub>1</sub>. So the word is commonly written in this MS. 15 contrarii] *contrariæ* L<sub>u</sub>; *contrarie* L<sub>1</sub>. 18 eucharistia] *eucaristia* L<sub>1</sub>. This is the common form of the word in L<sub>1</sub>. recedunt] L<sub>u</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. propter] L<sub>u</sub>; *propterea* L<sub>1</sub>. 22 decens est] Some short word has been erased after 'est' in L<sub>1</sub>, perhaps *g<sup>o</sup>=ergo*, corresponding to the οὖν of the Greek text. 24 vero] L<sub>u</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>.



VIII. Partitiones autem fugite, ut principium malorum. Omnes episcopum sequimini, ut Jesus Christus Patrem, et presbyterium ut apostolos; diaconos autem revereamini, ut Dei mandatum. Nullus sine episcopo aliquid operetur eorum quæ conveniunt in ecclesiam. Illa firma gratiarum actio reputetur, 5 quæ sub episcopo est, vel quod utique ipse concesserit. Ubi utique apparet episcopus, illic multitudo sit; quemadmodum utique ubi est Christus Jesus, illic catholica ecclesia. Non licitum est sine episcopo neque baptizare neque agapen facere; sed quod utique ille probaverit, hoc et Deo beneplacitum; ut 10 stabile sit et firmum omne quod agitur.

IX. Rationabile est de cetero evigilare et, cum adhuc tempus habemus, in Deum pœnitere. Bene habet et Deum et episcopum cognoscere. Honorans episcopum a Deo honoratus est: qui occultans ab episcopo aliquid operatur, diabolo præstat 15 obsequium. Omnia igitur vobis in gratia superabundent; digni enim estis. Secundum enim omnia me quiescere fecistis; et vos Jesus Christus. Absentem me et præsentem dilexistis: retribuat vobis Deus, propter quem omnia sustinentes ipsum adipiscimini.

20

X. Philonem et Reum et Agathopum, qui secuti sunt me in verbum Dei, bene fecistis suscipientes ut ministros Dei Christi: qui et gratias agunt Domino pro vobis, quoniam ipsos quiescere fecistis secundum omnem modum. Nihil vobis utique deperibit. Conformis animæ vestræ spiritus meus, et vincula mea quæ non 25 despexistis neque erubuistis; neque vos erubescet perfecta fides, Jesus Christus.

XI. Oratio vestra pervenit ad ecclesiam quæ est in Antiochia Syriæ; unde ligatus Deo decentissimis vinculis omnes

1 autem]  $L_u$ ; om.  $L_I$ .      2 presbyterium]  $L_u$ ; *presbiterum*  $L_I$ .      4 aliquid]  $L_u$ ; om.  $L_I$ .      6 episcopo] *ipso*  $L_u L_I$ : see above, p. 593.      quod] So the contraction in  $L_I$  should be read; *quam*  $L_u$ . The Greek text has  $\phi$  *cui*.      10 hoc et]  $L_I$ ; *hoc est*  $L_u$ .      11 stabile sit et firmum]  $L_u$ ; *stabile firmum sit*  $L_I$ .  
 13 Bene habet et Deum et episcopum cognoscere]  $L_I$ ; om.  $L_u$ . As there is nothing in the Greek corresponding to the first *et*, it is probably a scribe's error, repeating the last syllable of *habet*.      21 Agathopum] *agathapum*  $L_I$ .      25 Conformis] *confirmis*  $L_I$ .  
 29 Syriæ] *sirie*  $L_I$ . This name is generally written *Siria* in  $L_I$ . The usual form in  $L_2$  is *Syria*.

saluto, non existens dignus inde esse, extremus ipsorum existens; secundum voluntatem [autem] Dei dignus factus sum, non ex conscientia, sed ex gratia Dei, quam oro perfectam mihi dari, ut in oratione vestra Deo potiar. Ut igitur perfectum vestri fiat  
 5 opus et in terra et in cælo, decet ad honorem Dei ordinare ecclesiam vestram Deo venerabilem, in factum usque Syriam congaudere ipsis, quoniam pacem habent et acceperunt propriam magnitudinem, et restitutum est ipsis proprium corpusculum. Visum est mihi igitur Deo digna res mittere aliquem vestrorum  
 10 cum epistola; ut conglorificet eam quæ secundum Deum ipsis factam tranquillitatem, et quoniam portu jam potita est oratione vestra. Perfecti existentes perfecta et sapite. Volentibus enim vobis bene facere Deus paratus est ad tribuere.

XII. Salutat vos caritas fratrum qui in Troade; unde et  
 15 scribo vobis per Burrum, quem misistis mecum simul Ephesiis fratribus vestris, qui secundum omnia me quiescere fecit. Et utinam omnes ipsum imitentur, existentem exemplarium Dei ministerii. Remuneret ipsum gratia secundum omnia. Saluto Deo dignum episcopum et Deo decens presbyterium et conservos  
 20 meos diaconos, et singillatim et communiter omnes, in nomine Jesus Christi, et carne ipsius et sanguine, passioneque et resurrectione, carnali et spirituali, in unitate Dei et vestri. Gratia vobis et misericordia et pax et sustinentia semper.

XIII. Saluto domos fratrum meorum cum uxoribus et filiis,  
 25 et virgines vocatas viduas. Valete mihi in virtute Patris. Salutat vos Philon mecum existens. Saluto domum Thaviæ; quam oro firmari fide et caritate carnali et spirituali. Saluto Alken, desideratum mihi nomen, et Daphnum incomparabilem, et Eutecnum, et omnes secundum nomen. Valete in gratia Dei.

1 dignus inde] *L<sub>u</sub>*; *inde dignus* *L<sub>1</sub>*.    2 *autem*] *L<sub>u</sub>*; om. *L<sub>1</sub>*.    5 ordinare ecclesiam vestram] *L<sub>u</sub>*; *vestram ordinare ecclesiam* *L<sub>1</sub>*.    6 usque] *L<sub>u</sub>*; *usque in* *L<sub>1</sub>*.    7 ipsis] *L<sub>u</sub>*; *eis* *L<sub>1</sub>*.    10 conglorificet] *συνδοξάσῃ*; *conglorificet* *L<sub>1</sub>**L<sub>u</sub>*.    12 sapite] *L<sub>u</sub>*; *sapere* *L<sub>1</sub>*, but the letters *ite* are written above.    13 bene] *L<sub>u</sub>*; *et bene* *L<sub>1</sub>*.    *Deus*] *L<sub>u</sub>*; *deo* *L<sub>1</sub>*.    15 Ephesiis] *effesiis* *L<sub>1</sub>*.    17 exemplarium] *exemplarium* *L<sub>1</sub>*.    19 presbyterium] *L<sub>u</sub>*; *ᾤβρῆν* *L<sub>1</sub>*. This contraction is common in *L<sub>1</sub>*, where the Greek has *πρεσβυτέριον*.    21 passioneque] *et passione* *L<sub>u</sub>*; *et passione que* *L<sub>1</sub>*.    23 et misericordia et pax] *L<sub>u</sub>*; *pax et misericordia* *L<sub>1</sub>*.

## 2.

## IGNATIUS POLYCARPO.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, Polycarpo episcopo ecclesiæ Smyrnæorum, magis autem visitato a Deo Patre et Jesu Christo, plurimum gaudere.

I. ACCEPTANS tuam in Deo sententiam, firmatam ut supra petram immobilem, superglorifico, dignificatus tua facie 5 immaculata, qua fruar in Deo. Deprecor te in gratia, qua indutus es, apponere cursui tuo, et omnes deprecari ut salventur. Justifica locum tuum in omni cura carnali et spirituali. Unionem cura, qua nihil melius. Omnes supporta; ut et te Dominus. Omnes sustine in charitate; quemadmodum et facis. Orationi- 10 bus vaca indesinentibus. Pete intellectum ampliorem eo quem habes. Vigila, non dormientem spiritum possidens. Singulis secundum consuetudinem Dei loquere. Omnium ægritudines porta, ut perfectus athleta: ubi major labor, multum lucrum.

II. Bonos discipulos si diligas, gratia tibi non est: magis 15 deteriores in mansuetudine subiice. Non omne vulnus eodem emplastro curatur. Exacerbationes in pluviis quieta. *Prudens*

IGNATIUS POLYCARPO]  $L_1$  has *epistola 2a ignatii smirneis . a policarpo . troade policarpo*, but the first *policarpo* is erased. This is obviously a confusion of *Smyrneis a Troade*, the subscription to the previous epistle (corresponding to  $\text{CMYPNΔIOIC ΔΠΟ ΤΡΩΑΔΟC}$  of G), and *Epistola Ignatii Polycarpo*, the title of the present epistle. The title in  $L_2$  is not recorded, but it would probably take the simple form which I have adopted.

I Theophorus]  $L_u$ ; *theoforus*  $L_1$ . Polycarpo]  $L_u$ ; *policarpo*  $L_1$ . The name is always so spelt in  $L_1$ , but *Polycarpus* apparently in  $L_2$ . 6 in gratia] *in dei gratia*  $L_u$ ; *in deo gratia*  $L_1$ . Here *deo* seems to be a transcriber's error, whose eye was caught by the neighbouring *in deo*, and in this case *dei* is a subsequent correction of *deo*. G has simply *ἐν χάριτι*. 10 et]  $L_u$ ; om.  $L_1$ . Orationibus]  $L_2$ ; *in orationibus*  $L_1$ . Ussher's collation of  $L_2$  begins at this point. 16 subiice] *subice*  $L_1$ . The form of this verb is commonly *subicio* in this ms. 17 emplastro]  $L_2$ ; *emplaustro*  $L_1$ . in pluviis]  $L_1 L_2$ s. The translator read *ἐν βροχαῖς*; the marginal gloss in  $L_2$  is 'in dulcibus et desuper venientibus eloquiis.' Ussher prints *inpluvis*.



*fias, ut serpens, in omnibus; et simplex, ut columba.* Propter hoc carnalis es et spiritualis, ut manifesta in tuam faciem blandiaris; invisibilia autem petas ut tibi manifestentur; ut nullo deficias, et omni charismate abundes. Tempus expetit te, ut gubernatores  
 5 ventos, et ut qui in procella est portum ad Deo potiendum. Vigila, ut Dei athleta: thema incorruptio, vita æterna; de qua et tu confisus es. Secundum omnia tui refrigerium ego, et vincula mea quæ dilexisti.

III. Qui videntur digni fide esse et altera docent, non te  
 10 stupefaciant: sta firmus, ut incus percussa. Magni est athletæ discerpi et vincere. Maxime autem propter Deum omnia sustinere nos oportet; ut et ipse nos sustineat. Plus studiosus fias quam es. Tempora considera; eum qui supra tempus expecta, intemporalem, invisibilem, propter nos visibilem, impalpabilem,  
 15 impassibilem, propter nos passibilem, secundum omnem modum propter nos sustententem.

IV. Viduæ non negligentur: post Dominum tu ipsarum curator esto. Nihil sine sententia tua fiat; neque tu sine Deo quid operare: quod autem operaris, sit bene stabile. Sæpius  
 20 congregationes fiant: ex nomine omnes quære. Servos et ancillas ne despicias; sed neque ipsi inflentur, sed in gloriam Dei plus serviant, ut meliori libertate a Deo potiantur. Non desiderent a communi liberi fieri, ut non servi inveniantur concupiscentiæ.

25 V. Malas artes fuge: magis autem de his homiliam fac. Sorores meas alloquere, diligere Dominum et viris sufficere carne

4 abundes] *habundes* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 5 ad Deo potiendum] *εἰς τὸ Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν*; *a deo potiendum* (*pociendum*) L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>. The slight correction which I have made brings the Latin into exact accordance with the Greek, from which the existing reading diverges considerably in meaning. For *Deo potiri* as a rendering of Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, comp. § 7, Rom. 2, 4, etc. 7 tui] L<sub>2</sub>; *et tui* L<sub>1</sub>. tui refrigerium] The Greek is σου ἀντιψυχον, which the translator possibly read σε ἀναψύχων (or perhaps ἀντιψύχων, for the verb ἀντιψύχειν occurs). Elsewhere he translates ἀντιψυχον correctly. 9 fide] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 11 sustinere nos] L<sub>2</sub>; *nos sustinere* L<sub>1</sub>. 14 propter nos] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 17 negligentur] *negligantur* L<sub>1</sub>. The word is commonly written *negligo* in this MS. 18 sententia tua] L<sub>2</sub>; *tua sententia* L<sub>1</sub>. 19 quod autem ... stabile] L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>. The Greek is ὅπερ οὐδὲ πρᾶσσεις εὐστάθει (or εὐσταθής). The translator appears to have read δὲ for οὐδὲ, and εὐσταθής for εὐστάθει. 25 homiliam] *omeliam* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 26 Dominum] L<sub>2</sub>s; *deum* L<sub>1</sub>.



et spiritu. Similiter et fratribus meis annuncia in nomine Jesu Christi, diligere uxores *ut Dominus ecclesiam*. Si quis potest in castitate manere in honorem carnis Domini, in ingloriatione Domini maneat. Si gloriatur, perditur; et si videri velit plus episcopo, corruptus est. Decet autem ducentes et ductas cum 5 sententia episcopi unionem facere, ut sit secundum Deum et non secundum concupiscentiam. Omnia in honorem Dei fiant.

VI. Episcopo attendite, ut et Deus vobis. Unanimis ego cum subjectis episcopo, presbyteris, diaconis; et cum ipsis mihi pars fiat capere in Deo. Collaborate adinvicem, concertate, 10 concurrите, compatimini, condormite, consurgite, ut Dei dispensatores et assessores et ministri. Placete cui militatis; a quo et stipendia fertis. Nullus vestrum otiosus inveniatur. Baptisma vestrum maneat ut scutum, fides ut galea, caritas ut lancea, sustinentia ut omnis armatura. Deposita vestra opera; ut ac- 15 cepta vestra digna feratis. Longanimiter ferte igitur vos adinvicem in mansuetudine, ut Deus vos. Fruar vobis semper.

VII. Quia ecclesia quæ in Antiochia Syriæ pacem habet, ut ostensum est mihi, per orationem vestram, et ego lætior factus sum in insollicitudine Dei; siquidem per pati Deo potiar, in 20 inveniri me in resurrectione vestri discipulum. Decet, Polycarpe Deo beatissime, concilium congregare Deo decentissimum, et ordinare aliquem quem dilectum valde habetis et impigrum, qui

1 et fratribus] *L*<sub>2</sub>; *fratribus* (om. et) *L*<sub>1</sub>. in nomine Jesu Christi diligere uxores] *L*<sub>2</sub>; *diligere uxores in nomine domini jesu christi* *L*<sub>1</sub>. 6 Deum] *L*<sub>1</sub>; *dominum* *L*<sub>2</sub>s. 9 presbyteris] *presbiteris* *L*<sub>1</sub>; and so the word is generally spelt in this MS, where the vowel does not disappear in a contraction. mihi pars] *L*<sub>2</sub>; *pars mihi* *L*<sub>1</sub>. 12 assessores] *πάρεδροι*; *assensores* *L*<sub>1</sub>, and so apparently *L*<sub>2</sub>. Ussher indeed writes *assessores* in the margin of his collation, but this seems to be his own conjecture. 13 otiosus] The Greek text has *δασέπτω*. The Latin rendering is taken from the marginal gloss *ἀργός*, which is found in G. 15 Deposita vestra] *L*<sub>2</sub>; *vestra deposita* *L*<sub>1</sub>. 18 Antiochia] *anthiochia* *L*<sub>1</sub>. 20 in insollicitudine] *ἐν ἀπεριμνία*; *in sollicitudine* (*solicitudine*) *L*<sub>1</sub>*L*<sub>2</sub>. So § 5 'ingloriatione' for *ἀκαυχῆσις*, *Ign. Mar.* 2 'injustificationibus' for *ἀδικήμασιν*. in inveniri me in resurrectione] *in invenire me in resurrectione* *L*<sub>2</sub>; *invenire in me in resurrectione* *L*<sub>1</sub>. *L*<sub>1</sub>, as well as *L*<sub>2</sub>, has *resurrectione* (contracted *rrne* with *o* superscribed), which however has been misread *oratione* (sometimes contracted *orne* with *o* superscribed). By a strange coincidence the Greek texts here present a corresponding variation, *ἀναστάσει* and *αἰτήσει*. 22 concilium] *L*<sub>1</sub>; *consilium* *L*<sub>2</sub>. 23 valde habetis] *L*<sub>2</sub>; *habetis valde* *L*<sub>1</sub>.

poterit Dei cursor vocari; et hunc dignificare, ut vadens in Syriam glorificet vestram impigram caritatem in gloriam Dei. Christianus sui ipsius potestatem non habet, sed Deo vacat. Hoc opus Dei est et vestri, quando ipsi perfecti estis. Credo  
 5 enim gratiæ, quoniam parati estis ad beneficentiam Deo decen-  
 tem. Sciens vestrum compendium veritatis, per paucas vos  
 literas consolatus sum.

VIII. Quia igitur omnibus ecclesiis non potui scribere prop-  
 ter repente navigare me a Troade in Neapolim, ut voluntas  
 10 præcipit, scribes aliis ecclesiis, ut Dei sententiam possidens, in  
 et ipsos facere; hi quidem potentes pedites mittere, hi autem  
 epistolas per a te missos, ut glorificeris æterno opere; ut dignus  
 existens. Saluto omnes ex nomine; et eam quæ Epitropi, cum  
 domo tota ipsius et filiorum. Saluto Attalum dilectum meum.  
 15 Saluto futurum dignificari ad eundum in Syriam: erit gratia  
 cum ipso semper et mittente ipsum Polycarpo. Valere vos  
 semper in Deo nostro Jesu Christo oro; in quo permaneatis in  
 unitate Dei et visitatione. Saluto Alken, desideratum mihi  
 nomen. Valete in Domino.

1 dignificare] *καταξιώσαι*; *dignificari* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. vadens in Syriam glorificet]  
 L<sub>2</sub>; *vadat in siriam et glorificet* L<sub>1</sub>. 4 quando] *ὅταν*; *quoniam* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>.  
 The difference between *qm*=*quoniam*, and *qn*=*quando*, is slight. ipsi  
 perfecti estis] The translator probably read *αὐτοὶ ἀπαρισθῆτε* for *αὐτῶ* (or *αὐτῶ*)  
*ἀπαρίσθητε*. 5 quoniam parati] L<sub>2</sub>; *quod parati* L<sub>1</sub>. 8 omnibus ecclesiis  
 non] L<sub>2</sub>; *non omnibus ecclesiis* L<sub>1</sub>. A second *non* was written after *ecclesiis* in L<sub>1</sub>,  
 and then erased. 10 in et ipsos facere] L<sub>2</sub>; a gloss in L<sub>2</sub> fixes this as the  
 reading. The word which stands in the place of *in* in L<sub>1</sub> is illegible. The exact  
 equivalent to the Greek would be *in et ipsos idem facere*. 11 hi...hi] *hii...hii*  
 L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 12 per] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. missos] *missas* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s; but it may be sus-  
 pected that L<sub>2</sub>, which inserted *per*, also read *missos*, and that Ussher overlooked  
 this in his collation. 14 Attalum] L<sub>2</sub>; *athalum* L<sub>1</sub>. 15 eundum] L<sub>2</sub>s;  
*eundem* L<sub>1</sub>. 16 ipsum] L<sub>2</sub>; *ipso* L<sub>1</sub>. Valere] L<sub>2</sub>; *valete*, altered into  
*valere*, L<sub>1</sub>. vos semper] L<sub>2</sub>; *semper vos* L<sub>1</sub>.

## 3.

## IGNATIUS EPHESIIS.

**I**GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, benedictæ in magnitudine Dei Patris et plenitudine, prædestinatæ ante sæcula esse semper in gloriam permanentem, invertibilem, unitam et electam in passione vera, in voluntate Patris et Jesu Christi Dei nostri, ecclesiæ digne beatæ existenti in Epheso Asiæ; plurimum in Jesu Christo et in immaculata gratia gaudere.

I. ACCEPTANS in Deo multum dilectum tuum nomen, quod possedistis natura justa, secundum fidem et caritatem in Christo Jesu salvatore nostro: quia imitatores existentes Dei, et reaccendentes in sanguine Dei, cognatum opus integre perfecistis. Audientes enim ligatum a Syria pro communi nomine et spe, sperantem oratione vestra potiri in Roma cum bestiis pugnare, ut per potiri possim discipulus esse, videre festinastis. Plurimam enim multitudinem vestram in nomine Dei suscepi in Onesimo, qui in caritate inenarrabilis, vester autem in carne episcopus; quem oro secundum Jesum Christum vos diligere, et omnes vos ipsi in similitudine esse. Benedictus enim qui tribuit vobis dignis existentibus talem episcopum possidere.

IGNATIUS EPHESIIS] So L<sub>1</sub> (writing however *ignacius*), L<sub>2</sub>s.

1 Theophorus] *theoferus* L<sub>1</sub>. 9 nostro] add. *glorificato jesum christum deum* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. This is perhaps a pious gloss, which has been transferred from the margin to the text. See *Magn.* 2, for a similar instance. 10 Dei] L<sub>2</sub>; *christi dei* L<sub>1</sub>. 12 oratione vestra] L<sub>2</sub>; *vestra oratione* L<sub>1</sub>. 13 per potiri] *potiri* (om. *per*) L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>. It is clear however that the original Latin text had *per potiri* (corresponding to the Greek διὰ τοῦ ἐπιρυχεῖν), for L<sub>2</sub> has a marginal note '*ut per potiri sc. eo quod est pugnare cum bestiis, possim esse discipulus sc. christi.*' The *per*, contracted to a single letter, would easily disappear before the *p* in *potiri*. See an instance of the converse error in *Antioch.* 2. 15 in caritate] L<sub>2</sub>; *caritate* (om. *in*) L<sub>1</sub>. inenarrabilis] L<sub>2</sub>; add. *est* L<sub>1</sub>.



II. De conservo autem meo Burro, secundum Deum diacono nostro in omnibus benedicto, oro permanere ipsum in honorem vestri et episcopi. Sed et Crocus Deo dignus et vobis, quem exemplarium ejus quæ a vobis caritatis suscepi, secundum  
 5 omnia me quiescere fecit; ut et ipsum Pater Jesu Christi refrigeret; cum Onesimo et Burro et Euplo et Frontone per quos vos omnes secundum caritatem vidi. Fruar vobis semper, siquidem dignus existam. Decens igitur est secundum omnem modum glorificare Jesum Christum, qui glorificavit vos; ut in  
 10 una subjectione perfecti, subjecti episcopo et presbyterio, secundum omnia sitis sanctificati.

III. Non dispono vobis, ut existens aliquis. Si enim et ligor in nomine Christi, nequaquam perfectus sum in Jesu Christo. Nunc autem principium habeo addiscendi, et alloquor  
 15 vos, ut doctores mei: me enim oportuit a vobis suscipi fide, admonitione, sustinentia, longanimitate. Sed quia caritas non sinit me silere pro vobis, propter hoc præoccupavi rogare vos, ut concurratis sententiæ Dei. Etenim Jesus Christus, incomparabile nostrum vivere, Patris sententia, ut et episcopi secun-  
 20 dum terræ fines determinati Jesu Christi sententia sunt.

IV. Unde decet vos concurrere episcopi sententiæ: quod et facitis. Digne nominabile enim vestrum presbyterium Deo dignum sic concordatum est episcopo, ut chordæ citharæ. Propter hoc in consensu vestro et consona caritate Jesus Christus canitur.  
 25 Sed et singuli chorus facti estis; ut consoni existentes in consensu, melos Dei accipientes in unitate, cantetis in voce una per Jesum Christum Patri; ut et vos audiat, et cognoscat, per quæ bene operamini, membra existentes filii ipsius. Utile

1 Burro] *berro* L<sub>1</sub>; *borro* L<sub>2</sub>s.      2 permanere ipsum] L<sub>2</sub>; *ipsum permanere* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 6 Burro] *borro* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s.      8 dignus] L<sub>2</sub>s; *dignos* L<sub>1</sub>.      10 presbyterio]  
*presbitero* L<sub>1</sub>; *presbytero* L<sub>2</sub>.      13 Christi] L<sub>2</sub>; *jesu christi* L<sub>1</sub>.      15 suscipi]  
 The translator must have read ὑποληφθῆναι for ὑπαλειφθῆναι.      16 admonitione]  
*ammonicione* L<sub>1</sub>. The word is always written *amm-* in L<sub>1</sub>, and this is its common  
 orthography in L<sub>2</sub>.      19 episcopi] *ipsi* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. See p. 593 sq.      21 episcopi  
 sententiæ] L<sub>2</sub>; *sententie episcopi* L<sub>1</sub>.      22 digne] L<sub>1</sub>; *si que* L<sub>2</sub>.      nominabile enim]  
 L<sub>2</sub>; *enim nominabile* L<sub>1</sub>.      vestrum presbyterium] L<sub>2</sub>; *presbiterium vestrum* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 23 chordæ] *corde* L<sub>1</sub>.      28 filii] *filiis* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>.      ipsius] L<sub>2</sub>; *ejus* L<sub>1</sub>.



igitur est vos in immaculata unitate esse, ut et Deo semper participetis.

V. Si enim ego in parvo tempore talem consuetudinem tenui ad episcopum vestrum, non humanam existentem sed spiritualem; quanto magis vos beatifico, conjunctos sic, ut 5 ecclesia Jesu Christo et ut Jesus Christus Patri; ut omnia in unitate consona sint. Nullus erret; si quis non sit intra altare, privatur pane Dei. Si enim unius et alterius oratio tantam vim habet, quanto magis illa quæ episcopi et omnis ecclesiæ. Qui igitur non venit in idem, sic jam superbit et seipsum condem- 10 navit. Scriptum est enim, *Superbis Deus resistit*. Festinemus igitur non resistere episcopo, ut simus Deo subjecti.

VI. Et quantum videt quis tacentem episcopum, plus ipsum timeat. Omnem enim quem mittit dominus domus in propriam dispensationem, sic oportet nos ipsum recipere, ut 15 ipsum mittentem. Episcopum igitur manifestum quoniam ut ipsum Dominum oportet respicere. Ipse igitur quidem Onesimus superlaudat vestram divinam ordinationem: quoniam omnes secundum veritatem vivitis, et quoniam in vobis neque una hæresis habitat, sed neque auditis aliquem amplius quam 20 Jesum Christum loquentem in veritate.

VII. Consueverunt enim quidam dolo malo nomen circumferre, sed quædam operantes indigna Deo. Quos oportet vos ut bestias declinare: sunt enim canes rabidi latenter mordentes; quos oportet vos observare, existentes difficile curabiles. 25 Unus medicus est, carnalis et spiritualis, genitus et ingenitus, in carne factus Deus, in immortalī vita vera, et ex Maria

1 in immaculata unitate esse] *immaculata unitate esse* (om. in) L<sub>2</sub>; *esse in immaculata unitate* L<sub>1</sub>. 4 tenui] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 8 privatur pane Dei] L<sub>2</sub>; *pane dei privatur* L<sub>1</sub>. 9 quanto] L<sub>2</sub>; *quanta* L<sub>1</sub>. 10 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; *ergo* L<sub>1</sub>. sic] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. The text used by the translator seems to have had οὐτως (*sic*) for οὗτος (*hic*): comp. *Tars.* 4. condemnavit] *condemnavit* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>. So the word is commonly, but not always, written in both MSS. It is usual with them to insert a *p* between *m* and *n*; e.g. *dampnum*, *contempno*. 12 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; *ergo* L<sub>1</sub>. 17 quidem] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 18 ordinationem] L<sub>2</sub>; *superordinationem* L<sub>1</sub> but the *super* is marked for erasure. 20 una] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. auditis] L<sub>1</sub>; *audistis* L<sub>2</sub>. 25 curabiles] L<sub>2</sub>. The word in L<sub>1</sub> has been read *sanabiles*, but seems certainly to be *curabiles*.

et ex Deo, primo passibilis et tunc impassibilis, Dominus Christus noster.

VIII. Non igitur quis vos seducat: quemadmodum neque seducimini, toti existentes Dei. Quum enim neque una lis  
5 complexa est in vobis, potens vos torquere, tunc secundum Deum vivitis. Peripsima vestri et castificer a vestra Ephesiorum ecclesia famosa in sæculis. Carnales spiritualia operari non possunt, neque spirituales carnalia; quemadmodum neque fides quæ infidelitatis, neque infidelitas quæ fidelitatis et fidei.  
10 Quæ autem et secundum carnem operata sunt, hæc spiritualia sunt: in Jesu enim Christo omnia operata sunt.

IX. Cognovi autem transeuntes quosdam inde, habentes malam doctrinam. Quos non dimisistis seminare in vos, obstruentes aures ad non recipere seminata ab ipsis; ut existentes  
15 lapides templi Patris, parati in ædificationem Dei Patris, relati in excelsa per machinam Jesu Christi, quæ est crux, fune utentes Spiritu Sancto. Fides autem vestra dux vester, caritas vero via referens in Deum. Estis igitur et conviatores, Deiferi et templiferi et Christiferi, sanctiferi, secundum omnia ornati in  
20 mandatis Jesu Christi: quibus et exultans dignificatus sum per quæ scribo alloqui vobis et congaudere, quoniam secundum aliam vitam nihil diligitis nisi solum Deum.

X. Sed et pro aliis hominibus indesinenter Deum oratis. Est enim in ipsis spes pœnitentiæ, ut Deo potiantur. Monete  
25 igitur ipsos saltem ex operibus a vobis erudiri. Ad iras ipsorum vos mansueti, ad magniloquia eorum vos humilia sapientes, ad blasphemias ipsorum vos orationes, ad errorem ipsorum vos firmi fide, ad agreste ipsorum vos mansueti; non festinantes imitari ipsos. Fratres ipsorum inveniamur in mansuetudine;  
30 imitatores autem Dei studeamus esse. Quis plus injustum

4 seducimini] *ἐξαπατᾶσθε*; *seducemini* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>. 6 castificer] perhaps (judging from Ussher's imitation of the traces in the MS) L<sub>2</sub>; *castificet* (apparently) L<sub>1</sub>.  
8 carnalia] L<sub>2</sub>S; *carnales* L<sub>1</sub>. 9 fidelitatis et fidei] A double rendering of the Greek τῆς πίστεως.  
10 operata sunt] reading *πράσσειται* for *πράσσετε*, and so again just below. hæc spiritualia...operata sunt] L<sub>1</sub>; om. L<sub>2</sub>.  
12 autem] L<sub>1</sub>; *inter* L<sub>2</sub>. 15 ædificationem] *οικοδομήν*; *ædificatione* (*edificacione*) L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>S.  
18 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>S; *ergo* L<sub>1</sub>. 25 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; *ergo* L<sub>1</sub>.

patiatur, quis fraudetur, quis contemnatur? Ut non diaboli herba quis inveniatur in vobis, sed in omni castitate et temperantia maneatis in Jesu Christo, carnaliter et spiritualiter.

XI. Extrema tempora. De cetero verecundemur, et timeamus longanimitatem Dei, ut non nobis in iudicium fiat. Vel enim futuram iram timeamus vel præsentem gratiam diligamus; unum duorum: solum in Christo Jesu invenitur, in verum vivere. Sine ipso nihil vos deceat; in quo vincula circumfero, spirituales margaritas, in quibus fiat mihi resurgere oratione vestra. Qua fiat mihi semper participem esse; ut in sorte Ephesiorum inveniar Christianorum, qui et apostolis semper consenserunt in virtute Jesu Christi.

XII. Novi quis sum, et quibus scribo. Ego condemnatus, vos propitiationem habentes; ego sub periculo, vos firmati. Transitus estis eorum qui in Deum interficiuntur: Pauli discipuli, sanctificati, martyrizati, digne beati, cujus fiat mihi sub vestigiis inveniri, quando utique Deo fruar; qui in omni epistola memoriam facit vestri in Christo Jesu.

XIII. Festinate igitur crebrius convenire in gratiarum actionem Dei et in gloriam. Quando enim crebro in idipsum convenitis, destruuntur potentiæ Satanæ, et solvitur perditio ipsius in concordia vestræ fidei. Nihil est melius pace; in qua omne bellum evacuatur cælestium et terrestrium.

XIV. Quorum nullum latet vos, si perfecte in Jesum Christum habeatis fidem et caritatem: quæ sunt principium vitæ et finis, principium quidem fides, finis autem caritas. Hæc autem duo in unitate facta Deus est: alia autem omnia in bonitatem sequentia sunt. Nullus fidem repromittens peccat, neque cari-

1 contemnatur] *contempnatur* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. This is the usual spelling in these MSS; see on *condemnavit*, § 5. 7 invenitur] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s; probably an error, which has crept into the Latin text in the course of transcription, for *inveniri*, εὐρεθῆναι. 16 martyrizati] *martirizati* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. The usual spelling in L<sub>1</sub> is *martir*, *martirium*, etc. 17 utique] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 18 Christo Jesu] L<sub>1</sub>; *jesu christo* L<sub>2</sub>. 19 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; *ergo* (apparently) L<sub>1</sub>. 20 et in] L<sub>1</sub>; *in* (om. *et*) L<sub>2</sub>. 21 Satanæ] *sathane* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. perditio] *proditio* (-cio) L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. The contractions for *per* and *pro* are easily confused. See *profari*, *perfari*, *Magn.* 10. 22 vestræ fidei] L<sub>2</sub>; *fidei vestræ* L<sub>1</sub>. 24 perfecte] L<sub>2</sub>; *perfectam* L<sub>1</sub>. 27 bonitatem sequentia] L<sub>1</sub>; *bonitate sequenda* L<sub>2</sub>s; but Ussher probably did not examine the contractions of L<sub>2</sub>



tatem possidens odit. *Manifesta est arbor a fructu ipsius*: sic repromittentes Christiani esse, per quæ operantur manifesti erunt. Non enim nunc repromissionis opus, sed in virtute fidei si quis inveniatur in finem.

5 XV. Melius est silere et esse, quam loquentem non esse. Bonum docere, si dicens facit. Unus igitur doctor, qui dixit, et factum est: sed et quæ silens fecit, digna Patre sunt. Qui verbum Jesu possidet, vere potest et silentium ipsius audire, ut perfectus sit; ut per quæ loquitur operetur, et per quæ silet  
10 cognoscatur. Nihil latet Dominum: sed et abscondita nostra prope ipsum sunt. Omnia igitur faciamus, sic ipso in nobis habitante: ut simus ipsius templa, et ipse in nobis Deus noster: quod et est et apparebit ante faciem nostram, ex quibus juste diligimus ipsum.

15 XVI. Non erretis, fratres mei. Domus corruptores *regnum Dei non hæreditabunt*. Si igitur qui secundum carnem hæc operantur mortui sunt, quanto magis, si quis fidem Dei in mala doctrina corrumpat, pro qua Jesus Christus crucifixus est. Talis inquinatus factus in ignem inextinguibilem ibit: similiter et qui  
20 audit ipsum.

XVII. Propter hoc unguentum recepit in capite suo Dominus, ut spiret ecclesiæ incorruptionem. Non ungamini fœtore doctrinæ principis sæculi hujus: non captivet vos ex præsentī vivere. Propter quid autem non omnes prudentes sumus, acci-  
25 pientes Dei cognitionem, qui est Jesus Christus? Quid fatue perdimur, ignorantes charisma quod vere misit Dominus?

XVIII. Peripsima meus spiritus crucis; quæ est scandalum non credentibus, nobis autem salus et vita æterna. *Ubi sapiens, ubi conquisitor*, ubi gloriatio dictorum sapientum? Deus enim

carefully, and so noted no difference from the inaccurate transcript of L<sub>1</sub>, which gives *bonitate sequenda*.

1 Manifesta est arbor] L<sub>1</sub>; *manifesta autem arbor* L<sub>2</sub>.

2 manifesti] *manifesta* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>.

11 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; ergo L<sub>1</sub>.

sic] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. It should probably be *sicut*=ŵs. The contraction for *sicut* differs very slightly from *sic*.

21 recepit in capite suo] L<sub>2</sub>; *in capite suo recepit* L<sub>1</sub>.

24 *vivere*] So L<sub>1</sub>, as I read it; *unire* L<sub>2</sub>, according to Ussher; but the two words, as contracted, are hardly distinguishable; and he has probably misread it. *quid*] L<sub>1</sub>; *quod* L<sub>2</sub>s.

noster Jesus Christus conceptus est ex Maria secundum dispensationem Dei, ex semine quidem David, Spiritu autem Sancto: qui natus est, et baptizatus est ut passione aquam purificaret.

XIX. Et latuit principem sæculi hujus virginitas Mariæ, et partus ipsius, similiter et mors Domini; tria mysteria clamoris, 5 quæ in silentio Dei operata sunt. Qualiter igitur manifestatus est sæculis? Astrum in cælo resplenduit super omnia astra, et lumen ipsius ineffabile erat, et stuporem tribuit novitas ipsius. Reliqua vero omnia astra, simul cum sole et luna, chorus facta sunt illi astro; ipsum autem erat superferens lumen ipsius super 10 omnia. Turbatio autem erat, unde novitas quæ dissimilis ipsis; ex qua solvebatur omnis magica, et omne vinculum disparuit malitiæ, ignorantia ablata est, vetus regnum corruptum est, Deo humanitus apparente in novitatem æternæ vitæ. Principium autem assumpsit quod apud Deum perfectum. Inde omnia com- 15 mota erant propter meditari mortis dissolutionem.

XX. Si me dignificet Jesus Christus in oratione vestra et voluntas sit, in secundo libello, quem scripturus sum vobis, manifestabo vobis quam inceperam dispensationem in novum hominem Jesum Christum, in ipsius fide et in ipsius dilectione, 20 in passione ipsius et resurrectione; maxime, si Dominus mihi revelet. Quoniam qui secundum virum communiter omnes in gratia ex nomine convenitis in una fide et in Jesu Christo secundum carnem ex genere David, filio hominis et filio Dei, in obedire vos episcopo et presbyterio indiscerpta mente; unum 25 panem frangentes, quod est pharmacum immortalitatis, antidotum ejus quod est non mori sed vivere in Jesu Christo semper.

5 mysteria] *misteria* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>S. So the word is commonly written in L<sub>1</sub>.  
 12 magica] L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>S. I have not ventured to substitute *magia* with other editors.  
 13 ignorantia] L<sub>2</sub>; add. *omnis* L<sub>1</sub>. corruptum] L<sub>2</sub>S; *corruptum* L<sub>1</sub>. This MS commonly writes *corumpere*, *corupcio*, *incorruptibilis*, etc. 14 æternæ vitæ] L<sub>2</sub>; *vite eterne* L<sub>1</sub>. 17 Jesus Christus] L<sub>2</sub>S; *christus jesus* L<sub>1</sub>. 18 scripturus sum] L<sub>2</sub>; *scripsi sum* L<sub>1</sub>, the *sum* however being written beyond the line, as if an afterthought. 19 manifestabo vobis] L<sub>1</sub>; om. L<sub>2</sub>. 20 in ipsius dilectione] L<sub>2</sub>; *dilectione* (om. *in ipsius*) L<sub>1</sub>. 21 resurrectione] L<sub>1</sub>; *in resurrectione* L<sub>2</sub>. mihi revelet] L<sub>2</sub>; *revelet mihi* L<sub>1</sub>. 25 presbyterio] *psbrō* L<sub>1</sub>; *presbitero* L<sub>2</sub>S. 26 pharmacum] *farmatum* L<sub>1</sub>. antidotum] *antitodum* L<sub>1</sub>.

XXI. Unanimis vobiscum ego, et quem misistis in Dei honorem in Smyrnam; unde et scribo vobis, gratias agens Domino, diligens Polycarpum ut et vos. Mementote mei, ut vestri Jesus Christus. Orate pro ecclesia quæ in Syria; unde  
 5 ligatus in Romam abducor, extremus existens eorum qui ibidem fidelium; quemadmodum dignificatus sum in honorem Dei inveniri. Valete in Deo Patre et in Jesu Christo communi spe nostra.

## 4.

## IGNATIUS MAGNESIIS.

10 **I**GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, benedictæ in gratia Dei Patris in Christo Jesu salvatore nostro, in quo saluto ecclesiam existentem in Magnesia ea quæ juxta Mæandrum, et oro in Deo Patre et in Jesu Christo plurimum gaudere.

I. COGNOSCENS vestram multibonam ordinationem ejus quæ secundum Deum caritatis, exultans prælegi in fide Jesu  
 15 Christi alloqui vos. Dignificatus enim nomine Deo decentissimo in quibus circumfero vinculis, canto ecclesias, in quibus unionem oro carnis et spiritus Jesu Christi, ad nos semper vivere, fidei-

1 unanimis]  $L_1$ ; *unanimus* (apparently)  $L_2$ . quem] So certainly  $L_1$   $L_2$ .  
 5 ibidem] *ibm*  $L_1$ ; *ibi*  $L_2$ . 7 valet]  $L_2$ s; *valere* (apparently)  $L_1$ . 8 nostra]  
 $L_1$ ; add. *amen.*  $L_2$ .

IGNATIUS MAGNESIIS]  $L_2$ ; *epistola ignacii 4a magnesiis. qualiter honorare debent episcopum qui conformat voluntatem suam deo cujus voluntati subjecti suam debent conformare voluntatem et nichil sine eo operari sicut nec christo sine patre nichil operatus nec apostoli operati sunt. quorum una oratio. una deprecacio et non errare opinionibus et secundum christum vivere*  $L_1$ .

9 Theophorus]  $L_2$ ; *theoferus*  $L_1$ . 12 in Jesu]  $L_2$ ; *jesu* (om. *in*)  $L_1$ . 14 quæ]  $L_2$ s; *qui*  $L_1$ . 15 Deo decentissimo]  $L_2$ ; *deo decentissimum*  $L_1$ . 17 nos]  
 $L_2$ ; *vos*  $L_1$ . The translator seems to have read τοῦ διαπαντός ἡμᾶς (for ἡμῶν) ᾗ. fideique]  $L_1$ ; and this is also the reading of  $L_2$ , which Ussher has imitated in his collation, apparently without being able to decipher it.



que et caritatis, cui nihil præfertur, principalius autem Jesu et Patris, in quo sustinentes omne nocumentum principis sæculi hujus et perfugientes Deo potimur.

II. Quia igitur dignificatus sum videre vos per Damam dignum Deo vestrum episcopum, et presbyteros dignos Bassum 5 et Apollonium, et conservum meum diaconum Zotionem; quo ego fruar, quoniam subjectus est episcopo ut gratiæ Dei, et presbyterio ut legi Jesu Christi.

III. Sed et vos decet non couti ætate episcopi, sed secundum virtutem Dei Patris omnem reverentiam ei tribuere, sicut 10 agnovi et sanctos presbyteros non assumentes apparentem juniorem ordinem, sed ut prudentes in Deo concedentes ipsi; non ipsi autem, sed Patri Jesu Christi omnium episcopo. In honorem igitur illius volentis nos decens est obedire secundum nullam hypocrisim: quia nequaquam episcopum hunc conspectum se- 15 ducit quis, sed invisibilem paralogizat. Tale autem non ad carnem sermo, sed ad Deum abscondita scientem.

IV. Decens igitur est, non solum vocari Christianos, sed et esse: quemadmodum et quidam episcopum quidem vocant, sine ipso autem omnia operantur. Tales autem non bonæ consci- 20 entię mihi esse videntur, propter non firmiter secundum præceptum congregari.

V. Quia igitur finem res habent, et proponuntur duo simul, mors et vita; et unusquisque in proprium locum iturus est: quemadmodum enim sunt numismata duo, hoc quidem Dei, hoc 25 autem mundi, et unumquodque ipsorum proprium characterem superpositum habet; infideles mundi hujus, fideles autem in caritate characterem Dei Patris per Jesum Christum; per quem nisi

4 igitur]  $L_2$ ; ergo  $L_1$ . Damam] *dama*  $L_1$   $L_2$ s. Perhaps however the translator left the exact form of the original, as in *Zarbo, Mar. Ign. 1, Hero 9*. 6 Apollonium]  $L_2$ ; *apolonium*  $L_1$ . Zotionem] *zononem*  $L_2$ ; *zenonem*  $L_1$ . quo]  $L_2$ ; quem  $L_1$ . 8 presbyterio] *pr̄sb̄ro*  $L_1$ ; *presbitero*  $L_2$ s. Christi] add. *glorificato deum patrem domini jesu christi*  $L_1$   $L_2$ s; see on *Ephes. 1*. 10 reverentiam ei]  $L_2$ ; *ei reverentiam*  $L_1$ . 11 et]  $L_2$ ; om.  $L_1$ . juniorem]  $L_1$ ; *minorem*  $L_2$ . 14 volentis]  $L_2$ ; *volentes*  $L_1$ . 15 hypocrisim] *ipocrisim*  $L_1$ ; *ypocrisim*  $L_2$ . 16 invisibilem]  $L_2$ ; *invisibile*  $L_1$ . paralogizat]  $L_2$ s; *parologizat*  $L_1$ . 19 et quidam]  $L_2$ ; *quidam* (om. *et*)  $L_1$ . quidem]  $L_2$ ; om.  $L_1$ . 20 tales autem]  $L_2$ ; *tales* (om. *autem*)  $L_1$ . 26 characterem] *caracterem*  $L_1$   $L_2$ s; and so again just below.

voluntarie habeamus mori in ipsius passionem, vivere ipsius non est in nobis.

VI. Quia igitur in præscriptis personis omnem multitudinem speculatus sum in fide et dilectione, monco in concordia  
 5 Dei studete omnia operari; præsidente episcopo in loco Dei, et presbyteris in loco consessionis apostolorum, et diaconis mihi dulcissimis habentibus creditam ministrationem Jesu Christi, qui ante sæcula apud Patrem erat et in fine apparuit. Omnes igitur eandem consuetudinem Dei accipientes, veneremini adinvicem;  
 10 et nullus secundum carnem aspiciat proximum, sed in Jesu Christo adinvicem semper diligite. Nihil sit in vobis, quod possit vos partiri, sed uniamini episcopo et præidentibus in typum et doctrinam incorruptionis.

VII. Quemadmodum igitur Dominus sine Patre nihil fecit,  
 15 unitus existens, neque per seipsum neque per apostolos; sic neque vos sine episcopo et presbyteris aliquid operemini. Neque temptetis rationabile aliquid apparere proprie vobis: sed in idipsum una oratio, una deprecatio, unus intellectus, una spes, in caritate, in gaudio incoinquinato; quod est Christus Jesus, quo  
 20 melius nihil est. Omnes ut in unum templum concurrite Dei; ut in unum altare, in unum Jesum Christum, ab uno Patre exeuntem, et in unum existentem et revertentem.

VIII. Non erretis extraneis opinionibus, neque fabulis veteribus inutilibus existentibus. Si enim usque nunc secundum  
 25 Judaismum vivimus, confitemur gratiam non recepisse: divinis-  
 simi enim prophetæ secundum Christum Jesum vixerunt. Propter hoc et persecutionem passi sunt, inspirati a gratia ipsius, ad certificari impersuasos quoniam unus Deus est qui manifestavit seipsum per Jesum Christum filium ipsius; qui est ipsius Ver-

4 in fide et dilectione] written twice in L<sub>1</sub>. 5 studete] L<sub>2</sub>s; *studite* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 7 creditam] L<sub>2</sub>; L<sub>1</sub> adds *dis*. 9 veneremini] L<sub>2</sub>; and so apparently L<sub>1</sub> (not *veneremur*). 10 Jesu Christo] L<sub>2</sub>s; *christo jesu* L<sub>1</sub>. 12 uniamini] L<sub>2</sub>; *unanimes* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 14 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 17 rationabile] L<sub>2</sub>; *rationale* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 19 quod] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. The translator seems to have read *ōs* or *ō* for *ēis*. 21 in unum J. C.] L<sub>1</sub>; *ut in unum J. C.* L<sub>2</sub>. 28 certificari] *πληροφορηθῆναι*; *certificare* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s.

bum æternum non a silentio progrediens, qui secundum omnia beneplacuit mittenti ipsum.

IX. Si igitur in veteribus rebus conversati in novitatem spei venerunt, non amplius sabbatizantes, sed secundum dominicam viventes, in qua et vita nostra orta est per ipsum et mortem ipsius, quod quidam negant; per quod mysterium accepimus credere, et propter hoc sustinemus, ut inveniamur discipuli Jesu Christi, solius doctoris nostri; quomodo nos poterimus vivere sine ipso? cujus et prophetæ discipuli existentes spiritu ipsum ut doctorem expectabant; et propter hoc, quem juste expectabant, præsens suscitavit ipsos ex mortuis.

X. Non igitur non sentiamus benignitatem ipsius. Si enim nos persequatur secundum quod operamur, non amplius sumus. Propter hoc discipuli ejus effecti discamus secundum Christianismum vivere. Qui enim alio nomine vocatur amplius ab hoc, non est Dei. Deponite igitur malum fermentum inveteratum et exacescens, et transponite in novum fermentum, qui est Jesus Christus. Salificemini in ipso, ut non corrumpatur aliquis in vobis, quia ab odore redarguemini. Inconveniens est Jesum Christum profari, et Judaizare. Christianismus enim non in Judaismum credidit, sed Judaismus in Christianismum: ut *omnis lingua* credens in Deum *congregaretur*.

XI. Hæc autem, dilecti mei, non quia cognovi aliquos ex vobis sic habentes; sed, ut minor vobis, volo præservari vos, ut non incidatis in hamos vanæ gloriæ, sed certificemini in civitate et passione et resurrectione facta in tempore ducatus Pontii Pilati; quæ facta sunt vere et firmiter a Jesu Christo spe nostra, a qua averti nulli vestrum fiat.

1 a] L<sub>1</sub>; in L<sub>2</sub>. 4 sabbatizantes] *sabatizantes* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 11 præsens] L<sub>1</sub>; *prius* L<sub>2</sub>. 12 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; *ergo* L<sub>1</sub>. 17 exacescens] *exacuens* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. Since *exacuens* has a different meaning, I have restored *exacescens* corresponding to the Greek *ἐνοχλοῦσαν*, as suggested by Pearson. 18 salificemini] *ἀλισθητε*; *salvificemini* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. Pearson pointed out the true reading. 19 quia] *ἐπεὶ*; *qui* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. redarguemini] L<sub>1</sub>; *redarguimini* L<sub>2</sub>. 20 profari] *perfari* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. See *perditio*, *proditio*, above, *Ephes.* 13. non in] L<sub>1</sub>; non (om. in) L<sub>2</sub>. 22 congregaretur] L<sub>2</sub>s; *congregetur* L<sub>1</sub>. 24 minor] L<sub>2</sub>; *junior* L<sub>1</sub>. 26 passione et] L<sub>2</sub>; *passione domini* L<sub>1</sub>, apparently, but it is confusedly written and not certainly legible.



XII. Fruar vobis secundum omnia; siquidem dignus sim. Etsi enim ligatus sum, ad unum solutorum de vobis non sum. Novi quoniam non inflamini; Jesum enim Christum habetis in vobismetipsis. Et magis quando utique laudo vos, novi quoniam verecundamini: sicut scriptum est quoniam *Iustus sui ipsius accusator*.

XIII. Studete igitur firmari in dogmatibus Domini et apostolorum, ut *omnia quaecunque facitis prosperentur*, carne et spiritu, fide et caritate, in Filio et Patre et in Spiritu, in principio et in fine, cum digne decentissimo episcopo vestro et digne complexa spirituali corona presbyterii vestri et eorum qui secundum Deum diaconorum. Subiicimini episcopo et adinvicem, ut Jesus Christus Patri secundum carnem, et apostoli Christo et Patri et Spiritui; ut unio sit carnalis et spiritualis.

XIV. Sciens quoniam Deo pleni estis, compendiose deprecatus sum vos. Mementote mei in orationibus vestris, ut Deo fruar; et ejus quæ in Syria ecclesiæ, unde non dignus sum vocari. Superindigeo enim unita vestra in Deo oratione et caritate in dignificari eam quæ in Syria ecclesiam per ecclesiam vestram irrorari.

XV. Salutant vos Ephesii a Smyrna, unde et scribo vobis, præsentem in gloriam Dei, quemadmodum et vos: qui secundum omnia me quiescere fecerunt, simul cum Polycarpo episcopo Smyrnæorum. Sed et reliquæ ecclesiæ in honore Jesu Christi salutant vos. Valete in concordia Dei, possidentes inseparabilem spiritum, qui est Jesus Christus.

6 accusator] L<sub>2</sub>; add. *est* L<sub>1</sub>.  
(om. *in*) L<sub>1</sub>; *in spiritu sancto* L<sub>2</sub>.

12 episcopo] L<sub>2</sub>s; *ipso* L<sub>1</sub>. See above, p. 593 sq.

17 quæ] L<sub>2</sub>s; *qui* L<sub>1</sub>.

in dignificari] L<sub>2</sub>. For *in* the scribe of L<sub>1</sub> has first written *et*. The *in* is superposed, without obliterating the traces of *et*.

8 ut] L<sub>2</sub>; *et* L<sub>1</sub>.

9 in principio] L<sub>2</sub>; *et in principio* L<sub>1</sub>.

14 sit carnalis] L<sub>2</sub>; *carnalis*

dignus sum] L<sub>2</sub>; *sum dignus* L<sub>1</sub>.

20 irrorari] L<sub>2</sub>; *irrori* L<sub>1</sub>.

## 5.

## IGNATIUS PHILADELPHICIS.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, ecclesiæ Dei Patris et Jesu Christi quæ est in Philadelphia Asiæ, habenti propitiationem et firmatæ in concordia Dei, et exultanti in passione Domini nostri inseparabiliter, et in resurrectione ipsius certificatæ in omni misericordia; quam saluto in sanguine Jesu Christi qui est 5 gaudium æternum et incoinquinatum; maxime si in uno simus cum episcopo et eis qui cum ipso presbyteris et diaconis manifestatis in sententia Jesu Christi, quos secundum propriam voluntatem firmavit in firmitudine Sancto ipsius Spiritu.

I. QUEM episcopum cognovi non a seipso neque per homi- 10 nes possedisse administrationem in commune convenientem, neque secundum inanem gloriam, sed in caritate Dei Patris et Domini Jesu Christi; cujus obstupui mansuetudinem, qui silens plura potest his qui vana loquuntur. Concordes enim estis mandatis, ut chordis cithara. Propter quod beatificat mea anima 15 eam quæ in Deum ipsius sententiam, cognoscens virtuosam et perfectam existentem, immobile ipsius et inirascibile in omni mansuetudine Dei viventis.

IGNATIUS PHILADELPHICIS] *ignatius philadelphisis* (sic) L<sub>2</sub>; *epistola ignacii philadelphicis quinta* L<sub>1</sub>.

1 Theophorus] L<sub>2</sub>; *theoferus* L<sub>1</sub>. 2 Philadelphia] L<sub>2</sub>s; *philadelphia* L<sub>1</sub>.  
3 Domini nostri] L<sub>2</sub>; *domini jesu christi* L<sub>1</sub>. 6 simus] L<sub>2</sub>; *sumus* L<sub>1</sub>.  
7 cum ipso] L<sub>2</sub>; *in ipso* L<sub>1</sub>, but there is an erasure in the first word.  
9 ipsius Spiritu] L<sub>2</sub>; *spiritu ipsius* L<sub>1</sub>. 14 his] *hiis* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. concordēs...  
estis] As if the translator had read *συνευρύθμοι ἐστε* or *συνευρύθμισθε* for *συνευρύθμισται*.  
15 chordis] *cordis* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 16 Deum] *θεόν*; *domini* L<sub>2</sub>s. *Deum* must have stood in the original text of the translator, and so I read L<sub>1</sub>; but *dñ* (= *deum*) and *dñi* (= *domini*) are hardly distinguishable; and it has hitherto been read *domini*.

II. *Filii* igitur *lucis* veritatis, fugite partitionem et malas doctrinas : ubi autem pastor est, illic ut oves sequimini. Multi enim lupi fide digni delectatione mala captivant in Deum cursores; sed in unitate vestra non habent locum.

5 III. Recedite a malis herbis, quas non colit Jesus Christus; propter non esse ipsos plantationem Patris. Non quoniam apud vos partitionem inveni, sed abstractionem. Quotquot enim Dei sunt et Jesu Christi, isti cum episcopo sunt; et quotquot utique pœnitentes veniunt in unitatem ecclesiæ, et isti Dei erunt, ut  
10 sint secundum Jesum Christum viventes. Non erretis, fratres mei. Si quis schisma facientem sequitur, *regnum Dei non hæreditat*; si quis in aliena sententia circumambulat, iste passioni non concordat.

IV. Studete igitur una gratiarum actione uti. Una enim  
15 caro Domini nostri Jesu Christi et unus calix in unionem sanguinis ipsius, unum altare, ut unus episcopus cum presbyterio et diaconis conservis meis; ut quod facitis, secundum Deum faciatis.

V. Fratres mei, valde effusus sum diligens vos, et superex-  
20 ultans corroboro vos; non ego autem, sed Jesus Christus, in quo vinctus timeo magis, ut adhuc existens imperfectus. Sed oratio vestra me perficiet, ut in qua hæreditate propitiationem habuero, potiar, confugiens evangelio ut carni Jesu, et apostolis ut presbyterio ecclesiæ. Sed et prophetas diligamus, propter et ipsos in  
25 evangelium annunciasse et in ipsum sperare et ipsum expectare; in quo et credentes salvati sunt in unitate Jesu Christi, existentes digne dilecti et digne admirabiles sancti, a Jesu Christo testificati et connumerati in evangelio communis spei.

VI. Si autem Judaismum interpretetur vobis, non audiatis  
30 ipsum. Melius est enim a viro circumcisionem habente Christianismum audire, quam ab habente præputium Judaismum.

1 *lucis*]  $L_2$ ; add. *et*  $L_1$ .      8 *episcopo*] *ipso*  $L_1 L_2$ s; see above, p. 593 sq.  
11 *schisma*] *scisma*  $L_1 L_2$ s.      16 *ut*]  $\omega$ s; *et*  $L_1 L_2$ s.      *presbyterio*] *psbro*  $L_1$ ;  
*presbitero*  $L_2$ s.      17 *secundum deum faciatis*]  $L_1$ ; om.  $L_2$ .      20 *Jesu*  
*Christus*]  $L_2$ s; *christus jesus*  $L_1$ .      21 *vinctus*]  $L_2$ ; *unitus* (apparently)  $L_1$ .  
23 *presbyterio*] *psbro*  $L_1$ ; *presbiterio*  $L_2$ s.      25 *in ipsum*]  $L_2$ ; *in christum*  $L_1$ .  
27 *a*]  $L_1$ ; add. *atque*  $L_2$ ; at least so I read Ussher's writing.



Si autem utrique de Jesu Christo non loquantur, isti mihi columnæ sunt et sepulcra mortuorum, in quibus scripta sunt solum nomina hominum. Fugite igitur malas artes et insidias principis sæculi hujus; ne forte tribulati sententia ipsius infirmemini in caritate. Sed et omnes in idipsum fiatis in impartibili corde. Gratias autem ago Deo meo, quoniam bonam habens conscientiam ego sum in vobis, et non habet aliquis gloriari, neque occulte neque manifeste, quoniam gravavi aliquem in parvo vel in magno. Sed et omnibus in quibus locutus sum oro, ut non in testimonium ipsum possideant.

VII. Si enim et secundum carnem me quidam voluerunt seducere, sed spiritus non seducitur, a Deo existens: *novit enim unde venit et quo vadit*, et occulta redarguit. Clamavi in intermedio existens; locutus sum magna voce, Dei voce, Episcopo attendite et presbyterio et diaconis. Quidam autem suspicati me ut præscientem divisionem quorundam dicere hæc; testis autem mihi in quo vinctus sum, quoniam a carne humana non cognovi. Spiritus autem prædicavit, dicens hæc: Sine episcopo nihil faciatis. Carnem vestram ut templum Dei servate. Unitatem diligite: divisiones fugite. Imitatores estote Jesu Christi, ut et ipse Patris ipsius.

VIII. Ego quidem igitur proprium faciebam, ut homo in unitatem perfectus. Ubi autem divisio est et ira, Deus non habitat. Omnibus igitur pœnitentibus dimittit Dominus, si pœniteant in unitatem Dei et concilium episcopi. Credo gratiæ Jesu Christi, qui solvet a vobis omne vinculum. Deprecor autem vos nihil secundum contentionem facere, sed secundum Christi dis-

2 et]  $L_2$ ; *illi*  $L_1$ , but *illi* extends beyond the line and has been written afterwards upon an erasure. The original word may have been *et*. solum]  $L_2$ ; *sola*  $L_1$ .  
3 insidias principis sæculi hujus]  $L_2$ ; *principis hujus sæculi insidias*  $L_1$ . 5 in  
*impartibili*]  $L_1$ ; *impartibili* (om. *in*)  $L_2$ . 7 aliquis]  $L_2$ ; *alias*  $L_1$ . 9 et  
omnibus]  $L_1$ ; *omnibus* (om. *et*)  $L_2$ . in quibus]  $L_2$ ; *quibus* (om. *in*)  $L_1$ . 11 qui-  
dam]  $L_2$ ; *quidem*  $L_1$ . voluerunt]  $L_2$ ; *voluerint*  $L_1$ . 13 et quo] *aut quo*  
 $L_1$ ; *in quo*  $L_2$ . 15 presbyterio] *psb̄ro*  $L_1$ ; *presbiterio*  $L_2$ s. suspicati]  $L_1$ ;  
add. *sunt*  $L_2$ . 17 quoniam]  $L_1$ ; *quia*  $L_2$ s. 19 templum Dei]  $L_2$ ; *dei*  
*templum*  $L_1$ . 22 quidem igitur]  $L_2$ ; *igitur quidem*  $L_1$ . 23 perfectus]  
 $L_2$ s; *perfectis*  $L_1$ . 24 Dominus]  $L_1$ ; *deus*  $L_2$ s. 25 concilium]  $L_1$ ; *consilium*  
 $L_2$ . 27 nihil secundum contentionem]  $L_2$ ; *secundum contencionem nichil*  $L_1$ .

ciplinam. Quia audiui quosdam dicentes quoniam Si non in veteribus invenio, in evangelio non credo: et dicente me ipsis quoniam Scriptum est, responderunt mihi quoniam Præjacet. Mihi autem principium est Jesus Christus; inapproximabilia  
5 principia crux ipsius et mors et resurrectio ipsius, et fides quæ per ipsum; in quibus volo in oratione vestra justificari.

IX. Boni et sacerdotes, melius autem princeps sacerdotum, cui credita sunt sancta sanctorum, cui soli credita sunt occulta Dei, qui ipse est janua Patris per quam ingrediuntur Abraham  
10 et Isaac et Jacob et prophetæ et apostoli et ecclesia: omnia hæc in unitatem Dei. Præcipuum autem aliquid habet evangelium, præsentiam salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi, passionem ipsius, resurrectionem. Dilecti enim prophetæ annuntiaverunt in ipsum; evangelium autem perfectio est incorruptionis.  
15 Omnia simul bona sunt, si in caritate creditis.

X. Quia secundum orationem vestram, et secundum viscera misericordiæ quæ habetis in Christo Jesu, annunciatum est mihi pacem habere ecclesiam quæ est in Antiochia Syriæ, decens est vos, ut ecclesiam Dei, ordinare diaconum ad intercedendum illic  
20 Dei intercessionem, in congaudere ipsis in idipsum factis et glorificare nomen. Beatus in Jesu Christo, qui dignificabitur tali ministratione; et vos glorificabimini. Volentibus autem vobis non est impossibile pro nomine Dei; ut et quædam propinquæ ecclesiæ miserunt episcopos, quædam autem presbyteros et  
25 diaconos.

XI. De Philone autem diacono a Cilicia, viro testimonium habente, qui et nunc in verbo Dei ministrat mihi, cum Reo Agathopode viro electo, qui a Syria me sequitur abrenunciens sæculo; qui et testificantur vobis: et ego Deo gratias ago pro  
30 vobis, quoniam recepistis ipsos; ut et vos Dominus. Qui autem

1 non in veteribus] L<sub>2</sub>; in veteribus non L<sub>1</sub>. 2 ipsis] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 5 crux ipsius] L<sub>2</sub>; ipsius crux L<sub>1</sub>. 7 autem] L<sub>1</sub>; add. et L<sub>2</sub>. 10 et Isaac] L<sub>2</sub>; Isaac (om. et) L<sub>1</sub>. 11 Dei] Θεοῦ; fidei L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 13 resurrectionem] L<sub>1</sub>; et resurrectionem L<sub>2</sub>. 21 tali] L<sub>2</sub>; in tali L<sub>1</sub>. 23 propinquæ ecclesiæ] L<sub>2</sub>; ecclesiæ propinqua L<sub>1</sub>. Was the original reading *proxima ecclesiæ*, a literal translation of ἑγγιστα ἐκκλησίαι, the contractions of *propinqua* and *proxima* being easily confused? 29 pro] L<sub>1</sub>; de L<sub>2</sub>.

inhonoraverunt ipsos, liberentur in gratia Jesu Christi. Salutat vos caritas multorum qui in Troade; unde et scribo vobis per Burrum, missum mecum ab Ephesiis et Smyrnæis in verbum honoris. Honoret ipsos Dominus Jesus Christus, in quem sperent carne, anima, spiritu, fide, caritate, concordia. Valet in Christo Jesu, communi spe nostra. 5

## 6.

## IGNATIUS TRALESIIS.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, dilectæ Deo patri Jesu Christi ecclesiæ sanctæ existenti in Tralesiis Asiæ, electæ et Deo dignæ, pacem habenti in carne et sanguine et passione Jesu Christi spei nostræ, in ea quæ in ipsum resurrectione; 10 quam et saluto in plenitudine, in apostolico caractere, et oro plurimum gaudere.

I. INCOINQUINATAM mentem et inseparabilem in sustinentia cognovi vos habentes, non secundum usum sed secundum naturam; quemadmodum ostendit mihi Polybius episcopus 15 vester, qui advenit voluntate Dei et Jesu Christi in Smyrna; et sic mihi congavisus est vincto in Christo Jesu, ut ego omnem multitudinem vestram in ipso speculer. Recipiens igitur cam quæ secundum Deum æquanimitem per ipsum, gloriatus sum inveniens vos, ut cognovi, imitatores Dei. 20

II. Quando enim episcopo subjecti estis ut Jesu Christo, videmini mihi non secundum homines viventes sed secundum

IGNATIUS TRALESIIS] L<sub>2</sub>; *epistola 6a ignacii tralesiis asiæ. quomodo multitudo subsectorum cognoscatur per episcopum bonum. et subjecti nihil agant sine episcopo, sicut nec apostoli sine christo* L<sub>1</sub>.

7 Theophorus] L<sub>2</sub>; *theoferus* L<sub>1</sub>. 8 Tralesiis] So L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>S. 11 caractere] *caractere* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>S. 15 Polybius] *polibius* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>S. 18 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; ergo L<sub>1</sub>. 21 Quando] L<sub>1</sub>; *quum* L<sub>2</sub>S.



Jesum Christum propter vos mortuum, ut credentes in mortem ipsius mori effugiatis. Necessarium igitur est, quemadmodum facitis, sine episcopo nihil operari vos, sed subjici et presbyterio ut apostolis Jesu Christi, spei nostræ, in quo conversantes in-  
 5 veniamur. Oportet autem et diaconos, ministros existentes mysteriorum Jesu Christi, secundum omnem modum omnibus placere; non enim ciborum et potuum sunt ministri, sed ecclesiæ Dei ministri. Opportunum igitur eos observare accusationes, ut ignem.

10 III. Similiter et omnes reveantur diaconos ut mandatum Jesu Christi, et episcopum ut Jesum Christum, existentem filium Patris; presbyteros autem, ut concilium Dei et conjunctionem apostolorum. Sine his ecclesia non vocatur: de quibus suadeor vos sic habere. Exemplarium enim caritatis  
 15 vestræ accepi et habeo cum meipso in episcopo vestro; cujus ipsa compositio magna est disciplinatio, mansuetudo autem ipsius potentia; quem existimo et impios revereri: diligentes quod non parco ipsum aliqualem, potens scribere pro illo: in hoc existimer, ut existens condemnatus, velut apostolus vobis  
 20 præcipiam.

IV. Multa sapio in Deo; sed meipsum mensuro, ut non in gloriatione perdar. Nunc enim me oportet plus timere, et non attendere infantibus me; dicentes enim mihi flagellant me. Diligo quidem enim pati, sed non novi si dignus sum. Zelus  
 25 enim multis quidem non apparet, me autem plus oppugnat. Indigeo igitur mansuetudine, in qua dissolvitur princeps sæculi hujus.

V. Nonne possum vobis supercælestia scribere? sed timeo

2 mori]  $L_1$ ; *morti*  $L_2$ .      3 subjici et]  $L_2$ ; *subjici* (om. *et*)  $L_1$ .      pres-  
 byterio]  $\overline{\text{p}\text{s}\text{b}\text{r}\text{o}}$   $L_1$ ; *presbyterio*  $L_2$ s.      8 opportunum] *oportunum*  $L_1$   $L_2$ s.      eos]  
*αὐτοῖς*; *vos*  $L_1$   $L_2$ s.      10 diaconos]  $L_2$ s; *diacones*  $L_1$ .      13 Sine]  $L_1$ ;      *cui sine*  $L_2$ .      his] *hiis*  $L_1$   $L_2$ s.      14 suadeor]  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$ ; *suadeo*  $L_1$   $L_2$ s.  
 The translator doubtless wrote *suadeor*, though correct diction would require *mihi*  
*suadetur*.      exemplarium] *exemplarium*  $L_1$   $L_2$ s.      19 existens]  $L_2$ ;      om.  $L_1$ .      22 me oportet]  $L_2$ ; *oportet me*  $L_1$ .      26 igitur]  $L_2$ s; *ergo*  $L_1$ .  
*sæculi hujus*]  $L_2$ ; *hujus sæculi*  $L_1$ .

ne parvulis existentibus vobis damnum apponam. Et condonate mihi, ne forte non potentes capere strangulemini. Etenim ego non secundum quodcunque ligatus sum, sed potens supercælestia et loci positiones angelicas et constitutiones principatorias, visibiliaque et invisibilia, præter hoc jam et discipulus 5 sum. Multa enim nobis deficiunt, ut Deo non deficiamus.

VI. Deprecor igitur vos, non ego, sed caritas Jesu Christi, solo Christiano alimento utamini; ab aliena autem herba recedite, quæ est hæresis, quæ et inquinatis implicat Jesum Christum: quemadmodum mortiferum pharmacum dantes cum vino 10 mellito; quod qui ignorat, delectabiliter accipit, et in delectatione mala mori.

VII. Observemini igitur a talibus. Hoc autem erit vobis non inflatis, et existentibus inseparabilibus a Deo Jesu Christo et episcopo et ordinibus apostolorum. Qui intra altare est, 15 mundus est: qui vero extra altare est, non mundus est: hoc est, qui sine episcopo et presbyterio et diacono operatur aliquid, iste non mundus est in conscientia.

VIII. Non quia cognovi tale quid in vobis, sed præservo

1 damnum] *dampnum* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. So the word is commonly written in L<sub>1</sub>; see above on *Ephes.* 5. apponam] L<sub>1</sub>; *opponam* L<sub>2</sub>. 2 forte non] L<sub>1</sub>; *forte* (om. non) L<sub>2</sub>. 4 supercælestia] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>. In L<sub>1</sub> *supercelestia* is contracted *srcelestia*, this being a common contraction of *super*. There is no authority for *scire caelestia*, which arises from misreading the contraction. The rendering of *ἐπουράνια* is not *caelestia*, but *supercaelestia*, as it is given a few lines above; comp. *superindigeo*, *ἐπιδέομαι*, *Magn.* 14. The coincidence that some Greek texts (correctly) have *νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια* has encouraged this misreading of the Latin. principatorias] *principatias* L<sub>2</sub>; *principatias* (apparently) L<sub>1</sub>. Some adjective is wanted to represent the Greek *ἀρχοντικός*. If my conjecture *principatorias* (comp. *administrativus* = *λειτουργικός*, *Hero* 7) is a new coinage, this is the case also with *principationes* which is generally given as the reading of the Latin here. The former more nearly represents the original, and also better explains the phenomena of the mss. 5 præter] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. Perhaps however we should read *propter*, as *præter hoc* is a wrong translation of *παρὰ τοῦτο*, and the two words when contracted are easily confused. jam et] L<sub>2</sub>; *et jam* L<sub>1</sub>. 6 nobis] *vobis* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 8 Christiano alimento] L<sub>2</sub>; *alimento christiano* L<sub>1</sub>. 10 quemadmodum] written twice in L<sub>1</sub>. pharmacum] *farmacum* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 11 et in delectatione mala] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. This reading is confirmed by a marginal gloss in L<sub>2</sub>, *et in delectatione mala, supple, accipit mori*. 13 erit vobis] *erit a vobis* L<sub>1</sub>; *vobis* (om. *erit*) L<sub>2</sub>. 17 presbyterio] *psbro* L<sub>1</sub>; *presbytero* L<sub>2</sub>s. 18 mundus est] L<sub>2</sub>; *est mundus* L<sub>1</sub>.

vos existentes meos dilectos, prævidens insidias diaboli. Vos igitur, mansuetam patientiam resumentes, recreate vosmetipsos in fide, quod est caro Domini, et in caritate, quod est sanguis Jesu Christi. Nullus vestrum adversus proximum aliquid habet. Non occasiones detis gentibus, ut non propter paucos insipientes ea quæ in Deo multitudo blasphemetur. *Væ enim per quem in vanitate nomen meum in aliquibus blasphematur.*

IX. Obsurdescite igitur, quando vobis sine Jesu Christo loquitur quis; qui ex genere David, qui ex Maria; qui vere natus est, comedit et bibit; vere persecutionem passus est sub Pontio Pilato; vere crucifixus est et mortuus est, adspicientibus cælestibus et terrestribus et infernalibus; qui et vere resurrexit a mortuis, resuscitante ipsum Patre ipsius; qui et secundum similitudinem nos credentes ipsi sic resuscitabit Pater ipsius in Christo Jesu, sine quo verum vivere non habemus.

X. Si autem, quemadmodum quidam sine Deo existentes, hoc est infideles, dicunt secundum videri passum esse ipsum, ipsi existentes secundum videri; ego quid vinctus sum? quid autem et oro cum bestiis pugnare? Gratis igitur morior: ergo non reprehendor mendacii a Domino?

XI. Fugite ergo malas propagines generantes fructum mortiferum; quem si gustet quis, statim moritur. Isti enim non sunt plantatio Patris: si enim essent, apparerent utique rami crucis, et esset utique fructus ipsorum incorruptibilis, per quem in passione ipsius advocat vos, existentes membra ipsius. Non potest igitur caput nasci sine membris, Deo unionem repromittente, quod est ipse.

XII. Saluto vos a Smyrna cum compræsentibus mihi ecclesiis Dei; qui secundum omnia me quiescere fecerunt carne et spiritu. Deprecantur vos vincula mea, quæ pro Jesu Christo fero petens Deo frui. Permanete in concordia vestra, et ea quæ cum adinvicem oratione. Decet enim vos singulos, præcipue et presbyteros, refrigerare episcopum in honorem Patris Jesu

1 diaboli. Vos igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; *diaboli in vos. Igitur* L<sub>1</sub>. 18 ego quid] L<sub>1</sub>; *ego quidem* L<sub>2</sub>. 19 et] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. igitur] L<sub>2</sub>s; *ergo* L<sub>1</sub>. 23 si enim] L<sub>2</sub>; *si utique* L<sub>1</sub>. 24 ipsorum] L<sub>2</sub>; *illorum* L<sub>1</sub>. 31 Permanete] *permanere* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s.



Christi et apostolorum. Oro vos in caritate audire me, ut non in testimonium sim in vobis scribens. Sed et pro me orate, ea quæ a vobis caritate indigente in misericordia Dei, ad dignificari me hæreditate qua conor potiri, ut non reprobis inveniari.

XIII. Salutat vos caritas Smyrnæorum et Ephesiorum. 5 Mementote in orationibus vestris ejus quæ in Syria ecclesiæ; unde non dignus sum dici, existens extremus illorum. Valet in Jesu Christo, subjecti episcopo ut Dei mandato, similiter et presbyterio. Et singuli adinvicem diligite in impartibili corde. Castificate vestrum meum spiritum, non solum nunc, sed et 10 quando utique Deo fruar. Adhuc enim sub periculo sum: sed fidelis Pater in Jesu Christo implere meam petitionem et vestram; in quo inveniamini incoinquinati

## 7.

## MARIA PROSELYTA IGNATIO.

MARIA proselyta Jesu Christi Ignatio Theophoro, beatissimo episcopo ecclesiæ apostolicæ ejus quæ secundum 15 Antiochiam, in Deo Patre et Jesu dilecto gaudere et valere.

I. SEMPER tibi oramus secundum quod in ipso gaudium et sanitatem. Quia miraculis et apud nos Christus cognitus est filius esse Dei viventis, et in posterioribus temporibus in-

4 hæreditate]  $L_2$ ; *in hereditate*  $L_1$ .  
presbyterio]  $L_2$ s; *presbitero*  $L_1$ .  
Jesu Christo]  $L_2$ ; *christo jesu*  $L_1$ .  
meam  $L_1$ .

7 dignus sum]  $L_2$ ; *sum dignus*  $L_1$ . 9  
11 utique Deo]  $L_2$ ; *deo utique*  $L_1$ . 12  
meam petitionem]  $L_2$ ; *petitionem*

MARIA PROSELYTA IGNATIO] *epistola marie proselite chassaobolorum ad ignatium episcopum antiochie*  $L_2$ ; *epistola marie proselite thassaobolorum ad ignacium episcopum antiochie ut mittat quosdam juvenes predicatorum ad eam et quod non diffidat de eis quia carnem (?) passionis (?) vicerunt, sicut salomon 12 annorum sapientia sua placuit deo. josias rex et david rex*  $L_1$ .

14 proselyta] *proselita*  $L_1$   $L_2$ s. Theophoro] *theophero*  $L_2$ s; *theofero*  $L_1$ .  
17 secundum quod]  $L_1$ ; *secundum illud quod*  $L_2$ .

humanatum esse per virginem Mariam ex semine David et Abraham, secundum eas quæ de ipso ab ipso prædictæ sunt voces a prophetarum choro; hujus gratia deprecamur, dignificantes mitti nobis a tuo intellectu Marim amicum nostrum,  
 5 episcopum Emelapes Neapoleos ejus quæ ad Zarbo, et Eulogium et Sobelum presbyterum, ut non simus desolati præpositis divini verbi; quemadmodum et Moyses dicit, *Provideat Dominus Deus hominem qui ducat populum hunc, et non erit synagoga Domini ut oves quibus non est pastor.*

10 II. Pro eo autem quod juvenes sunt præscripti formides nihil, o beate; cognoscere enim te volo, quod sapiunt super carnem et ipsius passiones non sentiunt ipsi in seipsis, recenti juventute sacerdotii refulgentes canitie. Perscrutare autem cogitationem tuam per datum tibi a Deo per Christum spiritum  
 15 ipsius; et cognosces quod Samuel, parvus puerulus, Videns vocatus est, et choro prophetarum connumeratus presbyterum Heli transgressionis redarguit; quoniam insanientes filios Deo omnium causæ præhonoravit, et ludentes in sacerdotium et in populum luxuriantes dimisit impunitos.

20 III. Daniel autem sapiens, juvenis existens, judicavit crudeles senes quosdam, ostendens adulteros ipsos et non seniores esse, et genere Judæos existentes modo Chananæos existere. Et Jeremias, propter juventutem renuens tributam ipsi a Deo prophetiam, audit; *Non dicas quoniam Junior sum;*  
 25 *quia ad omnes quoscunque mittam te ibis, et secundum omnia quæcunque mando tibi loqueris; quia tecum ego sum.* Salomon autem sapiens, duodecim existens annorum, intellexit magnam ignorantiam mulierum de suis filiis quæstionem; ut omnis populus obstupesceret de tanta pueri sapientia, et timeret non ut

5 ad Zarbo] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. I have not ventured to alter it, thinking that the translator may have retained the exact form of the original, πρὸς Ζαρβῶ, from ignorance of the correct form of the name, as in *Hero* 9; comp. *Dama* in *Magn.* 2. 6 præpositis divini verbi] L<sub>2</sub>; *divini verbi præpositis* L<sub>1</sub>.

9 erit] L<sub>1</sub>; *est* L<sub>2</sub>. synagoga] L<sub>2</sub>; *sinagoga* L<sub>1</sub>. 14 cogitationem] L<sub>2</sub>; and this also (not *cognitionem*) seems to be the reading of L<sub>1</sub>, where it is contracted *cogitonē*.

18 omnium] L<sub>2</sub>; *omni* (apparently) L<sub>1</sub>. 24 ipsi] L<sub>2</sub>; *sibi* L<sub>1</sub>. 26 Salomon] *salamon* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s.

29 timeret] L<sub>2</sub>; *timerent* (apparently) L<sub>1</sub>.

puerum, sed ut perfectum virum. Ænigmata autem Æthiopum reginæ, lationem habentia quemadmodum Nili fluenta, sic solvit, ut extra seipsam fieret ipsa sic sapiens.

IV. Josias autem Dei amator, inarticulate fere adhuc loquens, redarguit malo spiritu detentos, quod falsiloqui et 5 populi seductores existunt: dæmonumque revelat deceptionem, et eos non existentes deos demonstrat, et sacratos ipsis, puer existens, interficit, delubraque ipsorum evertit, et altaria mortuis reliquiis inquinat, templaque delet, et saltus succidit, et columnas conterit, et impiorum sepulcra suffodit; ut neque signum 10 amplius malorum existat. Sic quidam zelotes erat religionis et impiorum punitor, adhuc balbutiens lingua. David autem, propheta simul et rex, salvatoris secundum carnem radix, puer ungitur a Samuele in regem. Ait enim alicubi ipse quoniam *Parvus eram inter fratres meos et junior in domo patris mei.* 15

V. Et deficiet mihi tempus, si omnes investigare voluero, qui in juventute bene placuerunt Deo, prophetia et sacerdotio et regno a Deo donati. Rememorationis autem gratia sufficiunt et hæc dicta. Sed te deprecor, ne tibi quædam 20 superba esse videar et ostentatrix. Non enim docens te, sed subrememorans meum in Deo patrem, hos apposui sermones: cognosco enim mei ipsius mensuras et non coextendo meis tantis vobis. Saluto tuum sanctum clerum sub tua cura pastum. Omnes apud nos fideles salutant te. Sanam esse 25 me secundum Deum ora, beate pastor.

2 reginæ] L<sub>1</sub>; regione L<sub>2</sub>.      6 existunt] L<sub>1</sub>; existerent L<sub>2</sub>.      8 ipsorum] L<sub>2</sub>; eorum L<sub>1</sub>.  
 9 columnas] columpnas L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s.      11 quidam] τις;  
 quidem L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s.      14 quoniam] L<sub>1</sub>; quum L<sub>2</sub>s.      20 esse videar] L<sub>2</sub>;  
 videar esse L<sub>1</sub>.      21 in deo] L<sub>2</sub>; in deum L<sub>1</sub>.      23 tuum] L<sub>1</sub>; tamen L<sub>2</sub>.  
 24 esse me] L<sub>2</sub>; me esse L<sub>1</sub>.



## 8.

## IGNATIUS Mariæ PROSELYTÆ.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, habenti propitiationem in gratia Dei Patris altissimi et Domini Jesu Christi qui pro nobis mortuus; fidelissimæ, dignæ Deo, Christum ferenti filiæ Mariæ, plurimum in Deo gaudere.

5 I. MELIUS quidem littera visus; quanto quidem, pars melior existens chori sensuum, non solum quibus tradit amicabilia honorat accipientem, sed et quibus recipit in melioribus desiderium ditat. Veruntamen secundus, aiunt, portus et litterarum modus: quem velut bonam applicationem recepimus a  
 10 tua fide a longe, velut per ipsas videntes quod in te bonum. Bonorum enim, o omnino sapiens mulier, animæ purioribus assimilantur fontibus: illi enim transeuntes, etsi non sitiant, ipsa specie attrahunt ipsos haurire potum, tuus autem intellectus monet nos, capere jubens de his, quæ in anima tua  
 15 scaturiunt, divinis aquis.

II. Ego autem, o beata, non mei ipsius nunc tantum, quantum aliorum effectus, multorum contrariorum voluntatibus impellor, secundum hæc quidem fugis, secundum hæc autem carceribus, secundum hæc vero vinculis. Sed a nullo horum vertor: in  
 20 injustificationibus autem ipsorum magis disco, ut Jesu Christo potiar. Utinam fruar duris mihi præparatis, quia *Non dignæ passionēs hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam revelari in nos.*

IGNATIUS Mariæ PROSELYTÆ] L<sub>2</sub>; *responsio ignacii marie proselite super eadem epistola . et adimplet votum scribentis. cletus papa ante elementem.* L<sub>1</sub>.

5 quanto] L<sub>1</sub>; *quantum* L<sub>2</sub>. melior] In the translator's text κρείττον must have been incorrectly repeated after μέρος. 6 quibus] L<sub>1</sub>; *quilibet* L<sub>2</sub>.  
 12 sitiant] διψῶσι; *sciunt* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>. 13 specie] L<sub>1</sub>; *spe* L<sub>2</sub>. 14 monet] L<sub>1</sub>; *mouet* L<sub>2</sub>. his] *hiis* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 19 vertor] L<sub>2</sub>; *avertor* L<sub>1</sub>.

III. Quæ autem a te per epistolam jussa sunt gratanter implevi, in nullo dubitans eorum quæ ipsa bene habere probasti. Cognovi enim te iudicio Dei testimonium viris fecisse, sed non gratia carnali. Multum enim mihi erant et continuæ tuæ scriptibilia locorum memoriæ, quas legens neque usque 5 ad intellectum dubitavi circa rem. Non enim habebam aliquibus oculis excurrere, quorum habebam incontradicibilem a te factam demonstrationem. Conformis animæ tecum fiam ego, quoniam diligis Jesum filium Dei viventis: propter quod et ipse dicet tibi, *Ego diligentes me diligo, me autem quærentes* 10 *invenient pacem.*

IV. Supervenit autem mihi dicere quoniam verus sermo, quem audiavi de te, adhuc existente te in Roma apud beatum Papam Cletum; cui successit ad præsens digne beatus Clemens, Petri et Pauli auditor. Et nunc apposui ad ipsum centu- 15 pliciter; et apponas adhuc, o dilecta. Desideravi vehementer venire ad vos, ut conquiescerem vobiscum, sed *Non in homine via ipsius*: detinuit enim meum propositum, non concedens ad terminum ire, militaris custodia. Sed neque in quibus sum, operari aliquid vel pati potens ego. Propter quod, secundum 20 ejus quæ in amicis consolationis litteram reputans, saluto sanctam tuam animam, deprecans apponi robori; præsens enim labor paucus, expectata verò merces multa.

V. Fugite abnegantes passionem Christi et secundum carnem nativitatem: multi autem sunt nunc secundum hanc 25 ægrotantes ægritudinem. Alia autem admonere tibi facile, perfectæ quidem omni opere et sermone bono, potenti autem et aliis suadere in Christo. Saluta omnes similes tibi retinentes sui ipsorum salutem in Christo. Salutant te presbyteri et diaconi, et ante omnes sacer Heron. Salutat te Cas- 30 sianus peregrinus meus, et soror mea et sponsa ipsius, et

7 quorum] ὧν; quos L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. habebam] L<sub>1</sub>; habeam L<sub>2</sub>. 16 dilecta] As if the translator had read ἀγαπήνῃ for αὐτῇ. 20 ego. Propter quod] ego tibi. propter quod L<sub>2</sub>; ego. quod L<sub>1</sub>. 21 litteram] L<sub>1</sub>; litterarum L<sub>2</sub>. 21 sanctam tuam] L<sub>1</sub>; tuam sanctam L<sub>2</sub>. 22 robori] L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. This corresponds to the reading τόνω, as τόνος is elsewhere translated *robur* in this version, *Mart.* 1. 27 opere] L<sub>2</sub>; tempore L<sub>1</sub>. 30 Heron] eron L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s.

dilectissima ipsorum. Valentem carnalem et spiritualem sanitatem Dominus sanctificet semper; et videam te in Christo potentem corona.

## 9.

## IGNATIUS TARSENSIBUS.

5 **I**GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, salvatæ in Christo ecclesiæ, dignæ laude et dignæ memoria et dignæ dilectione, existenti in Tarso; misericordia, pax, a Deo Patre et Domino Jesu Christo multiplicetur semper.

I. A SYRIA usque Romam cum bestiis pugno; non ab irrationalibus bestiis comestus (hæ enim, ut scitis, Deo volente  
10 pepercerunt Danieli), ab his autem quæ humanæ formæ, inter quas immansueta bestia latitans pungit me quotidie et vulnerat. *Sed de nullo sermonem facio* durorum, *neque habeo animam pretiosam mihi ipsi*, ut diligens ipsam magis quam Dominum. Propter quod paratus sum ad ignem, ad bestias,  
15 ad gladium, ad crucem: solum Jesum Christum sciens salvatorem meum et Deum, pro me mortuum. Deprecor igitur vos ego vinctus Christi, per terram et mare jactatus; *State in fide firmi*, quoniam *Iustus ex fide vivet*: estote inflexibiles, quoniam *Dominus inhabitare facit unius moris in domo*.

20 II. Novi quoniam quidam ministrorum Satanæ voluerunt vos turbare: hi quidem, quoniam Jesus opinione natus est et opinione crucifixus est et opinione mortuus est; hi autem, quoniam non est filius conditoris; hi vero, quoniam ipse est qui super omnia Deus; alii autem, quoniam nudus homo est,

IGNATIUS TARSENSIBUS] L<sub>2</sub>; *epistola ignacii tarsensibus* L<sub>1</sub>.

4 Theophorus] L<sub>2</sub>; *theoferus* L<sub>1</sub>. 6 Tarso] L<sub>2</sub>; *tharso* L<sub>1</sub>. 9 comestus] L<sub>2</sub>s; *commestus* L<sub>1</sub>. hæ] *hee* L<sub>1</sub>. 10 his] *hiis* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 11 immansueta] L<sub>1</sub>; *in mansueta* L<sub>2</sub>. quotidie] *cotidie* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 13 animam] L<sub>2</sub>; add. *meam* L<sub>1</sub>. 17 terram et mare] L<sub>2</sub>; *mare et terram* L<sub>1</sub>. 20 Satanæ] *sathane* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 21 hi] *hi* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s; and so in the next two clauses.



alteri vero, quoniam caro hæc non resurgit et oportet voluptuosam vitam vivere et transire, hanc enim esse terminum bonorum post non multum corrumpendis. Tantorum malorum multitudo eos inebriavit. Sed vos *neque ad horam veniatis sub subjectionem* ipsorum: Pauli enim estis cives et discipuli, 5 qui a Hierosolymis et circum usque Illyricum implevit evangelium, et stigmata Christi in carne circumtulit.

III. Cujus memores, omnino cognoscitis quoniam Jesus Dominus vere natus est ex Maria, factus ex muliere, et veritate crucifixus est; *Mihi enim*, ait, *non fiat gloriari nisi in cruce Domini*: et veritate mortuus est, et resurrexit; *Si passibilis* enim, ait, *Christus, si primus ex resurrectione mortuorum*; et, *Quod mortuus est, peccato mortuus est semel, quod autem vivit, Deo vivit*. Quia quid opus vinculis, Christo non mortuo? quid opus sustinentia? quid opus flagellis? Quid unquam 15 Petrus crucifixus est, Paulus et Jacobus gladio cæsi sunt? Johannes vero relegatus est in Patmo? Stephanus autem in lapidibus occisus est a Domini occisoribus Judæis? Sed nihil horum vane: veritate enim crucifixus est Dominus ab impiis.

IV. Et sic natus ex muliere filius est Dei; et crucifixus primogenitus omnis creaturæ et Deus Verbum; et ipse fecit omnia. Dicit enim Apostolus; *Unus Deus Pater ex quo omnia, et unus Dominus Jesus Christus per quem omnia*: et rursus, *Unus enim Deus, et unus mediator Dei et hominum, homo Jesus Christus*; et *In ipso creata sunt omnia quæ in cælo et in terra, visibilia et 25 invisibilia*; et ipse est ante omnia, et omnia in ipso consistunt.

V. Et quoniam non ipse est qui super omnia Deus Pater sed filius illius, dicit, *Ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum*,

3 corrumpendis] *φθαρησομένους*; *corumpentis* L<sub>1</sub>; *corrumpetis* L<sub>2</sub>. 4 neque ad horam] L<sub>2</sub>; *ad horam neque* L<sub>1</sub>. 5 sub subjectionem] L<sub>1</sub>; *subjectionem* (om. sub) L<sub>2</sub>. 6 Hierosolymis] *ierosolimis* L<sub>2</sub>; *iherosolimis* L<sub>1</sub>. Illyricum] *illyricum* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. 8 Jesus Dominus] L<sub>2</sub>; *dominus jesus* L<sub>1</sub>. 14 quid] L<sub>2</sub>; *quod* L<sub>1</sub>. In the two following clauses L<sub>2</sub> has *quid*, L<sub>1</sub> *quid*. 15 unquam] *unquam* L<sub>1</sub>; *unquam* L<sub>2</sub>. 16 Petrus crucifixus] L<sub>1</sub>; *petrus quid crucifixus* L<sub>2</sub>. 17 Patmo] *pathmo* L<sub>1</sub> L<sub>2</sub>s. Stephanus] *sthpūs* L<sub>1</sub> and so *Hero* 3. in] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 20 sic] L<sub>1</sub>; om. L<sub>2</sub>. The translator must have read *οὐτως* for *οὐτος*; comp. *Ephes.* 5. 22 Unus Deus] L<sub>2</sub>; *deus* (om. *unus*) L<sub>1</sub>. 24 homo] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. Jesus Christus] L<sub>1</sub>; *christus jesus* L<sub>2</sub>.

*et Deum meum et Deum vestrum ; et, Quando subjecta erunt ipsi omnia, tunc et ipse subjiçietur ei qui subjecit ei omnia, ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus. Igitur est alter qui subjecit, et qui est omnia in omnibus ; et alter cui subjecta sunt, qui et cum omnibus sub-*  
5 *jicietur.*

VI. Et neque nudus homo, per quem et in quo facta sunt omnia ; *Omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt ; Quando fecit cœlum, coaderam ipsi, et illic eram apud ipsum componens, et applaudebat mihi quotidie. Qualiter autem utique nudus homo audiret, Sede*  
10 *α dextris meis ? Qualiter autem et diceret, Priusquam Abraham fieret, ego sum, et, Clarifica me claritate quam habui, antequam mundus esset, a te ? Qualis autem homo nudus diceret, Descendi de cœlo, non ut faciam voluntatem meam sed voluntatem ejus qui misit me ? De quali homine vero diceret, Erat lux vera,*  
15 *quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. In mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est, et mundus cum non cognovit. In propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt ? Qualiter ergo talis nudus homo et ex Maria habens principium essendi, sed non Deus Verbum et Filius unigenitus ? In principio enim*  
20 *erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum ; et in aliis, Dominus creavit me principium viarum suarum in opera sua ; ante sæculum fundavit me, et ante omnes colles generat me.*

VII. Quoniam autem et resurgunt corpora nostra, dicit ;  
25 *Amen dico vobis, quoniam venit hora, in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient vocem filii Dei, et qui audierint vivent. Et apostolus, Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem, et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem. Et quoniam oportet temperate vivere et juste, dicit rursus ; Non erretis ; neque adulteri*

1 et Deum meum] L<sub>2</sub> ; *deum meum* (om. et) L<sub>1</sub>. erunt ipsi] L<sub>1</sub> ; *ipsi erunt* L<sub>2</sub>. 3 Igitur] L<sub>1</sub> ; *qui igitur* L<sub>2</sub>. 7 Quando] L<sub>1</sub> ; *quum* L<sub>2</sub>s. 8 ipsi] L<sub>2</sub> ; *ipsa ipsi* L<sub>1</sub> apparently, but the first word is confusedly written and was perhaps intended to be erased. 9 quotidie] L<sub>2</sub>s ; *cotidie* L<sub>1</sub>. utique] L<sub>1</sub> ; *itaque* L<sub>2</sub>. 11 me] L<sub>2</sub> ; add. *pater* L<sub>1</sub>. 12 homo nudus] L<sub>2</sub> ; *homo si nudus* L<sub>1</sub>. 14 vero] *verum* (?) L<sub>1</sub> ; om. L<sub>2</sub>. 15 mundum] L<sub>2</sub>s ; *modum* L<sub>1</sub>. 19 et filius] L<sub>1</sub> ; *filius* (om. et) L<sub>2</sub>. 22 sæculum] L<sub>2</sub>s ; *secula* L<sub>1</sub>. 25 Amen] L<sub>2</sub> ; add. *quoniam* L<sub>1</sub>. 27 enim] L<sub>2</sub> ; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 29 vivere et juste] L<sub>2</sub> ; *et juste vivere* L<sub>1</sub>. dicit] λέγει ; deo L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. The Greek shows that *dicit* must have

*neque molles neque masculorum concubitores neque fornicatores neque maledici neque ebriosi neque fures regnum Dei hæreditare possunt: et, Si mortui non resurgunt, neque Christus resurrexit: inanis ergo prædicatio nostra, inanis autem et fides nostra: adhuc estis in peccatis vestris. Ergo et qui dormierunt in Christo, peri-* 5 *erunt. Si in vita hac sperantes sumus in Christo solum, miserebiliores omnibus hominibus sumus. Si mortui non resurgunt, comedamus et bibamus; cras enim morimur. Sic autem dispositi quid distabimus ab asinis et canibus, qui nihil de futuro curant, in appetitum euntes et eorum quæ post comedere? inscii enim* 10 *sunt moventis intus intellectus.*

VIII. Fruar vobis in Domino. Vigilate omnem unusquisque malitiam deponere, et feralem furorem, detractionem, calumniam, turpiloquium, scurrilitatem, susurrationem, inflationem, ebrietatem, luxuriam, avaritiam, inanem gloriam, invidiam, et omne his 15 concurrens: *indui Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et carnis providentiam non fieri in concupiscentias.* Presbyteri subjecti estote episcopo, diaconi episcopo et presbyteris, populus diaconis. Consimilis ego his qui custodiunt hanc bonam ordinationem; et Dominus sit cum ipsis continue. 20

IX. Viri, diligite sponsas vestras; uxores, conjuges vestros: pueri, parentes præhonorate; parentes, *filios nutrite in disciplina et admonitione Domini.* Eas quæ in virginitate honorate, ut sacras Christi; eas quæ in honestate viduas, ut altare Dei. Domini, cum moderamine servis præcipite; servi, *cum timore* 25 *Dominis* ministrare. Nullus in vobis otiosus maneat; mater enim indigentiae otiositas. Hoc enim non præcipio, ut existens aliquis, etsi ligor; sed ut frater, ad memoriam revoco. Sit Dominus vobiscum.

been the original word, and the substitution *deo* doubtless arose from the contractions.

2 maledici] *ῥαδιδοποι*; *maledicti* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>S. 4 autem et] L<sub>2</sub>; *om.* L<sub>1</sub>.  
6 vita hac] L<sub>2</sub>; *hac vita* L<sub>1</sub>.

10 in appetitum euntes] L<sub>2</sub>; *euntes in appetitum* L<sub>1</sub>. 13 deponere] This is certainly the reading of L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>. The

translator read ἀποθεσθαι for ἀποθεσθε. So too ἐνδύσασθαι, ποιεῖσθαι, for ἐνδύσασθε, ποιεῖσθε, below. calumniam] *calumpniam* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>S; see above, p. 608. 15 his]

hiis L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>S. 17 concupiscentias] *ἐπιθυμίας*; *concupiscentia* L<sub>2</sub>; *concupiscenciis* L<sub>1</sub>.

19 Consimilis] add. *enim* L<sub>2</sub>. In L<sub>1</sub> there is a blank space after *consimilis*. his] *hiis* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>S. 20 ipsi] L<sub>2</sub>; *hiis* L<sub>1</sub>.



X. Fruar vestris orationibus. Orate ut Jesu fruam. Commendo vobis eam quæ in Antiochia ecclesiam. Salutant vos ecclesiæ Philippensium; unde et scribo vobis. Salutat vos Philon diaconus vester, cui et gratias ego ago studiose ministranti  
 5 mihi in omnibus. Salutat vos diaconus qui ex Syria sequitur me in Christo. *Salutate ad invicem in sancto osculo.* Saluto universos et universas in Christo. Valet anima et spiritu; et mei non obliviscamini. Dominus vobiscum.

10.

## IGNATIUS ANTIOCHENIS.

10 **I**GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, Ecclesiæ habenti propitiationem a Deo, dilectæ a Christo, advenæ in Syria, et primæ Christi cognominationem accipienti, in Antiochia; in Deo Patre et Domino Jesu Christo gaudere.

I. LEVIA mihi et non onerosa vincula Dominus fecit, discenti pacem habere vos et in omni concordia carnali et spirituali  
 15 conversari. *Deprecor igitur vos ego vinctus in Domino digne ambulare vocatione qua vocati estis:* observantes vos ab inductis hæresibus maligni, in deceptione et perditione persuasorum ab ipso; attendere autem apostolorum doctrinæ, et legi et prophetis credere; omnem gentilem et Judaicum abjicere errorem, et

4 ego] ἐγώ; om. L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. Probably it was omitted from its resemblance to *ago*.  
 5 studiose] written twice in L<sub>1</sub>. ministranti mihi] L<sub>2</sub>; *mihi ministrantibus* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 6 sancto osculo] L<sub>2</sub>; *osculo sancto* L<sub>1</sub>.

IGNATIUS ANTIOCHENIS] *epistola 10a ignacii antiochenis* L<sub>1</sub>; *epistola 10 ignatius antiochenis* L<sub>2</sub>, as it appears in Ussher's collation with L<sub>1</sub>; but he has perhaps omitted to erase *epistola 10*.

9 Theophorus] L<sub>2</sub>; *theoferus* L<sub>1</sub>. 15 igitur vos] L<sub>2</sub>; *vos ergo* L<sub>1</sub>. ego]  
 L<sub>1</sub>; om. L<sub>2</sub>. 16 vocatione] L<sub>1</sub>; *in vocatione* L<sub>2</sub>. 18 attendere] προσέχειν;  
*attendite* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 19 abjicere errorem] L<sub>2</sub>; *errorem abjicere* L<sub>1</sub>.

neque multitudinem deorum inducere, neque Christum negare occasione unius Dei.

II. Moyses enim fidelis servus Dei, dicens, *Dominus Deus tuus Dominus unus est*, et unum et solum prædicans Deum, confessus est confestim et Dominum nostrum dicens, *Pluit Dominus 5 super Sodomam et Gomorram ignem a Domino et sulphur*; et rursus, *Et dixit Deus, Faciamus hominem secundum imaginem nostram et secundum similitudinem: et fecit Deus hominem; secundum imaginem Dei fecit ipsum.* Et deinceps quoniam *In imagine Dei feci hominem.* Et quoniam fiet homo, ait; 10 *Prophetam vobis suscitabit Dominus ex fratribus vestris sicut me.*

III. Prophetæ autem, dicentes ut ex persona Dei, *Ego Deus primus et ego post hæc, et præter me non est Deus*, de patre omnium dicunt. Et de Domino nostro Jesu Christo, *Filius*, ait, 15 *datus est nobis, cuius principium desuper: et vocatur nomen ipsius magni consilii angelus, admirabilis, consiliarius, Deus fortis, potestativus.* Et de inhumanatione ipsius; *Ecce virgo in utero concipiet et pariet filium, et vocabunt nomen ejus Emmanuel.* Et de passione; *Ut ovis ad occisionem ductus est, et quasi agnus 20 coram tondente ipsum sine voce*; et, *Ego sicut agnus innocens ductus ad sacrificandum.*

IV. Et evangelistæ, dicentes unum Patrem solum verum Deum, et quæ secundum Dominum nostrum non dereliquerunt, sed scripserunt; *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud 25 Deum, et Deus erat Verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil.* Et de inhumanatione, *Verbum*, ait, *caro factum est et habitavit in nobis*: et, *Liber generationis Jesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham.* Apostoli autem, dicentes quoniam *Deus est*, dicebant illi 30 ipsi quoniam *Unus et mediator Dei et hominum*; et incorpora-

9 ipsum] L<sub>2</sub>; eum L<sub>1</sub>.      10 feci] So L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s.      11 Prophetam] L<sub>1</sub>; per prophetam L<sub>2</sub>; see the note on Ephes. 1.      vobis suscitabit] L<sub>2</sub>; suscitabit vobis L<sub>1</sub>.  
15 nostro] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>.      16 vocatur] L<sub>2</sub>; vocabitur L<sub>1</sub>.      17 consilii] L<sub>2</sub>s; concilii L<sub>1</sub>.      24 Dominum] L<sub>2</sub>s; deum L<sub>1</sub>.      28 Verbum, ait] L<sub>2</sub>; verbi ait verbum L<sub>1</sub>.      31 et mediator] L<sub>2</sub>; mediator (om. et) L<sub>1</sub>.

tionem et passionem non erubuerunt: quid enim ait? *Homo Iesus Christus, qui dedit semetipsum pro mundi vita.*

V. Omnis igitur, qui unum annunciat Deum in interemptione divinitatis Christi, *filius est diaboli et inimicus omnis iustitiæ.* Et qui confitetur Christum non ejus qui fecit mundum filium, sed alterius cujusdam incogniti præter quem prædicavit lex et prophetæ, iste organum est ipsius diaboli. Et qui inhumanationem renuit, et crucem erubescit, propter quam ligatus sum, iste est Antichristus. Et qui nudum hominem dicit Christum, maledictus est secundum prophetam, non *in Deo confidens* sed *in homine.* Propter quod et sine fructu est, proximus *agresti myricæ.*

VI. Hæc scribo vobis, o Christi juvenus, non conscius vobis habere talem sensum, sed præservans vos, ut pater proprios filios. Videte igitur in malum currentes operatores, *inimicos crucis Christi; quorum finis perditio, quorum Deus venter, et gloria in confusione ipsorum.* Videte *canes sine voce, serpentes surrepentes, infoveatos dracones, aspides, basiliscos, scorpiones.* Isti enim sunt thoes vulpes, hominis imitatores simiæ.

VII. Pauli et Petri fiatis discipuli; non perdati depositum. Recordamini Euodii digne beati pastoris vestri, qui primus ordinatus ab apostolis in vestram prælationem. Non erubescamus patrem; famus proprii pueri, sed non nothi. Scitis qualiter conversatus sum vobiscum. Quæ præsens dicebam vobis, hæc et absens scribo; *Qui non amat Dominum Iesum, sit anathema. Imitatores mei estote.* Consimilis animæ vobiscum fiam, quando utique Deo potiar. *Mementote meorum vinculorum.*

VIII. Presbyteri, *pascite eum qui in vobis gregem,* usquequo

1 erubuerunt] L<sub>2</sub>; eribuerunt L<sub>1</sub>.      2 semetipsum] L<sub>1</sub>; add. *redemptionem* L<sub>2</sub>  
 from 1 Tim. ii. 6.      4 diaboli] L<sub>2</sub>; sed *diaboli* L<sub>1</sub>.      9 hominem] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>.  
 10 est] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>.      12 myricæ] *mirice* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s.      13 juvenus] L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s=νεολαία.  
 15 operatores inimicos] L<sub>2</sub>; *inimicos operatores* L<sub>1</sub>.      16 et gloria] *in gloria* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s.  
 The editors read *quorum gloria*, but for this *quorum* there seems to be no authority.  
 See the note on the Greek text.      19 thoes] θῶες; *theos* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>.      21 Evodii  
 digne beati] L<sub>2</sub>; *digne beati evodii* L<sub>1</sub>.      23 proprii] L<sub>2</sub>; *proximi* L<sub>1</sub>.  
 24 conversatus] L<sub>1</sub>; *conservatus* L<sub>2</sub>.      hæc et] L<sub>2</sub>; *et hæc* L<sub>1</sub>.      27 utique deo]  
 L<sub>2</sub>; *deo utique* L<sub>1</sub>.



ostendat Deus futurum principari vobis. *Ego enim jam sacrificor, et tempus resolutionis meæ instat, ut Christum lucrifaciam.* Diaconi cognoscant cujus sint dignitatis, et studeant immaculati esse, ut sint imitatores Christi. Populus subjiatur presbyteris et diaconis. Virgines cognoscant cui consecraverunt seipsas. 5

IX. Viri diligant conjuges; recordantes quoniam una uni, non multæ uni, datæ sunt in creatione. Mulieres honorent viros, ut propriam carnem, neque ex nomine ipsos audeant vocare: castificent autem, solos viros conjuges esse existimantes, quibus et unitæ sunt secundum sententiam Dei. Parentes, filios erudite 10 disciplinam sacram. Filii, honorate parentes; *ut bene vobis sit.*

X. Domini, non superbe servis præferamini, imitantes Job dicentem; *Si autem et depravavi iudicium servi mei vel ancillæ meæ, iudicatis ipsis ad me. Quid enim faciam, si scrutinium mei Dominus faciat?* et quæ deinceps, scitis. Servi, non irritetis 15 dominos in ira; ut non malorum insanabilium vobismet causæ fiat.

XI. Otiosus nullus comedat, ut non negligens fiat et fornicarius. Ebrietas, ira, invidia, contumelia, clamor, blasphemiae, *neque nominentur in vobis.* Viduæ non delicientur, ut non aber- 20 rent a sermone. Cæsari subjiimini, in quibus non periculosa subjectio. Principes non irritetis in amaricationem, ut non detis occasionem quærentibus adversum vos occasionem. De incantatione vel puerili desiderio vel homicidio superfluum scribere; quum hæc et gentibus prohibita sunt fieri. Hæc non ut aposto- 25 lus jubeo, sed ut conservus vester monefacio vos.

XII. Saluto sanctum presbyterium. Saluto sacros diaconos, et desideratum mihi nomen; quem videam pro me in Spiritu Sancto, cum utique Christo fruar; cujus consimilis animi fiam. Saluto subdiaconos, lectores, cantores, ostiarios, laborantes, exor- 30

8 ipsos audeant] L<sub>2</sub>; *audeant ipsos* L<sub>1</sub>. 10 sunt] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 15 scitis] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 16 causæ] L<sub>2</sub>; *causa* L<sub>1</sub>. 19 invidia, contumelia] L<sub>2</sub>: *contumelia, invidia* L<sub>1</sub>. 20 aberrant] L<sub>2</sub>; *abhorrerent* (but apparently corrected into *aberrant*) L<sub>1</sub>. 25 quum] L<sub>2</sub>s; *quoniam* L<sub>1</sub>. et] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. hæc] L<sub>2</sub>; *hoc* L<sub>1</sub>. 29 Christo] So L<sub>2</sub> (but it seems to be Ussher's own emendation, as it is written in the margin in different ink); *proximo* L<sub>1</sub>. The two words when contracted are not very different. 30 ostiarios] *hostiarios* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s.

cistas, confessores. Saluto custodes sanctarum portarum, existentes in Christo ministros. Saluto a Christo sumptas virgines; quibus fruar in Domino Jesu. Saluto venerabilissimas viduas. Saluto populum Domini a parvo usque ad magnum, et omnes  
5 sorores meas in Domino.

XIII. Saluto Cassianum, et conjugem ipsius, et filios. Salutat vos Polycarpus, digne decens episcopus, cui et cura est de vobis; cui et commendavi vos in Domino. Sed et omnis ecclesia Smyrnæorum memoriam habet vestri in orationibus in Domino.  
10 Salutat vos Onesimus, Ephesiorum pastor. Salutat vos Magnesias episcopus. Salutat vos Polybius Trallæorum. Salutant vos Philon et Agathopus diaconi, consecutores mei. *Salutate ad invicem in osculo sancto.*

XIV. Hæc a Philippis scribo vobis. Sanos vos qui est solus  
15 inginitus per ante sæcula genitum custodiat spiritu et carne; et videam vos in Christi adventu. Saluto eum qui pro me futurus est principari vobis; quo fruar in Christo. Valet in Deo et Christo, illuminati Spiritu Sancto.

## II.

## IGNATIUS HERONI.

20 **I**GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, a Deo honorato et desideratissimo, Christophoro, spirituali filio in fide et caritate, Heroni diacono Jesu Christi et famulo Dei, gratia, misericordia, et pax

10 Ephesiorum pastor]  $L_2$ ; *pastor ephesiorum*  $L_1$ . Magnesias] *magnisias*  $L_1L_2s$ . The translator has apparently taken it for a man's name, or at all events has treated it as a nominative.

11 Polybius] *polibius*  $L_1L_2s$ , and so elsewhere.

12 Agathopus] *agathophus*  $L_1L_2s$ ; but in  $L_1$  the second *h* is marked for erasure.

14 Sanos] *ἐρωμένους*; *sanet*  $L_1L_2s$ ; comp. *Hero* 9. 16 futurus]  $L_2$ ; *facturus*  $L_1$ .

IGNATIUS HERONI] *ignatius eroni diacono ecclesie antiochenorum*  $L_2$ ; *epistola ignacii eroni diacono ecclesie antiochenorum*  $L_1$ .

19 Theophorus]  $L_2$ ; *theopherus*  $L_1$ . 20 Christophoro] *christoforo*  $L_2$ ; *christofero*  $L_1$ .

Heroni] *eroni*  $L_1L_2s$ ; and so the name is written again in § 6 without the aspirate.

ab omnipotenti Deo et Jesu Christo Domino nostro, unigenito filio ipsius, *qui dedit semetipsum pro nobis et peccatis nostris, ut eriperet nos ex præsenti sæculo nequam et salvaret in regnum ipsius supercæleste.*

I. DEPRECOR te in Deo apponere cursui tuo et justificare 5 tuam dignitatem. Concordiam quæ ad sanctos cura. Infirmiores *porta; ut impleas legem Christi.* Jejunii et orationibus vaca; sed non immoderate, ut teipsum prosternas. A vino et carnibus non omnino abstine, non enim sunt abominabilia: *Bona enim terræ comedite, ait; et, Manducate carnem ut olera; et, Vinum* 10 *lætificat cor hominis, et oleum exhilarat, et panis confirmat:* sed moderate et ordinate, ut Deo tribuente; *Quis enim comedit, vel quis bibit, sine ipso? Quoniam si quid bonum, ipsius? et si quid bonum, ab ipso.* Lectioni attende; ut non solum ipse scias leges, sed et aliis ipsas enarres, ut Dei athleta. *Nullus militans im-* 15 *plicatur vitæ negotiis; ut ei cui militat placeat. Si autem et certet quis, non coronatur, nisi legitime certaverit.* Consimilis animæ tibi ego vinctus.

II. Omnis qui dicit præter præcepta, etsi dignus fide sit, etsi jejundet, etsi virginitatem servet, etsi signa faciat et prophetet, 20 *lupus tibi appareat in ovis pelle,* ovium corruptionem operans. Si quis negat crucem et passionem erubescit, sit tibi sicut Antichristus et adversarius; *etsi distribuat in cibos quæ habet pauperibus, etsi montes transferat, etsi tradat corpus in combustionem,* sit tibi abominabilis. Si quis depravat legem vel prophetas, 25 quos Christus præsens adimplevit, sit tibi ut Antichristus. Si quis hominem nudum dicit Dominum, Judæus est Christi occisor.

III. *Viduas honora, eas quæ vere viduæ;* orphanos protege: *Deus enim pater est orphanorum, et judex viduarum.* Nihil sine episcopis operare; sacerdotes enim sunt, tu autem diaconus 30

1 Christo] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>.      5 cursui] L<sub>1</sub>; *cursu* L<sub>2</sub>.      6 Concordiam quæ] Ussher and later editors wrongly print *concordiamque*.      7 porta] L<sub>1</sub>; om. L<sub>2</sub>.  
8 immoderate] L<sub>2</sub>; *immoderatis* L<sub>1</sub>.      9 sunt] L<sub>2</sub>; *sub* L<sub>1</sub>.      abomina-  
bilia] *abominabilia* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s, and again § 2; so too *abominare* below §§ 4, 5.  
11 exhilarat] L<sub>2</sub>s; *exhilarat* L<sub>1</sub>.      19 etsi dignus] L<sub>2</sub>; *ut si dignus* L<sub>1</sub>.      23 quæ  
habet pauperibus] L<sub>2</sub>; *pauperibus quæ habet* L<sub>1</sub>.      25 legem] *leges* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s.  
27 Christi] L<sub>1</sub>; *et christi* L<sub>2</sub>.      29 nihil] L<sub>2</sub>; add. *enim* L<sub>1</sub>.



sacerdotum. Illi baptizant, sacrificant, manus imponunt; tu autem ipsis ministra, ut Stephanus sanctus in Hierosolymis Jacobo et presbyteris. Congregationes non negligas: ex nomine omnes require. *Nullus tuam juventutem contemnat; sed exemplum esto fidelium in sermone et conversatione.*

IV. Servos non erubescere; communis enim nobis et ipsis natura. Mulieres non abominare; ipsæ enim te genuerunt et enutriverunt. Diligere igitur oportet causas generationis; solum in Domino. Sine muliere autem vir non pueros faciet: honorare igitur oportet conjuges generationis. *Neque vir sine muliere, neque mulier sine viro*, nisi in protoplastis. Adæ enim corpus ex quatuor elementis; Evæ autem ex costa Adæ. Sed et gloriosus partus Domini ex sola virgine, non abominabili legali mixtione, sed Deo decente generatione: decuit enim ipsum, conditorem 15 existentem, non consueta uti generatione sed inopinabili et peregrina, ut conditorem.

V. Superbiam fuge; *Superbis enim Deus resistit*. Falsiloquium abominare. *Perdes enim omnes loquentes mendacium*. Ab invidia te custodi: princeps enim ipsius diabolus; et successor Cain fratri invidens et ex invidia homicidium operans. Sorores meas mone sufficere conjugibus. Virgines custodi, ut Christi vasa. *Longanimis sis, ut sis in prudentia multus*. Inopes non negligas, in quibus utique abundas; *Eleemosynis enim et fide purgantur peccata*.

VI. Teipsum castum serva, ut Dei habitaculum: templum Christi existis, organumque Spiritus. Nosti qualiter te enutriveri. Etsi minimus sum, zelotes mei fias: imitare meam conversationem. Non glorior mundo, sed in Domino. Heroni filio meo moneo; *Qui autem gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur*. Fruar te,

2 ministra]  $L_1L_2S$ ; the translator read  $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\nu\epsilon\iota$  for  $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}s$ . in Hierosolymis] *in iherosolimis*  $L_1$ ; *ierosolymis* (om. in)  $L_2$ . Jacobo]  $L_2$ ; *sanctis iacobo*  $L_1$ .  
 4 contemnat] *contempnat*  $L_1L_2S$ ; see above, p. 608. 7 mulieres]  $L_2$ ; *mulieres enim* (?)  $L_1$ . 11 protoplastis] *prothoplastis*  $L_1L_2S$ . 14 decente generatione] add. *sed inopinabili et peregrinæ*  $L_1$ , the three last words being marked for erasure, but the *sed* being left by inadvertence. 20 Cain] *caim*  $L_1$ ; *caym*  $L_2$ .  
 22 vasa]  $\kappa\epsilon\iota\mu\eta\lambda\iota\alpha$ ; *stivasa* (or *stmasa*)  $L_1$ ; *nasci*  $L_2$ , as deciphered by Ussher. The *sti* of  $L_1$  is a repetition of the last syllable of the preceding *Christi*. multus]  $L_2$ ; *vultus*  $L_1$ . Inopes non]  $L_1$ ; *non inopes*  $L_2$ .

puer meus desiderate; cujus custos fiat solus ingenitus Deus et Dominus Jesus Christus. Non omnibus crede, non de omnibus confide; neque utique aliquis seducat te. Multi enim sunt ministri Satanæ; et *Qui velociter credit, levis est corde.*

VII. Memento Dei, et non peccabis aliquando. Non sis dup- 5  
plicis animæ in oratione tua; beatus enim qui non dubitat. Credo enim in Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et in unigenitum ipsius Filium, quoniam ostendet mihi Deus Heronem in throno meo. Appone igitur ad cursum. Annuncio tibi in Deo omnium et in Christo, præsentem et Spiritu Sancto et administratoriis 10  
ordinibus: *Custodi meum depositum*, quod ego et Christus deposuimus tibi; et non te ipsum indignum iudices expectatis de te a Deo. Commendo tibi ecclesiam Antiochenorum. Polycarpo commendavi vos in Domino Jesu Christo.

VIII. Salutant te episcopi, Onesimus, Bitus, Damas, Poly- 15  
bius, et omnes qui a Philippis in Christo; unde misi tibi. Saluta Deo decens presbyterium. Saluta sanctos condiaconos tuos; quibus ego fruar in Domino, carne et spiritu. Saluta populum Domini a parvo usque ad magnum secundum nomen; quos commendo tibi, ut Moyses Jesu post ipsum duci. Et non tibi 20  
videatur grave quod dictum est. Et si non sumus tales quales illi, sed tamen oramus fieri; quia et Abraham sumus pueri. Fortificare igitur, o Heron, heroice et viriliter: tu enim *induces* amodo *et educes* populum Domini eum qui in Antiochia; et *non* 25  
*erit synagoga Domini sicut oves quibus non est pastor.*

IX. Saluta Cassianum peregrinum meum, et conjugem ipsius venerabilissimam, et dilectissimos ipsorum pueros; quibus 30  
*dabit Deus invenire misericordiam a Domino in illa die*, ejus quæ in nos administrationis gratia: quos et commendo tibi in Christo Jesu. Saluta eos qui in Laodicea fideles omnes secundum 30  
nomen in Christo. Eos qui in Tarso non negligas, sed magis

4 Satanæ] *sathane* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 7 nostri] L<sub>2</sub>; *mei* L<sub>1</sub>. 8 ipsius] L<sub>2</sub>; *mihī ejus* L<sub>1</sub>.  
ostendet] *δέξει*; *ostendit* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. throno] L<sub>2</sub>; *trono* L<sub>1</sub>. 17 presbyterium]  
L<sub>2</sub>s; *psbrm* L<sub>1</sub>. 19 quos] L<sub>2</sub>; *quod* L<sub>1</sub>. 20 tibi videatur] L<sub>2</sub>; *videatur tibi* L<sub>1</sub>.  
23 Fortificare] L<sub>1</sub>; *mortificare* L<sub>2</sub>. Heron] L<sub>2</sub>; *eroni* L<sub>1</sub>. tu] L<sub>2</sub>;  
*tui* L<sub>1</sub>. 25 synagoga] *sinagoga* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 30 Laodicea] L<sub>2</sub>s; *laodocia* L<sub>1</sub>.  
31 Tarso] L<sub>2</sub>; *tharso* L<sub>1</sub>.

continue ipsos visita, confirmans ipsos secundum evangelium. Marim eum qui in Neapoli ea quæ ad Zarbo episcopum saluto in Domino. Saluta autem et venerabilissimam Mariam filiam meam multimode eruditissimam, et eam quæ secundum domum  
 5 ipsius ecclesiam, cui consimilis animæ fiam, exemplarium piarum mulierum. Sanum te et in omnibus approbatum Pater Christi per Unigenitum custodiat in longum vivere ad utilitatem ecclesiæ Christi. Vale in Domino, et ora ut perficiar.

## 12.

## MARTYRIUM IGNATII.

10 **N**UPER recipiente principatum Romanorum Trajano, apostoli et evangelistæ Johannis discipulus Ignatius, vir in omnibus apostolicus, gubernabat ecclesiam Antiochenorum. Qui quondam procellas vix mitigans multarum sub Domitiano persecutionum, quemadmodum gubernator bonus, gubernaculo orationis et jejunii, continuitate doctrinæ, robore  
 15 spirituali, fluctuationi adversantis se opposuit potentiæ, timens ne aliquem eorum qui pusillanimes et magis simplices prosterneret. Igitur lætabatur quidem de ecclesiæ inconcussione, quiescente ad paucum persecutione; dubitavit autem secundum seipsum, quod nondum vere in Christum caritatem atti-  
 20 gerat neque perfectum discipuli ordinem. Cogitavit enim eam quæ per martyrium confessionem plus ipsum adducere ad familiaritatem Domini. Unde annis paucis adhuc perma-

1 confirmans]  $L_1$ ; *consilians*  $L_2$ . 3 autem]  $L_2$ ; om.  $L_1$ . venerabilissimam Mariam filiam meam]  $L_1$ ; *mariam filiam meam venerabilissimam*  $L_2$ .

MARTYRIUM IGNATII] *martirium sancti ignatii episcopi antiochie sirie*  $L_1 L_2$ , to which  $L_1$  adds *epistola* 12a.

15 adversantis]  $L_1$ ; *adversanter* (apparently)  $L_2$ .  
 19 vere in Christum]  $L_2$ ; *in christum vere*  $L_1$ .  
 cere  $L_2$ .

17 quidem]  $L_2$ ; om.  $L_1$ .  
 21 adducere]  $L_1$ ; *abdu-*



nens ecclesiæ, et ad lucernæ modum divinæ cujusque illuminans cor per scripturarum enarrationem, sortitus est iis quæ secundum votum.

II. Trajano enim post, quarto anno imperii sui, elato de victoria illa quæ adversus Scythas et Thraces et alteras multas et diversas gentes, et existimante adhuc deficere ipsi ad omnem subjectionem Christianorum Deum venerantem congregationem, nisi dæmoniacam cogeret culturam cum omnibus subintrare gentibus; persecutionem comminans, omnes ipsos Dei cultores existentes vel sacrificare vel mori coge-<sup>10</sup> bat. Tunc igitur timens pro Antiochenorum ecclesia virilis Christi miles voluntarie ductus est ad Trajanum, agentem quidem secundum illud tempus apud Antiochiam, festinantem autem ad Armeniam et Parthos. Ut autem coram facie stetit imperatoris Trajani, Trajanus dixit: Quis es, cacodæmon, nostras festinans præcep-<sup>15</sup> tiones transcendere, cum et alteros persuadere, ut perdantur male? Ignatius dixit: Nullus Theophorum vocat cacodæmonem; recesserunt enim longe a servis Dei dæmonia. Si autem, quoniam his gravis sum, malum me adversus dæmones vocas, confiteor: Christum enim habens supercælestem regem dissolvo<sup>20</sup> horum insidias. Trajanus dixit: Et quis est Theophorus? Ignatius respondit: Qui Christum habet in pectore. Trajanus dixit: Nos igitur tibi videmur non habere secundum intellectum deos, quibus utimur compugnatoribus adversus adversarios?

1 divinæ]  $L_1 L_2 s.$  In  $L_1$  the greater part of the word is dotted underneath for erasure (perhaps with the intention of substituting  $d\bar{i}=dei$ ), though it corresponds to  $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\upsilon$  in the Greek text. 2 iis]  $hiis L_1 L_2 s.$  4 post]  $L_1 L_2 s.$  Probably read *postea* or *post hæc* corresponding to  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha} \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$  in the Greek. quarto]  $quartum L_1 L_2.$  As  $L_1$  however has *anno*, it would seem that the Latin text originally corresponded to the construction in the Greek  $\epsilon\pi\eta\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega \epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$ . Again we should probably restore *nono* for *quarto*, the corruption being more easily explained through the Latin (IV for IX), than through the Greek. See above, p. 476. anno]  $L_1;$  *annum*  $L_2 s.$  imperii sui] in this place  $L_2;$  before *anno*  $L_1.$  5 Scythas] *scithas*  $L_1;$  *scitas*  $L_2.$  Thraces]  $L_2;$  *traces*  $L_1.$  The Greek has  $\Delta\alpha\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu.$  8 nisi]  $L_2;$  *ut*  $L_1.$  15 es]  $\epsilon\acute{\iota};$  *est*  $L_1 L_2 s.$  cacodæmon] *kakodemon*  $L_1 L_2 s.$  17 nullus]  $L_2;$  *nullum*  $L_1.$  vocat]  $L_2;$  *voca*  $L_1.$  cacodæmonem] *cakodemonem*  $L_1 L_2 s.$  19 his]  $hiis L_1 L_2 s.$  20 habens]  $L_2;$  om.  $L_1.$  21 Theophorus]  $L_2;$  *theopherus*  $L_1.$  22 Qui]  $L_2;$  *et qui*  $L_1.$  Trajanus]  $L_2 s.;$  *tirannus*  $L_1.$

Ignatius dixit: Dæmonia gentium deos appellas errans. Unus enim est Deus, qui fecit cælum et terram et mare et omnia quæ in ipsis; et unus Christus Jesus, Filius ipsius unigenitus, cujus amicitia fruar. Trajanus dixit: Crucifixum dicis sub  
 5 Pontio Pilato? Ignatius dixit: Crucifigentem peccatum cum hujus inventore, et omnem condemnantem dæmoniacam malitiam sub pedibus eorum qui ipsum in corde ferunt. Trajanus dixit: Tu igitur in teipso Christum circumfers? Ignatius dixit: Etiam: scriptum est enim, *Inhabitabo in ipsis et inambulabo*.  
 10 Trajanus sententiavit: Ignatium præcipimus, in seipso dicentem circumferre crucifixum, vinctum a militibus duci in magnam Romam cibum bestiarum in spectaculum futurum plebis. Hanc audiens sanctus martyr sententiam cum gaudio exclamavit: Gratias ago tibi, Domine, quoniam me perfecta ad te  
 15 caritate honorare dignatus es, cum apostolo tuo Paulo vinculis colligari ferreis. Hæc dicens et cum gaudio circumponens vincula oransque prius pro ecclesia et hanc cum lacrimis commendans Domino, velut aries insignis boni gregis dux, a bestiali militari duritia raptus est, bestiis crudivorantibus ad Romam  
 20 ad cibum adducendus.

III. Cum multa igitur promptitudine et gaudio, ex desiderio passionis, descendens ab Antiochia in Seleuciam illinc habebat navigationem: et applicans post multum laborem Smyrnæorum civitati, cum multo gaudio descendens de navi  
 25 festinabat sanctum Polycarpum episcopum Smyrnæorum coauditem videre; fuerant enim quondam discipuli Johannis. Apud quem adductus et spiritualibus cum ipso communicans charismatibus et vinculis glorians, deprecabatur concertare ipsius proposito maxime quidem communiter omnem ecclesiam  
 30 (honorabant enim sanctum per episcopos, presbyteros, et dia-

2 et mare] L<sub>2</sub>; mare (om. et) L<sub>1</sub>. 6 hujus] L<sub>2</sub>; ipsius L<sub>1</sub>. 8 igitur] L<sub>2</sub>; ergo L<sub>1</sub>. Ignatius] L<sub>2</sub>; add. autem L<sub>1</sub>. 9 etiam] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>.  
 11 duci in magnam Romam] L<sub>2</sub>; in romam duci magnam L<sub>1</sub>. 12 futurum plebis] L<sub>1</sub>; plebis futurum L<sub>2</sub>. A word has been erased before futurum in L<sub>1</sub>. 16 colligari] συνδήσας; collocari L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 19 crudivorantibus] L<sub>1</sub>, as I read it, corresponding to the Greek ὠμοβόρους(?); cruda vorantibus L<sub>2</sub>s; comp. 'multibonam,' *Magm. 1*. 22 illinc] L<sub>2</sub>; illuc L<sub>1</sub>. 24 civitati] L<sub>2</sub>; om. L<sub>1</sub>. 29 eccle-

conos, Asiæ civitates et ecclesiæ, omnibus festinantibus ad ipsum, si quo aliquam partem charismatis accipiant spiritualis), præcipue autem sanctum Polycarpum; ut velocius per bestias disparens mundo factus appareat faciei Christi.

IV. Et hoc sic dixit, sic testificatus est; tantum extendens 5 eam quæ circa Christum caritatem, ut cælum quidem apprehendere per bonam confessionem et per coorantium pro certamine studium, reddi autem mercedem ecclesiis obviantibus ipsi per præcedentes litteras gratias agens appositas ad ipsas, spiritualem cum oratione et admonitionibus amplexantes 10 gratiam. Igitur omnes videns amicabiliter dispositos ad ipsum, timens ne forte fraternitatis dilectio ad Dominum ipsius festinationem abscindat, bona aperta ipsi porta martyrii, talia ad ecclesiam mittit Romanorum, ut subordinata sunt.

## IGNATII EPISTOLA AD ROMANOS.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, habenti propitiationem in 15 I magnitudine Patris altissimi et Jesu Christi solius filii ipsius, ecclesiæ dilectæ et illuminatæ in voluntate volentis omnia quæ sunt secundum dilectionem Jesu Christi Dei nostri, quæ et præsidet in loco chori Romanorum, digna Deo, digna decencia, digna beatitudine, digna laude, digne ordinata, digne casta, 20 et præsidens in caritate, Christi habens legem, Patris nomen; quam et saluto in nomine Jesu Christi filii Patris; secundum carnem et spiritum unitis in omni mandato ipsius, impletis gratia Dei indivisim et abstractis ab omni alieno colore; plurimum in Jesu Christo Deo nostro immaculate gaudere. 25

siam honorabant enim]  $L_2$ ; *ecclesiam honorabant, honorabant enim*  $L_1$ . 5 testificatus]  $L_1$ ; *testificans*  $L_2$ . tantum] *tm* (= *tantum*)  $\underline{L_1}$ ; *tamen*  $L_2$ s. 7 coorantium]  $L_2$ ; *coronantium*  $L_1$ . 9 ipsi] *christi* ( $\chi\pi i$ )  $L_1 L_2$ s. 13 abscindat]  $L_1$ ; *abscindit*  $L_2$ . talia]  $L_2$ ; *aliam* (apparently)  $L_1$ ; the Greek is *ola, qualia*.

IGNATII EPISTOLA AD ROMANOS]  $L_2$ ; *epistola ignacii terciadecima ad romanos, quanto desiderio captat mori pro christo et quod non impediunt passionem ejus*  $L_1$ .

16 magnitudine]  $L_1$ ; *magnitudinem*  $L_2$ . 19 chori]  $L_1 L_2$ s, as if the translator had read  $\chi\omicron\rho\omicron\nu$  for  $\chi\omega\rho\iota\nu$ . 25 in Jesu]  $L_2$ ; *in domino jesu*  $L_1$ .



I. DEPRECANS Deum, attigi videre vestras dignas visione facies, ut et amplius petebam accipere. Ligatus enim in Christo Jesu, spero vos salutare; siquidem voluntas sit, ut dignificer in finem esse. Principium quidem enim bene dispensatum est; 5 siquidem gratia potiar, ad hæreditatem meam sine impedimento lucrari. Timeo enim caritatem vestram, ne ipsa me lædat. Vobis enim facile est quod vultis facere; mihi autem difficile est Deo potiri, siquidem vos non parcitis mihi.

II. Non enim volo vos hominibus placere, sed Deo placere; 10 quemadmodum et placetis. Neque enim ego habebō aliquando tempus tale Deo potiendi, neque vos, si taceatis, meliori operi habetis inscribi. Si enim taceatis a me, ego verbum Dei; si autem desideretis carnem meam, rursus factus sum vox. Plus autem mihi non tribuetis, quam sacrificari Deo, dum adhuc 15 sacrificatorium paratum est: ut in caritate chorus effecti cantetis Patri in Jesu Christo, quoniam episcopum Syriæ dignificavit Deus inveniri in occidentem ab oriente transmittens. Bonum occidere a mundo in Deum, ut in ipso oriar.

III. Nunquam invidistis in aliquo; alios edocuistis. Ego 20 autem volo, ut et illa firma sint quæ docentes præcepistis. Solum mihi potentiam petatis ab intra et ab extra, ut non solum dicam, sed et velim; non ut solum dicar Christianus, sed et inveniar. Si enim inveniar, et dici possum; et tunc fidelis esse, quando utique mundo non appareo. Nihil apparentia

5 gratia] add. *mea* L<sub>2</sub>s. In L<sub>1</sub> *mea* is written, but dotted beneath for erasure.

7 quod] L<sub>2</sub>s; *quæ* L<sub>1</sub>.

9 Deo placere] L<sub>2</sub>; *deo* (om. *placere*) L<sub>1</sub>.

12 habetis] L<sub>2</sub>; *haberetis* L<sub>1</sub>.

verbum] L<sub>1</sub>. Ussher in the margin of this collation writes *ero* for *verbum*, and so it appears in his printed edition. But he does not mark it as the reading of L<sub>2</sub>, and it is apparently his own emendation, corresponding to γενήσομαι in the corrupt Greek text. See above, p. 198, and compare the next note.

13 vox] L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. In the margin Ussher writes *velox*, corresponding to the reading of the corrupt Greek text τρέχω, in exactly the same manner as before he had written *ero*. In his printed edition however he reads *vox* in the text, but puts in the margin, f. (i.e. fortasse) *velox*.

17 in occidentem] *eis δύσω*; but *in occidente* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s.

19 nunquam] L<sub>2</sub>s; *nuncquam* L<sub>1</sub>.

24 apparentia]

L<sub>2</sub>s. L<sub>1</sub> has it contracted *appareñā*, with a marginal gloss 'ablative.' This contraction suggests that the reading was originally *apparens*, corresponding exactly to φαινόμενον in the Greek.

bonum est. Deus enim noster Jesus Christus in Patre existens magis apparet. Non suasionis opus sed magnitudinis est Christianus, quando utique oditur a mundo.

IV. Scribo ecclesiis, et præcipio omnibus quoniam volens pro Deo morior, siquidem vos non prohibeatis. Deprecor vos, 5 non concordia intempestiva fiatis mihi. Dimittite me bestiarum esse cibum; per quas est Deo potiri. Frumentum sum Dei, et per dentes bestiarum molar, ut mundus panis inveniar Christi. Magis blandite bestiis, ut mihi sepulcrum fiant, et nihil derelinquant eorum quæ corporis mei; ut non dormiens 10 gravis alicui inveniar. Tunc ero discipulus vere Jesu Christi, quando neque corpus meum mundus videbit. Orate Christum pro me, ut per organa ista Dei sacrificium inveniar. Non ut Petrus et Paulus præcipio vobis. Illi apostoli, ego condemnatus; illi liberi, ego usque nunc servus. Sed si patiar, manu- 15 missus fiam Jesu Christi, et resurgam liber. Et nunc disco vinctus nihil concupiscere.

V. A Syria usque Romam cum bestiis pugno, per terram et per mare, nocte et die, vinctus decem leopardis, quod est militaris ordo; qui et beneficiati deteriores fiunt. In injustifica- 20 tionibus autem ipsorum magis erudior: *sed non propter hoc justificatus sum*. Sortiar bestiis mihi esse paratis, et oro promptas mihi inveniri; quibus et blandiar cito me devorare; non quemadmodum quosdam timentes non tetigerunt; sed et si ipsæ volentem non velint, ego vim faciam. Veniam mihi 25 habete: quid mihi confert, ego cognosco. Nunc incipio discipulus esse; nihil me zelare visibilibus et invisibilibus, ut Jesu Christo fruam. Ignis et crux, bestiarumque congregationes, dispersiones ossium, concisio membrorum, molitiones totius

4 præcipio] ἐντέλλομαι; præcipue L<sub>1</sub>, and so probably L<sub>2</sub>. Ussher indeed writes præcipio in the margin of his collation, and this may have been the reading of L<sub>2</sub>, but it has the appearance of being his own conjecture. 10 derelinquant] L<sub>1</sub>; derelinquat L<sub>2</sub>. 11 gravis alicui] L<sub>2</sub>; alicui gravis L<sub>1</sub>. vere] L<sub>1</sub>; verus L<sub>2</sub>s. 15 patiar] paciar L<sub>1</sub>; faciam L<sub>2</sub>. 16 et] καὶ; ut L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. 22 mihi esse] L<sub>1</sub>; esse mihi esse (with esse apparently twice, but certainly before mihi) L<sub>2</sub>. As there is nothing in Greek corresponding to esse, it may have been a gloss = edere. 28 et crux] L<sub>2</sub>; crux (om. et) L<sub>1</sub>.

corporis, malæ punctiones diaboli in me veniant; solum ut Jesu Christo fruar.

VI. Nihil mihi proderunt termini mundi, neque regna sæculi hujus. Bonum mihi mori propter Jesum Christum, quam reg-  
 5 nare super terminos terræ. Illum quæro qui pro nobis mortuus est, illum volo qui propter nos resurrexit: ille lucrum mihi adjacet. Ignoscite mihi, fratres: non impediatis me vivere, non velitis me mori, Dei volentem esse; per mundum non separetis me, neque per materiam seducatis. Dimittite me  
 10 purum lumen accipere: illuc adveniens, homo ero. Sinite me imitatore[m] esse passionis Dei mei. Si quis ipsum in seipso habet, intelligat quod volo; et compatiatur mihi, sciens quæ continent me.

VII. Princeps sæculi hujus rapere me vult, et eam quæ in  
 15 Deum meum sententiam corrumpere. Nullus igitur præsentium de vobis adjuvet ipsi; magis autem mei fiat, hoc est, Dei mei. Non loquimini Jesum Christum, et mundum concupiscatis. Invidia in vobis non inhabitet: neque utique ego præsens vos deprecor, credite mihi; his autem magis credite quæ  
 20 scribo vobis. Vivens enim scribo vobis, desiderans mori. Meum desiderium crucifixum est; et non est in me ignis amans aliquam aquam; sed vivens et loquens est in me, intus me dicit, Veni ad Patrem. Non delector cibo corruptionis, neque delectationibus vitæ hujus. Panem Dei volo, quod est caro Christi,  
 25 ejus qui ex genere David; et potum volo sanguinem ipsius, quod est caritas incorruptibilis.

VIII. Non amplius volo secundum homines vivere: hoc

3 proderunt]  $L_2$ ; *proderint*  $L_1$ . 6 ille]  $L_1 L_2 s$ . The translator has read ὁδε for ὁ δὲ and taken τοκετός as part of the predicate. He has moreover wrongly translated τοκετός *lucrum*, as if it were τόκος: unless indeed he had τόκος in his text.  
 15 igitur]  $L_2$ ; *ergo*  $L_1$ . 16 magis autem]  $L_2$ ; *autem magis*  $L_1$ , thus connecting the *ipsi* with the following sentence. The transposition in  $L_2$  (which has been overlooked in the printed texts) is important, because it brings the Latin into close accordance with the Greek, βοηθῶ αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ γίνεσθε. For similar transpositions, altering the connexion of the sentences, see below, *Mart.* §§ 5, 7.  
 18 in vobis]  $L_2$ : *vobis* (om. *in*)  $L_1$ . præsens vos]  $L_1$ ; *vos præsens*  $L_2$ .  
 19 credite mihi] πείσθητέ μοι; *credere mihi*  $L_1 L_2$ . his autem magis]  $L_2$ ; *hiis magis vero* (?)  $L_1$ .  
 20 vobis]  $L_2$ ; om.  $L_1$ .



autem erit, si vos velitis. Velite autem, ut et vos acceptemini. Per paucas litteras deprecor vos, credite mihi. Jesus autem Christus vobis manifestabit hæc, quoniam vere dico; non mendax os, in quo Pater vere locutus est. Petite pro me, ut attin- 5 gam. Non secundum carnem vobis scripsi, sed secundum sententiam Dei. Si patiar, voluistis; si reprobis efficiar, odivistis.

IX. Mementote in oratione vestra ejus quæ in Syria ecclesiæ, quæ pro me pastore Deo utitur. Solus ipsi Jesus Christus vice episcopi sit, et vestra caritas. Ego autem erubesco ex ipsis dici: non enim sum dignus, existens extremus ipsorum 10 et abortivum; sed misericordiam consecutus sum aliquis esse, si Deo fruar. Salutat vos meus spiritus, et caritas ecclesiarum quæ receperunt me in nomine Jesu Christi, ut non transeuntem. Etenim non advenientes mihi in via quæ secundum carnem, secundum civitatem me præcesserunt. 15

X. Scribo autem vobis hæc a Smyrna per Ephesios digne beatos. Est autem et simul mecum cum aliis multis et Crocus, desideratum mihi nomen. De advenientibus mecum a Syria in Romam ad gloriam Dei credo vos cognovisse: quibus et mani- 20 festatis prope me existentem. Omnes enim sunt digni Deo et vobis: quos decens est vos secundum omnia quietare. Scripsi autem vobis hæc in ea quæ ante novem Kalendas Septembres. Valet in finem in sustinentia Jesu Christi.

V. PERFICIENS igitur, ut volebāt, eos qui in Roma fratrum absentes per epistolam, sic ductus a Smyrna (urgebatur enim 25 a militibus Christophorus occupare honores in magna civitate, ut in conspectu plebis Romanorum bestiis feris projectus corona justitiæ per tale certamen potiatur) attigit ad Troadem. Deinde illinc ductus ad Neapolim, per Philippenses transivit Macedo-

7 ecclesiæ] L<sub>1</sub>; *ecclesia* L<sub>2</sub>. 13 receperunt] L<sub>2</sub>s; *receperant* L<sub>1</sub>. in  
nomine] L<sub>2</sub>; add. *domini* L<sub>1</sub>. 22 Septembres] *septembrias* L<sub>1</sub>; *septembris* L<sub>2</sub>.  
24 fratrum] L<sub>2</sub>; *fr* (with a blank following) L<sub>1</sub>. 26 Christophorus] *christoforus*  
L<sub>2</sub>; *christoferus* L<sub>1</sub>. 29 Philippenses] *philipenses* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>s. transivit] L<sub>1</sub>;  
*pertransivit* L<sub>2</sub>.

niam pedes, et terram quæ ad Epidamnum. Cujus in juxta  
 marinis nave potitus navigavit Adriacum pelagus, et illinc ascen-  
 dens Tyrhenicum et transiens insulas et civitates, ostensis  
 sancto Potiolis, ipse quidem exire festinavit, secundum vestigia  
 5 ambulare volens apostoli Pauli: ut autem incidens violentus  
 non concessit ventus, nave a prora repulsa, beatificans eam quæ  
 in illo loco fratrum caritatem, sic transnavigavit. Igitur in una  
 die et nocte eadem prosperis ventis utentes, nos quidem no-  
 lentes abducimur, gementes de ea quæ a nobis futura separa-  
 10 tione justî fieri; ipsi autem secundum votum accidit, festinanti  
 citius recedere de mundo, ut attingat ad quem dilexit Domi-  
 num. Navigantes igitur in portus Romanorum, debente finem  
 habere immunda inani gloria, milites quidem pro tarditate offen-  
 debantur, episcopus autem gaudens festinantibus obediebat.

15 VI. Illinc igitur expulsi a vocato Portu (diffamabantur  
 enim jam quæ secundum sanctum martyrem), obviamus fratri-  
 bus timore et gaudio repletis, gaudentibus quidem in quibus  
 dignificabantur eo quod Theophori consortio, timentibus autem  
 quia quidem ad mortem talis ducebatur. Quibusdam autem et  
 20 annunciavit silere, ferventibus et dicentibus quietare plebem ad  
 non expetere perdere justum. Quos confestim spiritu cogno-  
 scens, et omnes salutans, petensque ab ipsis veram caritatem,  
 pluraque iis quæ in epistola disputans, et suadens non invidere  
 festinanti ad dominum, sic cum genuflexione omnium fratrum  
 25 deprecans Filium Dei pro ecclesiis, pro persecutionis quietatione,  
 pro fratrum adinvicem caritate, subductus est cum festinatione  
 in amphitheatrum. Deinde confestim projectus secundum quon-  
 dam præceptum Cæsaris, debentibus quiescere gloriationibus

- |   |   |                         |
|---|---|-------------------------|
| 1 Epidamnum] <i>epidamnium</i> L <sub>1</sub> L <sub>2</sub> .  | 2 illinc] L <sub>2</sub> ; <i>illuc</i> L <sub>1</sub> .                        | 3 Ty-                   |
| <i>rhenicum</i> ] <i>tirannicum</i> L <sub>1</sub> L <sub>2</sub> .   | 4 Potiolis] <i>pociolis</i> L <sub>1</sub> L <sub>2</sub> s.                    | 6 eam] L <sub>2</sub> ; |
| <i>illam</i> L <sub>1</sub> .   | 7 fratrum caritatem] L <sub>2</sub> ; <i>caritatem fratrum</i> L <sub>1</sub> . | 10 fieri ipsi           |
| autem] L <sub>2</sub> ; <i>autem fieri ipsi</i> L <sub>1</sub> , thus connecting <i>justi</i> with what follows. See above, |   |                         |
| <i>Rom.</i> 7, and below, <i>Mart.</i> 7, for similar transpositions of <i>autem</i> .                                      |   | 16 sanctum              |
| martyrem] L <sub>2</sub> ; <i>martirem sanctum</i> L <sub>1</sub> .   | 18 Theophori] L <sub>2</sub> ; <i>theoferi</i> L <sub>1</sub> .                 |                         |
| 19 quia] L <sub>1</sub> ; <i>quod</i> L <sub>2</sub> s.   | quidem] L <sub>2</sub> ; om. L <sub>1</sub> .                                   | 23 iis quæ] <i>hiis</i> |
| quæ L <sub>2</sub> ; <i>hiis</i> (om. <i>quæ</i> ) L <sub>1</sub> .   | 24 sic] L <sub>2</sub> ; add. <i>que</i> L <sub>1</sub> .                       | genuflexione]           |
| L <sub>2</sub> s; <i>genuflexione</i> (or <i>-ccione</i> ) L <sub>1</sub> .   | 27 amphitheatrum] L <sub>2</sub> s; <i>amphiteatrum</i> L <sub>1</sub> .        |                         |
| 28 præceptum Cæsaris] L <sub>2</sub> ; <i>cesaris præceptum</i> L <sub>1</sub> .  |   |                         |

(erat enim solennis, ut putabant, dicta Romana voce tertiadecima, secundum quam studiose convenerunt), sic bestiis crudelibus ab impiis apponebatur, ut confestim sancti martyris Ignatii compleretur desiderium secundum quod scriptum est, *Desiderium iusti acceptabile*, ut sit nulli fratrum gravis per collectionem 5 reliquiarum; secundum quod præoccupans in epistola propriam concupiscit fieri fruitionem. Sola enim asperiora sanctorum ossium derelicta sunt ipsius; quæ in Antiochiam reportata sunt, et in capsâ reposita sunt, thesaurus inappreciabilis ab eâ quæ in martyre gratia sanctæ ecclesiæ relicta. 10

VII. Facta autem sunt hæc die ante tredecim Kalendas Januarias, præsidentibus apud Romanos Sura et Senecio secundo. Horum ipsimet conspectores effecti cum lacrimis, et domi per totam noctem vigilantes, et multum cum genuflexione et oratione deprecantes Dominum certificare infirmos nos de prius 15 factis, parum obdormitantes, hi quidem repente astantem et amplexantem nos videbant, hi autem rursus superiorantem nobis videbant beatum Ignatium, quemadmodum ex labore multo advenientem, et astantem Domino in multa confidentia et ineffabili gloria. Impleti autem gaudio hæc videntes, et glorificantes 20 Deum datorem bonorum, et beatificantes sanctum, manifestavimus vobis et diem et tempus, ut secundum tempus martyrii congregati communicemus athletæ et virili Christi martyri, qui conculcavit diabolum et hujus insidias in finem prostravit; glorificantes in ipsius venerabili et sancta memoria Dominum 25 nostrum Jesum Christum, per quem et cum quo Patri gloria et potentia cum Spiritu Sancto in sancta ecclesia in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

1 solennis]  $L_1$ ; *solempnis*  $L_2$ .      tertiadecima] *terciadecima*  $L_1$ ; *tr̄ adetm̄ia*  $L_2$ .  
3 martyris Ignatii]  $L_2$ ; *ignacii martiris*  $L_1$ .      4 compleretur]  $L_2$ ;  
om.  $L_1$ .      8 ipsius]  $L_1$ ; om.  $L_2$ .      sunt]  $L_2$ ; *sicut*  $L_1$ .      9 inappreciabilis]  
 $L_1$ ; *inapprecialis*  $L_2$ .      11 Facta autem]  $L_2$ ; *autem facta*  $L_1$ .      See above, *Rom.*  
7 and *Mart.* 5.      12 Sura] (apparently)  $L_1$ ; *siria*  $L_2$ s.      Senecio secundo]  
 $L_1$ ; *senecie secunde*  $L_2$ .      16 hi] *hii*  $L_1$   $L_2$ s, and so again just below.      18 beatum]  
 $L_2$ ; *sanctum*  $L_1$ .      19 advenientem]  $L_1$ ; *venientem*  $L_2$ .      21 et beatificantes]  
written twice in  $L_1$ .      22 et diem]  $L_2$ ; *diem* (om. *et*)  $L_1$ .      tempus, ut]  $L_2$ ;  
*sanctum et ut*  $L_1$ .      25 glorificantes]  $L_2$ ; om.  $L_1$ .      26 nostrum]  $L_2$ ; om.  $L_1$ .



# LATIN CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

## S. JOHN AND THE VIRGIN.

### I.

JOHANNI SANCTO SENIORI IGNATIUS ET QUI CUM EO SUNT  
FRATRES.

DE tua mora dolemus graviter, allocutionibus et consolationibus tuis roborandi. Si tua absentia protendatur, multos de  
5 nostris destituet. Properes igitur venire, quia credimus expedire. Sunt et hic multæ de nostris mulieribus Mariam Jesu videre cupientes et discurrere a nobis quotidie volentes, ut eam con-

After the close of the *Martyrium* is the following colophon; *Scriptis beatus ignacius smirneis a troade, policarpo a troade, thralesiis* [for which *ephesiis* is substituted in the marg.] *a smirna, magnesiis a smirna, philadelphis a troade, thralesiis a smirna, marie proselite ab antiochia, tarsensibus a philipensibus, antiochenis a philipensibus, eroni diacono a philipensibus, romanis a S.* [this ends the page, and the remainder of the word is accidentally omitted; the word is written in full *smyrna* in  $L_2$ ], *martirium sancti ignacii cum epistola ad romanos scripta ab ipso ad populum romanorum*  $L_1$ . In  $L_2$  *autem* is added after *scriptis*; the sentences *magnesiis...thralesiis a smirna*, and *martirium...romanorum* are omitted; and it concludes *consummatori bonorum deo gratias*. Owing to Ussher's mode of collating, the minor variations of spelling are uncertain, except that it has *smyrneis* for *smirneis*, *smyrna* for *smirna*, etc. After this colophon the four Latin epistles follow immediately, without any heading, being numbered 14, 15, 16, 17, respectively in the marg. of  $L_1$ .

### I.

SUPERSCR. *epistola eiusdem ad iohannem evangelistam*  $L_1$ ; *epistola* (add. *sancti* 1) *ignatii ad* (add. *sanctum* bl) *iohannem evangelistam*  $L_2$  bl; *epistola sancti ignacii ad beatum iohannem. incipit feliciter m.*

1 Ignatius] add. *episcopus* l. eo] *ipso*  $L_1L_2$ . 4 roborandi] *roborari*  
*cupientes* bl; *robora*  $L_1L_2$ . absentia] *mora* bl. protendatur] *profedatur* m.  
5 nostris] *nobis* l. Properes] *propera*  $L_1L_2$  bl. igitur] *ergo*  $L_1L_2$ . venire]  
om. m. expedire] *expediri* m. 6 multæ] *multi* p. Mariam] add.  
*matrem* l. 7 quotidie] *cotidie*  $L_1$  bl.

tingant et ubera ejus tractent, quæ Dominum Jesum aluerunt, et quædam secretiora ejus percunctentur ipsam. Sed et Salome quam diligis, filia Annæ, Hierosolimis quinque mensibus apud eam commorans, et quidam alii noti referunt eam omnium gratiarum abundam et omnium virtutum fœcundam. Et, ut 5 dicunt, in persecutionibus et afflictionibus est hilaris; in penuriis et indigentis non querula; injuriantibus grata; et molestata lætatur; miseris et afflictis coafflicta condolet, et subvenire non pigrescit. Contra vitiorum pestiferos insultus in pugna fidei disceptans enitescit. Nostræ novæ religionis est magistra; et 10 apud fideles omnium operum pietatis ministra. Humilibus quidem est devota, et devotis devotius humiliatur. Et mirum ab omnibus magnificatur; cum a scribis et Pharisæis ei detrahatur. Præterea et multi multa nobis referunt de eadem: tamen omnibus per omnia non audemus fidem concedere, nec tibi referre. 15 Sed, sicut nobis a fide dignis narratur, in Maria Jesu humanæ naturæ natura sanctitatis angelicæ sociatur. Et hæc talia excitaverunt viscera nostra, et cogunt valde desiderare aspectum hujus (si fas sit fari) prodigii et sanctissimi monstri. Tu autem diligenti modo disponas cum desiderio nostro, et valeas. Amen. 20

2 quædam] *quæ* l. ejus] om. b. ipsam. Sed et] *ipsam. et* l; *ipsam enim et* bm. In  $L_1L_2$  the remainder of the epistle after *percunctentur* is wanting, with the exception of the single sentence *in maria...sociatur.* 3 filia] *filiam* p. Hierosolimis] *ierosolimis* bl. quinque mensibus apud eam] *apud eam quinque mensibus* bl. 4 commorans] *commorantes* p. quidam] *quidem* p. noti] om. bl. referunt] *vociferant* l. eam] om. bm; add. *mariam* p. 5 abundam] *habundam* pb. 6 hilaris] *hylaris* pb. 7 injuriantibus] *in injuriantibus* p. grata] *leta* m. et molestata] *et molesta* p; *ad molesta* m. 9 insultus] om. blm. in pugna] *impugna* p; *impugnat* l. fidei] *fide* pbl. 10 disceptans] *disco aperta tum* p. novæ] *vero* m. 11 pietatis] add. *est* m. 12 mirum] add. *in modum* l. 13 cum] add. *tamen* l. et] om. bl. 14 multa nobis] *multa alia* m. 15 per omnia] om. m. 16 dignis] *condignis* m. Maria] add. *matre* l. 17 sanctitatis angelicæ] *angelicæ sanctitatis* m. 18 viscera] *corda* l; *in sancta* p. 19 hujus] *eius* l. sit] *est sic* b; *est ita* l. 20 nostro] *meo* bl. et] om. m. Amen] om. bl; add. *explicit* m.

## 2.

## JOHANNI SANCTO SENIORI SUUS IGNATIUS.

SI licitum est mihi apud te, ad Hierosolimæ partes volo ascendere, et videre fideles sanctos qui ibi sunt; præcipue Mariam Jesu, quam dicunt universis admirandam et cunctis  
 5 desiderabilem. Quem vero non delectet videre eam et alloqui, quæ verum Deum deorum peperit, si sit nostræ fidei et religionis amicus? Similiter et illum venerabilem Jacobum qui cognominatur Justus; quem referunt Christo Jesu simillimum vita et modo conversationis, ac si ejusdem uteri frater esset gemellus;  
 10 quem, dicunt, si videro, video ipsum Jesum secundum omnia corporis ejus lineamenta: præterea ceteros sanctos et sanctas. Heu, quid moror? Cur detineor? Bone præceptor, properare me jubeas, et valeas. Amen.

## 3.

## CHRISTIFERÆ Mariæ SUUS IGNATIUS.

15 ME neophitum Johannisque tui discipulum confortare et consolari debueras. De Jesu enim tuo percepi mira dictu, et

## 2.

SUPERSCR. *ignacius iohanni evangeliste* L<sub>1</sub>; *alia ignatii iohanni evangeliste* L<sub>2</sub>; *it(erum) epistola ignatii ad iohannem evangelistam* b; *alia epistola sancti ignatii ad iohannem evangelistam* l; *idem ad eundem* m; *alia* p.

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Johanni sancto] <i>sancto iohanni</i> p.                  | 2 mihi] <i>michi</i> lp.  | Hierosolimæ]  |
| <i>ierosolime</i> L <sub>1</sub> L <sub>2</sub> b[l].       | 3 et] om. l.  | fideles] om. L <sub>1</sub> L <sub>2</sub> bl.                  |
| add. <i>matrem</i> l.                                       | 5 vero] <i>enim</i> L <sub>1</sub> L <sub>2</sub> blm.                | videre eam] <i>eam videre</i> L <sub>1</sub> L <sub>2</sub> bl. |
| et] om. b.  | 6 quæ] <i>et quæ</i> b.   | verum] om. L <sub>1</sub> .                                     |
| fidei et] om. L <sub>1</sub> .                              | 8 Christo Jesu] <i>domino christo</i> L <sub>1</sub> L <sub>2</sub> . | simillimum] add.  |
| <i>facie</i> L <sub>1</sub> L <sub>2</sub> blm.             | 10 videro] <i>video</i> L <sub>1</sub> .                              | video] <i>videro</i> L <sub>2</sub> .                           |
| Iesum] <i>dominum iesum</i> L <sub>1</sub> L <sub>2</sub> . | 11 ejus] <i>sui</i> b.  | lineamenta] <i>liniamenta</i> blm.                              |
| 12 Cur detineor] <i>quid detineor</i> m: om. b.             | 13 me] om. l.   | et] om. m.  |
| valeas] add. <i>in christo</i> l.                           |   |   |

## 3.

SUPERSCR. *ignacius sancte marie* L<sub>1</sub>; *alia ignatii sancte marie* L<sub>2</sub>; *ignacius ad sanctam mariam* m; *epistola ignatii ad beatam virginem* b; *epistola sancti ignatii ad mariam christiferam* l; *ignacius beate virgini* p.

|   |                                   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 14 Christiferæ] <i>christofere</i> L <sub>1</sub> . | 15 neophitum] <i>neophytum</i> m. | que] <i>quem</i> L <sub>1</sub> . |
| confortare] <i>confortari</i> L <sub>1</sub> m.     | 16 percepi] om. b.                |                                   |



stupefactus sum ex auditu. A te autem, quæ semper ei familiaris fuisti conjuncta et secretorum ejus conscia, desidero ex animo fieri certior de auditis. Scripsi tibi et etiam alias, et rogavi de eisdem. Valeas; et tui neophiti, qui mecum sunt, ex te et per te et in te confortentur. Amen.

5

## 4.

IGNATIO DILECTO CONDISCIPULO HUMILIS ANCILLA DOMINI.

DE Jesu quæ a Johanne audisti et didicisti vera sunt. Illa credas, illis inhæreas, et Christianitatis susceptæ votum firmiter teneas, et mores et vitam voto conformes. Veniam autem una cum Johanne te et qui tecum sunt visere. Sta et viriliter 10 age in fide; nec te commoveat persecutionis austeritas, sed valeat et exultet spiritus tuus in Deo salutari tuo. Amen.

1 stupefactus] *stupens* b.      auditu] *audito* l.      semper] om. b.      ei familiaris fuisti] *fuisti ei familiaris* L<sub>1</sub>; *familiaris ei fuisti* b; *ei fuisti familiaris* L<sub>2</sub>; *fuisti ei familiaris* m.      3 animo] *nunc* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>.      de] *ex* bl.      auditis] *auditu* b.      alias] *aliis* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>bl.      et] om. bl.      4 rogavi] add. *te* l.      eisdem] *eiisdem* l; *eis* b.      tui] om. L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>blm.      5 Amen] om. L<sub>2</sub>m.

## 4.

SUPERSCR. *ignacio sancta maria* L<sub>1</sub>; *alia sanctæ mariæ ignatio* L<sub>2</sub>; *epistola beatæ virginis ad ignatium* b; *responsio beate mariæ sancto ignatio* l; *sanctissima maria ad beatum ignatium* m; *beata virgo ignatio* p.

6 dilecto] add. *et* bm.      7 Christi Jesu] *iesu christi* L<sub>1</sub>.      Illa] *et illa* bl.      8 illis] *et illis* l.      susceptæ] *eius cepte* L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>bl; om. m.      firmiter] *firmum* m.      9 conformes] *confirmes* p.      10 te] om. L<sub>1</sub>L<sub>2</sub>bl.      et] om. l.      qui] *eos qui* l.      11 nec te] *nec* b; *ne* L<sub>1</sub>.      12 tuus] om. m.

Subscr. *expliciuunt epistole ignacii martiris numero decem et septem* L<sub>1</sub>; om. L<sub>2</sub>.

II.  
SYRIAC REMAINS  
OF  
S. IGNATIUS.

EDITED BY W. WRIGHT, LL.D.

1. *THE THREE EPISTLES OF THE CURETONIAN ABRIDGEMENT WITH TRANSLATION*; p. 659 sq.

The MSS of this abridged Syriac Version are

- Σ<sub>1</sub>. *Brit. Mus. Add.* 12175 (To Polycarp).
- Σ<sub>2</sub>. *Brit. Mus. Add.* 14618 (Three Epistles).
- Σ<sub>3</sub>. *Brit. Mus. Add.* 17192 (Three Epistles).

2. *FRAGMENTS OF THE UNABRIDGED VERSION*; p. 677 sq.

Three groups of fragments, preserved in these MSS respectively ;

- S<sub>1</sub>. *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Syr.* 38.
- S<sub>2</sub>. *Brit. Mus. Add.* 14577.
- S<sub>3</sub>. *Brit. Mus. Add.* 17134.

3. *ANTIOCHENE ACTS OF MARTYRDOM*; p. 687 sq.

The MSS of this Version are

- A. *Brit. Mus. Add.* 7200.
- B. *Rom. Borg.* 18.
- C. *Rom. Vat. Syr.* 160.

All the MSS here mentioned have been described already in the general introduction.



I.

<sup>1</sup> ∴ നമ്മുടെ നാണയം മെഴുകുതിരിയെപ്പോലെ

മിഥ്യ : നല്ലതായ കൃത്യതയും മിഥ്യയും

2. மருத்துவம்

കണ്ടെത്തുക എന്നതിനുള്ള അറിവുകൾ നന്നായി ഉപയോഗിക്കുക  
നല്ലതല്ല എന്നുള്ളതും ഇതും നന്നായി നോക്കുക : കണ്ടെത്തുക

[illegible][illegible]

<sup>1</sup> This general heading is taken from  $\Sigma_0$ .

<sup>2</sup> This heading is from  $\Sigma_1$ , with the exception of the words **ḥaṣṣāla ḥalīḥ**, which are

added.  $\Sigma_2$  here has merely  
~~many more nodes~~

$\Sigma_3$  ~~μ.ν.κ.η κθιζκ~~  
~~.κ.μ.ν.κ.η κθσσζκ~~

<sup>3</sup>  $\Sigma_1$  သစ်၊  $\Sigma_3$  သစ်.



[illegible]<sup>1</sup> Σ, 220K.

طاحه.  $\Sigma_2$

 $\Sigma_1$  has

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

4 N. 1.











[illegible]

<sup>1</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  omits  $\Delta n$ .

<sup>4</sup>  $N_3$  இது கணம்.

<sup>2</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  omits ကဝိလောက.

$$^5 \Sigma_3 \text{ methyl.}$$

<sup>3</sup>  $\Sigma_2$   $\mu$   $\ddot{\kappa}$ .

<sup>6</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  has merely *hazy*.

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<sup>1</sup> The words **አገረኛ ሕሊና** are here added to the heading of  $\Sigma_3$ ;  $\Sigma_2$  has : **ሕሊና አገረኛ**  
**ወልቃ አገረኛ አገረኛ ጤና**

$\sum_2^2$   $\frac{1}{2}$

<sup>3</sup>  $\Sigma_3$  പ്രതിപാദന (not പ്രതിപാദന).

4  $\Sigma_3$  حجم.

<sup>5</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  omits  $\Delta$ .

<sup>4</sup> Σ, κινδκ, without π.

<sup>9</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  omits  $\text{מִן הַיָּם}$ .

3 Σ. αλτ.





[illegible] $\Sigma_2$  மொழிபெயர்த்து.

۲  $\Sigma_2$  کلمہ اہمیت

<sup>2</sup> Σ, ~~אח~~, without א.

<sup>4</sup>  $\Sigma_9$  has the general colophon,

ಪೂರ್ವದಿಂದ ಬಂದಿರುವುದು

. കമ്മ്യൂണിക്കേഷൻ

## THE THREE EPISTLES OF IGNATIUS BISHOP AND MARTYR<sup>1</sup>.

### I.

*The Epistle of Mar Ignatius the Bishop, to Polycarp<sup>2</sup>.*

**I**GNATIUS, who is Theophorus, to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who himself is more visited by God the Father and by Jesus Christ our Lord; much greeting.

Forasmuch as thy mind, which is fixed in God as upon an immoveable rock, is acceptable to me, I praise God the more abundantly that I have been accounted worthy of thy countenance which I long for in God. I beseech thee then, by the grace with which thou art clothed, to add to thy course, and to pray for all men that they may be saved; and require thou things becoming with all diligence of flesh and of spirit. Be careful for concord, than which nothing is more excellent. Bear all men, as our Lord beareth thee. Be longsuffering with all men in love, as thou art (doest). Be constant in prayer. Ask for more understanding than thou hast. Be watchful, for thou possessest a spirit that sleepeth not. Speak with all men according to the will of God. Bear the infirmity of all men like a perfect athlete; for where the labour is much, much also is the gain. If thou love the good disciple only, thou hast no grace. Rather subdue those who are evil by gentleness; for<sup>3</sup> all sores are not healed by one medicine. Allay cutting by embrocation<sup>4</sup>. Be wise as the serpent in everything, and innocent as the dove with respect to those things which are requisite. On this account art thou of flesh and of spirit, that thou mayest allure those things which are seen before thy face; and respecting those things

<sup>1</sup> This general heading is from  $\Sigma_2$ .

<sup>2</sup>  $\Sigma_1$  has *The Epistle of Mar Ignatius the bishop*;  $\Sigma_2$  *The Epistle of Ignatius*;  $\Sigma_3$  *The Epistle of Ignatius bishop of Antioch*.

<sup>3</sup>  $\Sigma_1 \Sigma_2$  omit *for*.

<sup>4</sup> Literally *by softening*. The Syriac words, taken by themselves, might also mean, *minister unto the flock with gentleness*.



which are hidden from thee, ask that they may be revealed to thee, that thou mayest be lacking in nothing, and mayest abound in all gifts. The time requireth<sup>1</sup>, as the pilot the ship, and as he who standeth in the tempest the haven, that thou shouldest be worthy of God. Be vigilant, as an athlete of God. That which is promised to us is life eternal incorruptible, of which thou also art persuaded. In everything I will be instead of thy soul, and my bonds which thou hast loved. Let not those who seem to be (*or*, who think themselves) something and teach strange doctrines, astound thee; but stand in truth, like an athlete who is smitten: for it is [the part] of a great athlete that he should be smitten and conquer. More especially for God's sake it behoveth us to endure everything, that He also may endure us. Be diligent more than thou art. Be discerning of the times. Expect Him who is above the times, Him to whom there are no times<sup>2</sup>, Him who is unseen, Him who for our sakes was seen, Him who is impalpable, Him who is impassible, Him who for our sakes suffered, Him who endured every thing in every form for our sakes. Let not the widows be neglected. For our Lord's sake be thou careful of them. And let nothing be done without thy will, neither do thou anything apart from<sup>3</sup> the will of God; nor indeed doest thou. Stand well. Let there be frequent assemblies. Ask every man by his name. Despise not slaves and handmaids. But neither let them despise; but let them serve the more, as for the glory of God, that they may be accounted worthy of the excellent freedom which is of God. Let them not desire to be set free out of the common [property], that they may not be found the slaves of lusts. Flee from evil arts; but rather discourse respecting them. Bid my sisters that they love in the Lord, and that their husbands<sup>4</sup> be sufficient for them in flesh and in spirit. And again, charge my brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they love their wives as our Lord His Church. If any one be able by strength to continue in chastity to the honour of the body of our Lord, let him continue without boasting; if he boast, he is lost; if he become known apart from the bishop, he has corrupted himself. But<sup>5</sup> it is becoming, to men and women who marry, that they marry by the counsel of

<sup>1</sup> Or it might be *required*, or *require*, if the word were differently pointed.

<sup>2</sup> According to the punctuation of the Syriac text, *consider in the times Him who is above the times; expect Him to whom there are no times*, etc.

<sup>3</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  reads *without*, the same word as before.

<sup>4</sup> The reading of  $\Sigma_2$  is, *Bid my sisters take their husbands in the Lord, and let their husbands* etc.

<sup>5</sup>  $\Sigma_1$  has *For*.

the bishop, that the marriage may be in our Lord, and not in lust. But let every thing be for the honour of God. Look ye to the bishop, that God also may look to you. I will be instead of the souls of those who are subject to the bishop and the presbyters and the deacons; with them may I have a portion with God. Labour together with one another; make the struggle together, run together, suffer together, sleep together<sup>1</sup>, rise together. As stewards of God, and His domestics and ministers, please Him and serve Him, from whom ye will receive wages (*or* that ye may receive wages from Him). Let none of you rebel. Let your baptism be to you as armour, and faith as a helmet, and love as a spear, and patience as a panoply. Let your treasures be your good works, that ye may receive the gift of God, as is just. Be ye long-suffering towards each other in gentleness, as God towards you. I rejoice in you at all times. The Christian has not power over himself, but is ready to be subject to God. I salute him who is accounted worthy to go to Antioch in my stead, as I charged thee<sup>2</sup>.

[Here] ends the First<sup>3</sup> [Epistle].

## 2.

*The Second Epistle, to the Ephesians*<sup>4</sup>.

**I**GNATIUS, who is Theophorus, to the church which is blessed in the greatness of God the Father, and perfected; to her who was set apart from eternity to be at all times for abiding and unchangeable glory, and is perfected and chosen in the token of truth<sup>5</sup>, by the will of the Father of Jesus Christ our God; to her who is worthy of happiness; to her who is at Ephesus in Jesus Christ in joy unblameable; much greeting.

Forasmuch as your well-beloved name is acceptable to me in God, which ye have acquired by nature by a right and just will, <sup>6</sup>by faith and by love of Jesus Christ our Saviour, and ye are imitators of God, and have been fervent<sup>7</sup> in the blood of God, and have speedily accomplished a work congenial to you; for<sup>8</sup> when ye heard that I was

<sup>1</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  omits the words *sleep together*.

<sup>2</sup> According to  $\Sigma_3$ , *as thou didst charge us*.

<sup>3</sup>  $\Sigma_1 \Sigma_2$  omit *the First*.

<sup>4</sup> So  $\Sigma_3$ . For *The Second Epistle*  $\Sigma_2$  reads *His Second*.

<sup>5</sup> But ~~Κ~~ is probably a corruption of ~~Κ~~, so that it will be *in a true passion*; see above, p. 25 sq.

<sup>6</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  inserts *and also*.

<sup>7</sup>  $\Sigma_2$ , *and are fervent*.

<sup>8</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  omits *for*.



bound [so as to be hindered] from acting<sup>1</sup> for the sake of the common name and hope,—and I hope through your prayers to be devoured of beasts at Rome, that by means of this, whereof I am accounted worthy, I may be endued with strength to be a disciple of God,—ye were diligent to come and see me. But forasmuch as we have received your multitude in the name of God by Onesimus, who is your bishop in love unutterable, whom I pray in Jesus Christ our Lord that ye may love, and that ye all may be in his likeness; for blessed is He who hath given you such a bishop, as ye deserve. But forasmuch as love suffereth me not to be silent respecting (from) you, on this account I have been forward to entreat you to be diligent in the will of God; for when no one lust is implanted in you which is able to torment you, lo, ye live in God. I rejoice in you, and I offer supplication on account of you Ephesians, a church renowned in all ages. For those who are carnal are not able to do spiritual things, neither the spiritual carnal things; just as neither faith [can do] those things which are foreign to faith, nor lack of faith [those things which are] of faith. For those things which ye have done in the flesh, even they are spiritual, because ye have done every thing in Jesus Christ. And ye are prepared for the building of God the Father, and ye are raised up on high by the engine of Jesus Christ, which is the Cross, and ye<sup>2</sup> are drawn by the rope, which is the Holy Spirit; and that which hoisteth you up<sup>3</sup> is your faith, and your love is the way that leadeth up on high to God. Pray for all men, for there is hope of repentance for them, that they may be accounted worthy of God. From your works especially let them be instructed. Against their harsh words be ye conciliatory in meekness of mind and in gentleness; against their blasphemies do ye pray; and against their error arm ye yourselves with faith; and against their fierceness be ye peaceful and quiet; and be ye not astounded at them. But let us be imitators of our Lord in meekness, and of whosoever shall more especially be injured and oppressed and defrauded. The work is not of promise, but that a man be found in the strength of faith even to the end. It is better that a man be silent when he is something, than that he should be speaking when he is not; that through those things which he speaks, he may act, and through those things in which he is silent, he may be known. My spirit

<sup>1</sup> Or *visiting*;  $\Sigma_2$  has the plural, *from actions*: but doubtless  $\kappa\iota\iota\alpha\omega$  is a corruption of  $\kappa\iota\iota\alpha\omega$  Syria, as in the Greek.

<sup>2</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  omits *ye*.

<sup>3</sup> Syriac,  $\kappa\iota\iota\iota\alpha\omega$ , feminine  $\kappa\iota\iota\iota\iota\alpha\omega$ , *qui, quæ extrahit*. Cureton, and your pulley.



boweth down to the Cross, which is a stumbling-block to those who do not believe, but to you for salvation and life eternal. There was concealed from the ruler of this world the virginity of Mary, and her child-bearing<sup>1</sup>, and the death<sup>2</sup> of our Lord, and (*or* even) the three mysteries of shouting, which were wrought in the quiet of God from [the time of] the star even till now. At the manifestation of the Son magic began to cease, and all bonds were loosed, and the ancient kingdom and the error of evil was destroyed. Henceforward all things were moved together, and the destruction of death was devised, and there was the commencement of that which is perfected in God.

[Here] ends the Second Epistle<sup>3</sup>.

## 3.

*The Third Epistle, to the Romans*<sup>4</sup>.

**I**GNATIUS, who is Theophorus, to the church which has found compassion in the greatness of the Father Most High; to her who presideth in the place of the country of the Romans; who is worthy of God, and worthy of life and blessings and praise and remembrance, and is worthy of prosperity, and presideth in love, and is perfected in the law of Christ unblameable (*or* unblameably); much greeting.

From of old I have prayed to God that I might be accounted worthy to behold your faces, which are worthy of God; but now, being bound in Jesus Christ, I hope to receive you and salute you, if it be the Will that I should be accounted worthy to the end. For the beginning is well disposed<sup>5</sup>, if I be accounted worthy to attain to the end, that I may receive my portion without hindrance amid suffering. For I am afraid of your love, lest it should injure me. But for you it is easy to do what you wish; but for me it is difficult to be accounted worthy of God, if indeed [γὰρ] ye spare me not. For there is no other time for me<sup>6</sup> like this, that I should be accounted worthy of God; neither will ye, if ye be silent, be found in a better work than this. If ye leave me, I shall be a word of

<sup>1</sup> Both manuscripts read ܡܠܕܐܬܐ, and his birth, but there can be little doubt that the upper point has been accidentally omitted, ܡܠܕܐܬܐ, and her child-bearing.

<sup>2</sup> The word ܡܡܬܐ, and his death, is wanting in Σ<sub>2</sub>. See p. 78 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Σ<sub>2</sub> omits the Second Epistle.

<sup>4</sup> Σ<sub>3</sub> has *The Third Epistle*; Σ<sub>2</sub> *The Third Epistle of the same Saint Ignatius*. The words *to the Romans* are added in our text to complete the title.

<sup>5</sup> Σ<sub>3</sub> has *for the beginning we have well contrived, or planned*.

<sup>6</sup> Σ<sub>2</sub> omits *for me*.

God; but if ye love my flesh, I become again a voice. Ye will not give me anything better than this, that I should be sacrificed to God while the altar is ready; that ye may be with one concord in love, and may praise God the Father in Jesus Christ our Lord, because He has accounted the bishop of Syria<sup>1</sup> worthy to be God's, after He has called him from the East to the West. It is good for me<sup>2</sup> that I should set from the world in God, that I may rise in Him in life. Ye have never envied any one. Ye have taught others. Only pray for strength to be given to me from within and from without, that I may not only speak, but also desire; and not that I may be called a Christian only, but also that I may be found to be [one]: for if I am found to be [one], I am also able to be called [so]. Then shall I be faithful, when I am not seen in the world. For there is nothing which is seen that is good. The work is not [a matter] of persuasion, but Christianity is great when the world hateth it. I write to all the churches, and declare to all men that I die willingly for God, if it be that ye hinder me not. I intreat you, be not [affected] towards me with love that is unseasonable. Leave me to be [the prey] of the beasts, that through them I may be accounted worthy of God. I am the wheat of God, and by the teeth of the beasts I am ground, that I may be found the pure bread of God. With provoking provoke ye the beasts, that they may be a grave for me, and may leave nothing of my body, that even when I am fallen asleep, I may not be a burden upon any one. Then am I in truth a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world seeth not even my body. Intreat our Lord for me, that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God. I do not charge you like Peter and Paul, who are Apostles, but I am one condemned: <sup>3</sup>they are free, but I am a slave even until now. But if I suffer, I am a freedman of Jesus Christ, and I shall rise in Him from the dead free. And now, being bound, I learn to desire nothing. From Syria, and even to Rome<sup>4</sup>, I am cast among beasts, by sea and by land, by night and by day, being bound between ten leopards, which are the band of soldiers, who, even while I do good to them, do evil the more to me. But I am the more instructed by their injury, but not on this account am I justified to myself. I rejoice in the beasts that are prepared for me, and I pray that they may be speedily

<sup>1</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  omits *of Syria*.

<sup>2</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  omits *for me*.

<sup>3</sup>  $\Sigma_3$  inserts *but*, which is erased in  $\Sigma_3$ .

<sup>4</sup> According to the punctuation of the Syriac text, *to desire nothing, from Syria and even to Rome. I am cast, etc.*



found for me; and I will provoke them to devour me speedily, and not as that which is afraid of some other men and does not approach them. Even should they not be willing to approach me, I will go with violence against them. Know me from myself; what is expedient for me. Let nothing envy me of things that are seen and that are not seen, that I should be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ<sup>1</sup>. Let fire, and the cross, and the beasts that are prepared, cutting off of limbs, and scattering of bones, and crushing of the whole body, hard torments of the devil, come upon me; and only let me be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ. The pains of birth are standing over me: and my love is the Cross<sup>2</sup>, and there is not in me fire of<sup>3</sup> any other love. I do not desire the food of corruption, neither the lusts of this world. The bread of God I seek, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, and his blood I seek [as] a drink, which is love incorruptible. My spirit saluteth you, and the love of the churches which received me as the name of Jesus Christ; for even those who were not<sup>4</sup> near to the way in the flesh preceded me in every city. Now I am about to arrive (*or* near, so that I shall arrive)<sup>5</sup> at Rome. I know many things in God, but I moderate myself, that I may not perish through boasting; for now it behoveth me to fear the more, and not to regard those who puff me up. For they who say to me such things, scourge me; for I love to suffer, but I do not know if I am worthy. For to many zeal is not seen, but with me it has war. I have need therefore of gentleness, by which the ruler of this world is destroyed. I am able to write to you heavenly things; but I fear lest I should do you an injury. Know me from myself; for I am cautious, lest ye should not be able to suffice [for them], and should be perplexed. For even I, not because I am bound, and am able to know heavenly things, and the places of the angels, and the station of the powers that are seen and that are not seen, on this account am I a disciple; for I am far short of the perfection which is worthy of God. Be ye perfectly strong in the patience of Jesus Christ our God.

[Here] ends the Third [Epistle]<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> According to the punctuation of the Syriac text, *not seen*. *That I may be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ, let fire,* etc.

<sup>2</sup> So according to the present Syriac text; *my love is crucified* would require

ܡܝܠܬܐ ܕܡܝܠܬܐ.

<sup>3</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  reads *in* for *of*.

<sup>4</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  omits *not*.

<sup>5</sup>  $\Sigma_2$  reads *I am near, I shall arrive*, omitting *so that*.

<sup>6</sup> So  $\Sigma_2$ .  $\Sigma_3$  has [*Here*] *end the Three Epistles of Ignatius bishop and martyr*.



2.

S.

כל הַיּוֹצֵא מִן הַיָּם וּמִן הַבְּרִיָּה  
 : אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ : אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ . אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
 : אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ . אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ . אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
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 אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ . אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

(Ephes. 5, 6) : אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ . אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ  
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(Ephes. 13) : אֵלֶּיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ



.למען .אשר ילעגתם וישאד וישאד .  
 אברהם וישאד .דבר דבר דבר .אל דבר א  
 ללעגתם וישאד .דבר דבר דבר .  
 דבר אברהם וישאד .אל דבר דבר דבר  
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(Trall. 2, 3) :: דבר דבר

דבר דבר .אל דבר דבר .  
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(Trall. 5, 6) :: דבר





וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל  
 אֶת הַבְּתוּלָה וְהָיָה  
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל  
 אֶת הַבְּתוּלָה וְהָיָה

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

[illegible]

' Variant at the foot of the page, in the same handwriting as the text,  
אברהם נחמיה וישראל









[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> MS אמאא.

<sup>4</sup> *Ephes.* 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Rom.* 4—6.

<sup>5</sup> *Magn.* 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Ephes.* 15.





אַתָּה לִשְׁתִּיבָה אֶתְּמַר לִי מִיָּה. אַתָּה לִי עֵבֶר.  
 מִיָּה. אֵלֶּיךָ. <sup>2</sup> אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ.  
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3.

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(I) אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ.

אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ.

<sup>1</sup> MS אֵלֶּיךָ.

<sup>5</sup> C אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. 6.

<sup>6</sup> B omits אֵלֶּיךָ, C omits

<sup>3</sup> Rom. 4.

אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ. אֵלֶּיךָ.

<sup>4</sup> C omits אֵלֶּיךָ.





[illegible]

(II) 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.

<sup>1</sup> B Khaulaw, C  
Khaulaw.

<sup>2</sup> B க.ந.ப.ப.ப.

3 A C Kazan.

<sup>4</sup> The sentence is, as Cureton has observed, grammatically incomplete, notwithstanding the agreement of the three mss.

<sup>5</sup> C omits .

<sup>6</sup> C കുരിശു ചട്ടം നൽകി.  
കുരിശു . ചട്ടം.

<sup>7</sup> C നാലാം പന്തളം .പി

8 C קצו.

9 C. ३५ ५५.

10 C חב ו אבנא.

<sup>11</sup> C כחית. אעלבו.

<sup>12</sup> C omits **καὶ**, which has no equivalent in the Greek.



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| <sup>1</sup> C <b>𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙</b> |
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העלם, i.e. חסד עלם.

<sup>8</sup> B C كنف.

<sup>9</sup> C omits ٢٧.

<sup>10</sup> C **ሪዞ** and **ርዞ**.

<sup>11</sup> So all the MSS.

<sup>12</sup> C നാഡം, A B കുറ.

13 C ~~നമ്മുടെ~~ നമ.

<sup>14</sup> B ἁποδοξ. The text  
A is illegible.





: ක්වච්ඡි ක්වච්ඡානං කඤ්ඤා උච්ඡාදා (III)  
 උච්ඡාදා . කඤ්ඤා උච්ඡාදා උච්ඡාදා <sup>2</sup> කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා  
 උච්ඡාදා උච්ඡාදා . <sup>3</sup> කඤ්ඤා උච්ඡාදා කඤ්ඤා උච්ඡාදා  
 කඤ්ඤා : කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා . <sup>4</sup> කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා  
 කඤ්ඤා උච්ඡාදා . <sup>5</sup> කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා  
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 කඤ්ඤා <sup>7</sup> කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා . කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා  
 කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා <sup>8</sup> කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා  
 කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා <sup>10</sup> කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා  
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 කඤ්ඤා <sup>11</sup> කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා . කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා කඤ්ඤා  
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<sup>1</sup> A B **Куба.**

<sup>2</sup> B നായ്ക്കു, C നായ്ക്കു;

A B കമ്മീഷൻ ഹാജര.

<sup>3</sup> C omits **כח**.

<sup>4</sup> C omits ~~ကုသု~~; A has ကုသု, and below ကုသု.

5 C 320.

<sup>6</sup> C adds Kumias  
.Kohafusao

7 C କରୁଣା ରଙ୍ଗ.

8 B لغة و کتاب.

9 C. ~~mark.~~

10 Cals.

<sup>11</sup> C omits ௨௭.

12 C חבול . קמח . חבול .

13 C നാലുപേർ.

<sup>14</sup> B omits Kum.

<sup>3</sup>: **ܡܬܠܡܢܐܬܐ** <sup>2</sup>**ܚܬܝܬܐܬܐܬܐ** <sup>1</sup>**ܚܬܐ** **ܐܡܠ** **ܚܝܬܐ**  
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<sup>5</sup>**ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ** (IV)  
**ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ** <sup>6</sup>**ܚܝܬܐ** .**ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ**  
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**ܚܝܬܐ** <sup>10</sup>**ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ** **ܚܝܬܐ** **ܚܝܬܐ**  
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<sup>14</sup>**ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ** **ܚܝܬܐ**

<sup>1</sup> C **ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ**  
**ܚܝܬܐ**; B also omits the second  
**ܚܝܬܐ**.

<sup>2</sup> C omits this word.

<sup>3</sup> B **ܡܬܠܡܢܐܬܐ**, C  
**ܡܬܠܡܢܐܬܐ**.

<sup>4</sup> C omits the words **ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ**  
**ܚܝܬܐ**, which have no equi-  
 valent in the Greek.

<sup>5</sup> B omits **ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ**.

<sup>6</sup> B omits **ܚܝܬܐ**.

<sup>7</sup> C **ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ**  
**.ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ**

<sup>8</sup> C **ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ**.

<sup>9</sup> C **ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ**.

<sup>10</sup> C **ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ**.

<sup>11</sup> C has **ܚܝܬܐ**, and omits  
 the preceding words from **ܚܝܬܐ**.

<sup>12</sup> C **ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ**.

<sup>13</sup> B **ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ**.

<sup>14</sup> A omits **ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ**  
**ܚܝܬܐ**; C has **ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ ܚܝܬܐ**  
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לֹא הָיָה בְּיָמָיו לֵאמֹר <sup>1</sup> וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן  
וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן.

(2) וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן <sup>2</sup> וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן  
לֹא הָיָה בְּיָמָיו לֵאמֹר וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן  
וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן  
וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן <sup>3</sup> וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן  
וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן <sup>4</sup> וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן  
וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן <sup>5</sup> וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן  
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וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן <sup>6</sup> וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן  
וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן <sup>7</sup> וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן  
וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן <sup>8</sup> וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן  
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וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן <sup>9</sup> וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן  
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וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן <sup>10</sup> וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן  
וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן  
וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן <sup>11</sup> וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן  
וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן <sup>12</sup> וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן  
וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן

<sup>1</sup> B omits לֹא, C has וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן.

<sup>2</sup> C omits וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן.

<sup>3</sup> A B וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן.  
וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן.

<sup>4</sup> C וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן.

<sup>5</sup> A B וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן and

וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן. C has וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן

וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן

וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן

וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן

<sup>6</sup> C omits לֹא.

<sup>7</sup> A omits לֹא.

<sup>8</sup> Here ends the text of A.

<sup>9</sup> C omits וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן.

<sup>10</sup> C וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן.

<sup>11</sup> C וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן

וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן

וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן

<sup>12</sup> C omits וְהָיָה כֵּן וְכֵן, and adds לֹא.





[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> B omits and.

<sup>8</sup> B. הנהגה.

<sup>2</sup> B ~~manuscript~~.

<sup>9</sup> B omits ۴۶.

<sup>3</sup> Another example of double translation.

<sup>10</sup> C omits **ל** **ל** **ל** **ל** **ל**.

<sup>4</sup> C omits from كذلك to الذي.

<sup>11</sup> B has no point at **וַיִּק**,  
but connects this clause with the  
first words of the next chapter

<sup>3</sup> B ಕೂಗುಮ.

[illegible]

<sup>6</sup> C omits **၁၈၈၂**.

<sup>12</sup> B adds ~~in~~.

<sup>7</sup> C קעגן אנט.





(6) 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19.

(7) תלמידי חכמים זכרם לברכה<sup>20</sup> דאספיקין מן הדינא דהבית  
ועיני ארץ כאלמא : מיזא דתפילתא. לא ארץ

<sup>1</sup> **ح. ١٠٠** is wanting in B.

<sup>11</sup> B ~~unusual~~, probably a

Both MSS have **חבצה**.

misprint.

<sup>2</sup> B adds Kum.

<sup>12</sup> B adds *निनि*.

<sup>3</sup> Both MSS have the singular;

<sup>13</sup> C omits **لـ**.

B adds *mylar* *kla.*

14 C wakai.

4 C १७७७.

15 C Klitz.

<sup>5</sup> B omits **ل**.

16 B ۲۹۹.

<sup>6</sup> B *Kuntz* *h.*

17 C **م.**

<sup>7</sup> B omits **om.**

18 B 2.71.

<sup>2</sup> B man dus offen.

19 В *В. А. М.*

9 B Mo.

<sup>20</sup> B כחלק מן המצוי

<sup>10</sup> B כלל מן השם.

نکات.



[illegible]

1. කිංකර කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම (9)  
 2. කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම  
 3. කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම  
 4. කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම  
 5. කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම  
 6. කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම  
 7. කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම  
 8. කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම  
 9. කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම  
 10. කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම  
 11. කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම කර්ම

(10) חבדו לחם אם <sup>12</sup> תלם : חם קפוק עמ  
לחם אם חבדו חם <sup>13</sup> קפוק עמ

<sup>1</sup> B dukiya : احد  
 ۱۸. Read dukiya.

17 C கனகசபை.

<sup>3</sup> B adds **محم** **لحم**. One would have expected **لحم**.

<sup>4</sup> B זכר ליהוה אלהינו.

<sup>5</sup> C adds ۴۶.

6 C طاهر.

<sup>7</sup> B omits **لحم**.

<sup>8</sup> B adds **॥ अथवा ॥**

9 C K m l k.

<sup>10</sup> B κθῆναι . Κῶς αἰνῶ .

11 B ڪلم.

<sup>12</sup> Comits ۴۸.

13 B AK.





କିମ୍ବଦନ୍ତୀ କହଣତ 'ମ ଗୁଣାଦିତ୍ୟ' (VI)

<sup>5</sup> B **𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡**; but we should perhaps read **𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢**.

<sup>6</sup> B reads  $\mu\pi$ , but  $\mu\pi$  is required by the Greek, ἀπὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Πόργου.




quired by the Greek, ἀπὸ τοῦ  
καλουμένου Πόρτου.

καλουμένου Πόρτου.





[illegible][illegible]

<sup>1</sup> B ; probably a misprint. For  read ?

<sup>2</sup> The sentence would run more smoothly, if we read ~~and~~ instead of ~~in~~.

<sup>3</sup> Read *amassiz*?

<sup>4</sup> There seems to be something wrong here. Moesinger considered  $\mathbb{R}^n = \mathbb{R}^n$ .

<sup>5</sup> B မြို့တော် လမ်းဆုံက.



III.

GREEK EPISTLES  
OF THE  
LONG RECENSION.



1. *INTRODUCTION*; p. 711.

2. *TEXT AND NOTES*; p. 719.

III.

GREEK EPISTLES

OF THE

LONG RECENSION.

I.

THE THIRTEEN Ignatian Epistles which form the *Long Recension* and which emanated, as we have seen, from a forger writing in the name of the saint in the latter half of the fourth century, are given in the following pages in the order in which they occur in the Greek manuscripts of this Recension; viz.

1. *Mary to Ignatius.*
2. *Ignatius to Mary.*
3. *Trallians.*
4. *Magnesians.*
5. *Tarsians.*
6. *Philippians.*
7. *Philadelphians.*
8. *Smyrnæans.*
9. *Polycarp.*
10. *Antiochens.*
11. *Hero.*
12. *Ephesians.*
13. *Romans.*

These epistles fall into four classes according to their real or feigned chronology. Of these classes the first, fourth, and fifth are forgeries throughout, while the second and third are interpolated from the genuine epistles.

(i) *First Class*, comprising two forged letters supposed to have been written while the saint was still at ANTIOCH ;

*Mary to Ignatius.*

*Ignatius to Mary.*

(ii) *Second Class*, the four letters actually written by the saint from SMYRNA, with interpolations and alterations ;

*Ephesians.*

*Magnesians.*

*Trallians.*

*Romans.*

(iii) *Third Class*, the three letters actually written by the saint from TROAS, with interpolations and alterations as in the class immediately preceding ;

*Philadelphians.*

*Smyrncans.*

*Polycarp.*

(iv) *Fourth Class*, three forged letters supposed to have been written from PHILIPPI ;

*Tarsians.*

*Antiochenes.*

*Hero.*

(v) *Fifth Class*, a single forged letter supposed to have been written after the saint had reached the shores of ITALY ;

*Philippians.*

## 2.

The *authorities for the text* of these epistles are not the same throughout. This difference is due partly to the imperfection of some MSS at the beginning or end, but still more to the fact that the *forged* (as distinguished from the *interpolated*) epistles were also attached to the genuine letters of Ignatius. Hence the same authorities, which contain the genuine letters, for the most part contain the forged letters also ; whereas the interpolated letters are only preserved in the authorities for the Long Recension.

The authorities are as follows :

### I. GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.

- (1) G, containing the forged epistles ; but this MS is mutilated and ends abruptly *Tars. 7 ἀνεπίστατοι γὰρ εἰσὶν τοῦ*



κτ., so that it only gives the first two and the beginning of the third; see above, I. p. 73 sq.

(2) g, the epistles of the Long Recension.

The several MSS are

g<sub>1</sub> (*Monacensis* or *Augustanus*), mutilated at the beginning and commencing with *Mar. Ign.* 2 -νάσκαλον δὲ κ.τ.λ.; see above, I. p. 102.

g<sub>2</sub> (*Vaticanus*), mutilated at the beginning and commencing with *Trall.* 4 οὖν πραότητος κ.τ.λ.; see I. p. 103.

g<sub>3</sub> (*Nydpruccianus*), omitting the Epistle of Mary to Ignatius, but containing the other twelve letters whole. This MS is only known through the edition of Gesner; see I. p. 109.

g<sub>4</sub> (*Constantinopolitanus*), containing all the thirteen epistles; see I. p. 110.

g<sub>5</sub> (*Vatic. Reg.*), containing nearly the whole of the Epistle to the Ephesians; see I. p. 111.

2. LATIN VERSIONS.

L, containing all the forged epistles except *Philippians*; see I. p. 80, II. p. 629.

l, omitting the letter of *Mary to Ignatius*, but containing the other twelve (the letter to *Polycarp* wanting the latter half); see I. p. 117.

3. ARMENIAN VERSION.

A, containing all the forged epistles; see I. p. 84.

4. COPTIC VERSION.

C, containing (in its present mutilated state) only the end of the letter to *Hero*; see I. p. 101, II. p. 861.

It will thus be seen that the authorities for the several parts are as follows:

(1) *Mary to Ignatius*;

G, g (g<sub>1</sub> mutilated, g<sub>4</sub>), L, A.

(2) *Ignatius to Mary, Tarsians, Antiochenes*;

G (ending *Tars.* 7), g (g<sub>1</sub>, g<sub>3</sub>, g<sub>4</sub>, g<sub>5</sub> beginning in *Tars.* 4), L, l, A.

(3) *Philippians*;

g (g<sub>1</sub>, g<sub>2</sub>, g<sub>3</sub>, g<sub>4</sub>), l, A.

(4) *Hero* ;g ( $g_1, g_2, g_3, g_4$ ), L, l, A, C (a fragment).(5) *Trallians, Magnesians, Philadelphians, Smyrnæans, Polycarp, Ephesians, Romans* ;g ( $g_1, g_2, g_3, g_4, g_5$  for *Ephesians* only), l.

As the letters of this last group are founded on the text of the genuine Ignatius by interpolations and alterations, this latter is very frequently available as an authority. It is designated I in the critical notes.

The above authorities fall into four classes.

(i) g l, which are closely connected. The respective values of the Greek MSS ( $g_1, g_2, g_3, g_4, g_5$ ) have been already discussed and the relation of the Latin Version (l) to the Greek Text has also been considered (I. p. 102 sq.). Here it is sufficient to say that of the Greek MSS  $g_1$  is the best, and that the Latin Version (though loose and full of blunders) was made from an older Greek text than any contained in extant MSS.

(ii) G L, which again are closely connected. On the whole this type of text is less trustworthy than the former, but it often gives the correct readings where the other is corrupt. The relation of L to G has been investigated already.

(iii) A, an independent authority, which preserves a very ancient form of the text, where this can be discerned through the distortions of a secondary translation and the corruptions of successive transmission.

(iv) C, a mere fragment, but highly valuable as far as it goes.

## 3.

The history of the *printed text* of the Long Recension in the original Greek commences with the publication of two editions, nearly simultaneous in time but independent of each other<sup>1</sup> ;

<sup>1</sup> As these sheets were passing through the press, Funk's article *Die drei ersten Griechischen Ausgaben, etc.*, in *Theolog. Quartalschr.* LXI. p. 610 sq. (1879), reached my hands. Funk there endeavours to prove that Gesner's edition was derived entirely from the *Codex Augustinus* [ $g_1$ ], so that  $g_3$  has no independent value whatever. He bases his conclusion on

the coincidences between the readings of  $g_1$  and  $g_3$ . But, when these coincidences are examined, they are found to consist almost entirely (1) of readings which must be pronounced certainly or most probably correct, (2) of readings which  $g_1 g_3$  share with other authorities. Thus they do not at all substantiate his inference. One special coincidence however is brought

(1) The one by Valentinus Paceus (Hartung Frid) at Dillingen in 1557; taken from the *Augsburg* (now *Munich*) MS, designated  $g_1$  in the present edition.

(2) The other by Andrew Gesner at Zürich in a volume of miscellaneous Greek patristic works. The title page of Ignatius is dated 1559. The Ignatian Epistles were taken from a MS belonging to Caspar von Nydprugck, designated  $g_3$  in the present edition.

Neither of these two editions contains the letter of Mary to

forward, which deserves more consideration. In *Philipp.* 7  $g_3$  reads νόμον for νόμων and just below ἐγέννητον for ἀγέννητον, both which readings appear in the ed. princ. of Valentinus Paceus. If this coincidence be not accidental, then Gesner's edition must have been derived not from the *Codex Augustanus* ( $g_1$ ) itself (for both words are correctly written there) but from an incorrect transcript made for the ed. princ. or from the sheets of the ed. princ. itself. This hypothesis however is beset with difficulties.

(1) In the first place Gesner states explicitly that his was the earliest edition in the original Greek. Funk indeed believes that the words 'ea quae hactenus circumferebantur' refer only to the *Micropresbyticum*, a work which has been mentioned just before by Gesner and which gave the Latin of the Ignatian Epistles; but the expression is quite comprehensive and could not have been used, if the editor had known of any previous Greek edition whatever. (2) In the second place, as Nydprugck died in September 1557 (see Funk, p. 622), and the edition of Paceus is dated November or December (μηνὶ μαϊμακτηριῶνι) of the same year, it is difficult to see how the transcript supposed to have been used for this edition can have belonged to the library of Nydprugck. The hypothesis that the sheets of the ed. princ. itself were used by Gesner is precluded by the fact that he speaks of a manuscript. (3) Lastly; several phenomena in the edition

of Gesner are highly difficult to explain, if  $g_3$  were altogether dependent on  $g_1$ . Thus in the very same chapter from which Funk takes his example, *Philipp.* 7,  $g_1$  has οὐδ' ἀγνωὼ διοδόξῃ καὶ δίδυμα βέννεις, while  $g_3$  gives οὐδ' ἀγνωὼ ὅτε διὰ λοξὰ καὶ δίδυμα βαλνεις. Partly from authorities since discovered we now know that the correct reading is οὐδ' ἀγνωὼ ὅτι διὰ λοξὰ καὶ δίδυμα βαλνεις. Is it conceivable that  $g_3$  by mere conjecture could have arrived so nearly at the correct reading, even with the aid of the Latin 'neque ignoro quoniam curve et lubrice incedis,' more especially as  $g_1$  omits ὅτι? Again in *Ign. Mar.* 3 the reading of  $g_3$  τῇν (sic) ἀνδροῖν is obviously an error for τοῖν ἀνδροῖν the correct reading; but  $g_1$  has τοῖς ἀνδροῖν. Similar phenomena are frequent.

For these reasons I am constrained to believe that the coincidence of  $g_1 g_3$  in the reading ἐγέννητον in *Philipp.* 7 is purely accidental. And the probability of such an accidental coincidence becomes the greater when we examine the phenomena of Gesner's edition [ $g_3$ ] elsewhere. I have noticed two other instances where it erroneously substitutes an ε for an α in the first syllable of ἀγέννητος, *Magn.* 7 ἐγεννήτου (p. 13), *Philad.* 4 ἐγέννητος (p. 29); and indeed, so far as my observation has gone, the word is as often incorrectly spelt as correctly. We have elsewhere instances of the converse error, e.g. *Magn.* 10 ἀχημάτισαν (sic) for ἐχημάτισαν. Thus Funk's main example proves nothing.



Ignatius, though the MS from which the former was taken preserves the greater part of it.

All the later editions of the Ignatian Epistles till the time of Ussher were founded, so far as I have observed, exclusively on the work of Paceus. The edition of Gesner seems to have been unknown to or ignored by later editors.

The earliest of these subsequent editions, founded on the work of Paceus, was that of Guil. Morel (Paris, 1558), which he followed up by a second edition a few years later (Paris, 1562). Morel was an excellent scholar and corrected numerous errors of the *editio princeps*, but at the same time he introduced some conjectural emendations of his own, which were devoid of MS authority at the time and have not been confirmed by subsequent discovery. From this time till the appearance of Ussher's work (A.D. 1644) the text remained much as Morel had left it. The most important editions in the interval were those of Vairlenius Sylvius 'ex officina Chr. Plantini' (Antwerp, 1572, 1573); of Martialis Mestraeus (Paris, 1608); and of Vedelius (Geneva, 1623). These editors however contributed little of their own to the improvement of the text. They neither consulted any new manuscript authority nor made any fresh collation of the old. Thus the text for nearly a century was based on the single Augsburg MS as inaccurately represented by the *editio princeps*, supplemented by the conjectures of Morel.

The edition of Ussher (1644), followed by that of Voss (1646), and soon afterwards by his own *Appendix Ignatiana* (1647), marks an epoch in the textual criticism of the Ignatian letters. Ussher not only restored the seven epistles of the original Ignatius by means of the Latin Version, but he also rendered important service to the text of the forged and interpolated epistles. In his earlier work (1644) he made use of Gesner's edition which had hitherto lain unnoticed, besides giving various readings of the Latin Version from three MSS, *Magdal.* 78, *Balliol.* 229, and *Pctav.* He also gave there for the first time the letter of Mary of Cassobola to Ignatius in Latin from his two MSS [*L*<sub>1</sub>, *L*<sub>2</sub>], and at the same time he added the conclusion of the same in the original Greek beginning with § 5 οὐ γὰρ διδάσκουσά σε κ.τ.λ. This latter he found in an extract from the Augsburg MS given in *Catal. Cod. in Bibl. Reip. Aug. Vind.* p. 22 (1595). Voss (1646) for the first time published the whole of the letter of Mary in the original from the Medicean MS, *Laur.* lvii. 7, giving at the same time the text of the spurious and interpolated letters ascribed to Ignatius, and making use of this same MS (as far as it goes) for his text. In his *Appendix Ignatiana* (1647) Ussher, while annotating the spurious epistles, added

readings from *Laur.* vii. 21, which he calls *Florentinus*. Somewhat later Cotelier in his edition of the *Patres Apostolici* (1672) gave various readings from *Paris. Suppl. Græc.* 341 ('Claudii Iolii'), and these readings were copied by Whiston (1711), by whom, for reasons which I have explained in my general introduction (i. p. 107), it is called *Codex Thuaneus*. Whiston also added for the first time readings from the worthless *Codex Leicestrensis* (*Bodl. Auct. D. Inf.* 2. 19). With this sole exception, nothing was done from Cotelier's time onwards towards collating MSS of the pseudo-Ignatian letters until Dressel's edition of the *Patres Apostolici* (1857). Dressel (besides giving many various readings from *Laur.* vii. 21) collated the three Greek MSS, *Vatic.* 859 [*g*<sub>2</sub>], *Ottob.* 348, *Barber.* 68, as well as the fragment in *Vatic. Reg.* 30, and the two Latin MSS, *Palat.* 150, *Regin.* 81. Of his Greek MSS, *Vatic.* 859 alone has any independent value, but it is important. Meanwhile the publication of the Armenian Version by Petermann (1849) had furnished an altogether new and important witness for the text of the six spurious epistles; but it was wholly neglected by Dressel. As a collector of materials, Dressel deserves our gratitude; but he omitted to take account of some authorities, while he was unable to estimate the relative weight of others, so that his actual text has no great value. Zahn (1876) was the first recent editor who made anything like an adequate use of the available materials.

In the following pages I have not thought it necessary to reproduce the old Latin translation [1], being content to take the readings from others. The best text of this translation is Zahn's. For the Greek text I have collated *g*<sub>1</sub> anew; it has been known hitherto only from the very inaccurate *editio princeps*. For the readings of *g*<sub>2</sub> I have gone to Dressel, and for those of *g*<sub>3</sub> to Gesner's edition itself. The collation of *g*<sub>4</sub> appears now for the first time. The Coptic fragment of Hero [C] is also published for the first time. The readings for six spurious epistles in the Anglo-Latin Version [L] are of course taken from my own revised text of this version (p. 626 sq.). The Armenian readings [A] are derived from Petermann.





## ΙΓΝΑΤΙΩΙ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕΚ ΚΑΣΣΟΒΟΛΩΝ.

ΜΑΡΙΑ προσήλυτος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἰγνατίῳ Θεοφόρῳ,  
μακαριωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐκκλησίας ἀποστολικῆς τῆς

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΩΙ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕΚ ΚΑΣΣΟΒΟΛΩΝ] *ιγνατίῳ μαρία ἐκ κασσοβήλων* (numbered ζ in the marg.) G; *ἐπιστολὴ μαρίας κασσοβόλων πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἱερομάρτυρα ἰγνάτιον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον θεουπόλεως ἀντιοχείας* g; *epistola marie proselite chassaobolorum ad ignatium episcopum antiochie* L<sub>2</sub> (see above, p. 626); *epistola mariae mulieris cuiusdam e casbalon (casbalon) urbe ad ignatium beatum scripta* A.

1 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] GLA; *χριστοῦ ἰησοῦ* g (g being represented solely by g<sub>4</sub> in the earlier part of this epistle). 2 ἀποστολικῆς] GLA; *καθολικῆς* g.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΩΙ ΜΑΡΙΑ] This correspondence between Ignatius and Mary is supposed to take place while the saint is still at Antioch, though already in custody, so that his actions are fettered (*ad Mar.* 4 *ἐπέχει γάρ μου τὴν πρόθεσιν...ἢ στρατιωτικὴ φρουρά*). Mary writes, asking him to send officers to preside over her native Church, which is still in its infancy and not yet organized.

In his reply (*ad Mar.* 4) Ignatius speaks of the good report which he heard of her 'while she was still in Rome with the blessed Pope Anencletus.' On this account it has been held by many, alike of those who have accepted the letter as genuine (e.g. Vairlen, Halloix) and of those who condemn it as spurious (e.g. Zahn), that she is intended for the same person whom S. Paul salutes, Rom. xvi. 6 *ἀσπάσασθε Μαρίαν ἣτις πολλὰ ἐκοπίασεν εἰς ὑμᾶς* (v. l. *ἡμᾶς*). This seems probable; and if so, the historical situation is not ill-con-

ceived. This Mary is represented as a native of a Cilician town not very far from Tarsus, while the Mary of Rom. xvi. 6 was evidently well known to S. Paul before she went to reside in Rome. For the epithet *χριστοφόρῳ* bestowed on her and the consequences which have flowed from it, see the note on *ad Mar.* inscr.

ΕΚ ΚΑΣΣΟΒΟΛΩΝ] Zahn is justified in assuming that this formed part of the original title of the letter as it issued from the hands of the Ignatian writer, and was not an addition of some later scribe. It appears in all the authorities, though with additions and minor variations of spelling. Moreover the designation 'Maria Cassabolita,' which appears in some copies in the title to Ignatius' reply (though no part of the original heading), can only be explained on this hypothesis; for there is nothing in the body of the letters to suggest that she belonged to Cassobela or Cassobola.

κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν, ἐν Θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ Ἰησοῦ ἡγαπημένῳ,  
χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι. πάντοτέ σοι εὐχόμεθα τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ  
χαράν τε καὶ ὑγίαν.

I. Ἐπειδὴ, θαυμάσιε, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγνω-  
ρίσθη υἱὸς εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς 5

1 Ἰησοῦ] GgL; *filio suo* A. 2 ἐν αὐτῷ] GL; *ἐαυτῶν* g. It is a question  
whether the reading of A should not be adopted, which omits all the words σοι  
εὐχόμεθα...ὑγίαν. The salutation would then end χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι πάντοτε.

4 θαυμάσιε] GgA; *miraculis* (θαύμασι) L (unless indeed we should correct *miraculis*  
into *mirabilis*).

5 καὶ ἐν ὑστέροις] GLA; ἐν ὑστέροις δὲ g. 6 ἐκ]  
gLA; καὶ G.

7 προρηθείσας φωνὰς] here, GL; προρηθείσας φωνὰς after

Inasmuch as no place *Cassobela* or *Cassobola* is mentioned elsewhere, critics have busied themselves in emending the name. The correction of Casaubon *Κασταβάλων* is the most obvious, and has been received with general favour. Castabala, a town of some note (see Strabo xii. pp. 535, 537), was not very far from Anazarbus. They are mentioned together by Pliny *N. H.* v. 22, quoted below on § 1 τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ζαρβῷ; and in Hierocl. *Synecd.* p. 706 (Wesseling) Castabala is named among the towns in Cilicia Secunda, of which Anazarbus is the metropolis; comp. *Notit. Episc.* p. 84 (ed. Parthey), Ptol. v. 8. 7. Theophilus, a bishop of Castabala, has a place in history about the time when these Ignatian Epistles were probably written (Socr. *H. E.* iii. 25, Soz. *H. E.* iv. 24); and at an earlier date one Moses, bishop of this see, appears at the Council of Nicæa (Cowper *Syrian Miscellanies* pp. 10, 27, 32). Thus the conjecture has much to recommend it. Nevertheless the coincidence of all our divers authorities here, which exhibit no variation in the consonants (for the Armenian, being derived through the Syriac, represents κc[c]βλ[ω]n), is fatal to it; and the same may be said of its occurrence in § 1, notwith-

standing the corruption in GL. The only question therefore remaining is the alternative between *Κασσοβόλων* and *Κασσοβήλων*. The weight of authority (g in both places; L here; C in the heading of *Ign. Mar.*; A in both places, for the long vowel η would probably have been represented in the Syriac and consequently preserved in the Armenian; all these against G here and GL in § 1) is decidedly in favour of *Κασσοβόλων*, whereas the analogy of Arbela, Gaugamela, etc., might suggest *Κασσοβήλων*. Voss would read *Καταβόλων*, supposing it to be the place mentioned in the Itineraries; Catavolo *Antonin.*, *Peuting.*, Catavolo *Hierosol.* (where the MS has Catavolomis, but the -mis is evidently a repetition of the following mil., as Wesseling saw, and Parthey corrects the text accordingly). It appears to be a very general opinion (e.g. Leake *Asia Minor* p. 218, Ritter *Erdkunde* VIII. ii. 3, p. 1835 sq) that the place mentioned in the Itineraries is the same as Castabala. This seems very questionable. The forms in all the Itineraries represent the Greek *καταβόλφ*, and *κατάβολος* means a place for discharging (*καταβάλλειν*) merchandise (Schol. on Thuc. i. 30; comp. *Etym. Magn.* p. 336 s.v. ἔμ-



ἐννηθρωπηκέναι διὰ παρθένου Μαρίας, ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ, κατὰ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προρρηθείσας φωνὰς παρὰ τοῦ τῶν προφητῶν χοροῦ· τούτου ἔνεκεν ἀξιούμεν ἀποσταλῆναι ἡμῖν παρὰ τῆς σῆς συνέσεως Μάριν τὸν  
 10 ἑταῖρον ἡμῶν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς Νέας πόλεως τῆς

χοροῦ g. 8 ἀξιούμεν] g; *rogo* A; παρακαλούμεν ἀξιούντες GL. 9 Μάριν] Gg; *marim* L; *marinum* A. 10 ἑταῖρον] GL; *dilectum* A; ἑτερον g. ἡμῶν] *nostrum* L; ὑμῶν Ggs; om. A (unless it is represented by *tuo* in *tuo* (*tui*) *digito factum episcopum*). ἡμεδαπῆς] g; ἡμελάπης (a proper name) GL; al. A. The correct reading was conjectured by Voss.

πορος). Thus it corresponds to the English 'Wharf' or the Italian 'Sca-ricatojo,' both which are used as proper names. It would seem therefore to have been some small station on the route, perhaps not a town at all. On the other hand the Cilician city is almost universally written Καστάβαλα, and appears to have lain more inland; Plin. *N. H.* v. 22, Strabo xii. p. 537. In Q. Curtius however (iii. 17. 5) the MSS have 'ad oppidum Castabulum' (or 'Castabolum'). Our Cassobola or Cassobela appears to have been different from either. In the absence of all evidence we may conjecture that it was a small town or hamlet in the immediate neighbourhood of Anazarbus, as the notice in § 1 suggests. The writer of these epistles himself probably resided in Syria or Cilicia, and was generally acquainted with the topography of those parts.

I. προσήλυτος] 'a convert'; Justin *Dial.* 22 (p. 241 A) τοῖς βουλομένοις προσηλύτοις γενέσθαι κηρύξω ἐγὼ θεῖον λόγον κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 122 (p. 351 B) οὐχὶ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἀκουσόμεθα καὶ τοὺς προσηλύτους αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τοὺς προσηλύτους αὐτοῦ. So too προσήλυσις, *ib.* 28 (p. 245 C). If the Mary of S. Paul's epistle be intended here, she must have been converted some half century before the assumed

date of this Ignatian letter. The expression therefore can mean nothing more than that she was not born a Christian. See Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 153 sq.

9. Μάριν] This is a Syriac name, ܡܪܝܢ 'my lord'; comp. Philo in *Flacc.* 6 (I. p. 522) ἐξήχει βοή τις ἄτοπος Μάριν ἀποκαλούντων οὕτως δέ φασιν τὸν Κύριον ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ Σύροις. Embellished with a classical termination, it became Μαρῖνος (comp. Ammias, Ammianus, Tatias, Tatianus, etc). Hence in some texts our Maris is called Marinus, both here and in *Hero* 9. The name is very common in these parts. At the Council of Nicæa the bishops of Sebastene in Palestine and of Palmyra in Phœnicia both bear the name Marinus; and Maris of Chalcedon, who was also present at the council, held a prominent place in the Arian controversy. Eusebius also dedicated one of his works to a person of this name, *Quæstiones ad Marinum*. For the name in Greek Christian inscriptions see Boeckh *C. I.* 9238, 9837. We meet with more than one Marinus of Neapolis in history (Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* VIII. p. 464; comp. Jacobs *Anthol. Græc.* III. 2. p. 196 sq.), but our Neapolis is not meant.

10. ἐπίσκοπον κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'to be bishop of our Newtown,' and so again



πρὸς τῷ Ζαρβῷ καὶ Εὐλόγιον Κασσοβόλων πρεσβύτερον,

1 Ζαρβῷ GL; *terbium (derpium)* A; ἀναζάρβω g. Κασσοβόλων] g; *casbalonis (gasbalonis)* A (from a nom. *casbalon* or *gasbalon*); καὶ σόβηλον (a proper name) GL.

Κασσοβόλων πρεσβύτερον 'to be presbyter of Cassobola.' Ignatius in reply is represented as granting the request, *ad Mar.* 3. Accordingly in a letter purporting to be written later, *Hero* 9, he speaks of Μάριν τὸν ἐν Νεαπόλει τῇ πρὸς Ζαρβῷ ἐπίσκοπον. See Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 157.

Νέας πόλεως] 'Newtown.' Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 155) objects to treating this as a proper name, on the ground that no city Neapolis in this neighbourhood is mentioned by any geographer. But whatever the difficulty may be, we have no choice open to us. He very fairly argues that the heading of Ignatius' letter in reply to Mary, as given in G, εἰς Νεάπολιν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ζαρβῷ has no authority. But the expression in *Hero* 9 ἐν Νεαπόλει τῇ πρὸς Ζαρβῷ [v. l. 'Αναζάρβω] is decisive; for, if νέα were intended for a mere epithet, we should require the definite article ἐν τῇ νέᾳ πόλει, and indeed Zahn himself prints it there with a capital letter, ἐν Νεαπόλει. On the other hand the passage before us is inconclusive in itself; for in this and similar proper names the first word is frequently declined (e.g. 'Ιερὰς πόλεως, Μεγάλης πόλεως). Zahn indeed says that this practice is only found in 'much older writers'; but the signatures to the decrees of the Councils show that it was common in the 4th and 5th century; e.g. Νέας πόλεως at Constantinople (Cowper *Syr. Miscell.* p. 36), Παλαιὰς πόλεως at Chalcedon (Labbe *Conc.* IV. 1492, ed. Colet.).

τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ζαρβῷ] 'on the river Zarbus,' as it is rendered by the Armenian translator in *Hero* 9, and as the masculine article suggests. The

reading is clearly Ζαρβῷ both here and in *Hero* 9, since in both places g stands alone against all the other authorities in substituting 'Αναζάρβω. This substitution would naturally occur to a scribe who was familiar with the name of the city but unacquainted with the name of the stream. Properly speaking the city was 'Ανάζαρβος or (more correctly) 'Αναζαρβά, while the name of the stream or springs about which it lay was Ζαρβός or Ζαρβά. The Arabic name of the place is *Ain-Zarba* (Ritter *Erdkunde von Asien* IX. 2. p. 58 sq.), and in Syriac it is frequently written ܕܪܒܝܝܬܐ 'the springs of Darbi' (Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* II. Diss. de Monoph. s. v. *Anazarba*); though elsewhere, especially in translations from the Greek (see Wright's *Catalogue of Syriac MSS in the British Museum* pp. 559, 569, 829), it is ܕܪܒܝܬܐ or ܕܪܒܝܬܐ, *Anazarba* or *Anzarba*. The Arabic and Syriac forms seem to point to the derivation of the name, which was doubtless in any case of Oriental origin, and explain the expression πρὸς τῷ Ζαρβῷ here. The name *Zarbis* appears also as the designation of a tributary of the Tigris (Plin. *N. H.* vi. 30) now called *Zarb* or *Zab* (Ritter *Erdkunde* VI. 2. p. 521). The main river of the locality with which we are concerned was the Pyramus, but this Ζαρβός seems to have been some minor stream. No credit is due to the myths which make Zarbus or Anazarbus a man's name, the founder or the restorer of the city; e.g. Amm. Marcell. xiv. 8. 3 'Anazarbus auctoris vocabulum referens,' Joann. Malal.

*Chron.* p. 267 (ed. Bonn.) ἔπεμψέ τινα ἐκεῖ ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς [Νερβᾶς] συγκλητικὸν Ῥωμαῖον ὀνόματι Ζάρβον εἰς τὸ κτίσαι αὐτήν. This last form of the story condemns itself, for the city bore the name Anazarbus long before Nerva's time; *Plin. N. H.* v. 22 'Anazarbeni qui nunc Cæsarea, Augusta, Castabala,' etc. *Steph. Byz.*, s. v. Ἀναζαρβά, writes κέκληται ἀπὸ τοῦ προκειμένου ὄρους ἢ ἀπὸ Ἀναζάρβα [v. l. Ἀναζάρβου] τοῦ κτίσαντος. His statement respecting the mountain is illustrated by coins of Anazarbus belonging to the age of the Antonines, which bear the inscription ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ . ΤΩΝ . ΠΡΟΣ . ΤΩ . ΑΝΑΖΑΡΒΩ (*Mionnet* III. p. 551, *Suppl.* VII. p. 172 sq.; comp. *Ptolem.* v. 8 Καισάρεια πρὸς Ἀναζάρβω); while one, apparently belonging to the reign of Trajan, is inscribed ΚΑΙΣΑΡ . ΥΠ . ΑΝΑΖΑΡΒ . (*Mionnet Suppl.* VII. p. 171; comp. *Eckhel Doct. Num.* III. p. 42). The expressions 'Cæsarea at' or 'under Anazarbus' would indeed be satisfied if we were to suppose that the new city of Cæsarea had been built on a lower site near the old Anazarbus. But the masculine article points to a mountain, since the name of the city is feminine, ἡ Ἀνάζαρβος (*Anthol.* III. p. 278 Ἀναζαρβοῦ...κυθαλίμης, *Evagr. H. E.* iv. 8, *Philostorg. H. E.* iii. 15, etc.). The word is differently accentuated, Ἀνάζαρβος or Ἀναζαρβός.

Anazarbus bore various names at different epochs. It was thrown down again and again by earthquakes (*Joann. Malal. Chron.* pp. 267, 418, *Evagr. l. c.*, *Zonaras* xiv. 5); and when rebuilt, it sometimes received a new designation. Thus after the second of these calamities under Julius Cæsar it took the name Cæsarea, by which it was known for some centuries. *Malalas* confuses it with another Cilician town, when

he calls it Diocæsarea, which name it never bore; and *Zahn* again (*I. v. A.* p. 156) is wrong in calling it 'Cæsarea Augusta', for it is not so designated on the coins or elsewhere, while Augusta is mentioned as a distinct place from Anazarbus in the lists of signatures at Chalcedon (*Labb. Conc.* IV. 1480, 1485, ed. *Colet.*; comp. *Lequien Or. Christ.* II. p. 879, 887) and elsewhere; so that *Sillig* and other editors of *Pliny* correctly punctuate between 'Cæsarea' and 'Augusta' in the passage cited above. The third earthquake happened under Nerva (*Joann. Malal. l. c.*), and it is perhaps to this incident that the expression Νεᾶς πόλεως is intended to refer (*Zahn I. v. A.* p. 156); though there is no evidence that it ever took the name Neapolis. In later Greek writers it is sometimes written Ἀνάβαρζος or Ἀνάβαρζα (e. g. *Nicet. Chon.* p. 33, ed. Bonn.; *Notit. Episc.* p. 84, ed. *Parthey*), whence the name *Naversa* by which it was known in the crusading times.

Anazarbus was one of the principal cities of Cilicia. Its favourite epithet on the coins is ἔνδοξος (*Mionnet* III. p. 552 sq., *Suppl.* VII. p. 175 sq.). *Procopius Hist. Arc.* 18 (p. III, ed. Bonn.) speaks of it as τὴν ἐν Κίλιξι ἐπιφανεστάτην Ἀνάζαρβον. Under Caracalla it became a 'metropolis' (*Mionnet* III. p. 552, *Suppl.* VII. p. 173 sq.; comp. *Hierocl. Synecd.* p. 705, with *Wesseling's* note). It continued to strike coins as late as *Gallienus*. It produced at least two men of some literary repute, *Dioscorides* the medical writer and *Asclepiades* (or *Asclepios*) the historian, who among other works wrote an account of the antiquities of his native place (πάτρια Ἀναζάρβου, *Anthol.* III. p. 278; comp. *Müller Fragm. Hist. Græc.* III. p. 306). It had games which were visited by athletes from



ὅπως μὴ ὦμεν ἔρημοι τῶν προστατῶν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου· καθά-  
που καὶ Μωσῆς λέγει, ἐπισκεψάσθω Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἄνθρω-  
πον ὃς ὀδηγῇ τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἡ συνα-  
γωγὴ Κυρίου ὡσεὶ πρόβατα οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμήν.

II. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ νέους εἶναι τοὺς προγεγραμμένους 5  
δείσης μηδέν, ὦ μακάριε. γινώσκειν γάρ σε θέλω ὡς ὑπερ-

4 ἔστιν] ἐστὶ G; ἔστι g. 5 τοῦ] gs; τοὺς G. The sentence is translated  
pro eo autem quod juvenes sunt in L, and et quoniam pueri sunt in A. 6 δει-  
σης] G (but corr. δέσεις by a later hand); δέσεις gs; formides L. ὑπερφο-  
νοῦσιν] G; ὑπερφρονούσι g. 8 ἐαυτοῖς] gs; αὐτοῖς G. 9 πολιάν] G A (?);  
πολιᾷ gL. 9 ἀνάσκαλον] g<sub>1</sub> begins after the first letter of this word,

distant parts; see Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus* Inscr. vi. 14, p. 62 (with the note). For its later history and for its geographical situation see Ritter *Erdkunde* IX. 2. p. 56 sq. The earliest bishop of Anazarbus, of whom any record is preserved, was Athanasius, whom Arius claimed as his supporter (Theodt. *H. E.* i. 4). Anazarbus was made the head of a separate province in the 5th century by Theodosius II. (Ioann. Malal. *Chron.* p. 365, ed. Bonn.); and its prelates appear as metropolitans at Ephesus and Chalcedon. In 435 a synod met at Anazarbus to discuss matters relating to the Nestorian controversy (Labbe. *Conc.* iv. 523).

Εὐλόγιόν] The name is not uncommon in the conciliar lists. One Eulogius, bishop of Edessa, was present at Constantinople in A.D. 381 (Cowper's *Syr. Miscell.* p. 36); and at Ephesus and Chalcedon the name appears several times.

Κασσοβόλων] Zahn retains καὶ Σόβηλον, but for many reasons this seems to me untenable. (1) The coincidence of gA is strong evidence against it. (2) No proper name Σόβηλος, so far as I have observed, is found elsewhere. (3) On the other hand Κασσοβήλων coincides with the

title of the letter in G, and this coincidence would be very strange if it were purely accidental. (4) If we read καὶ Σόβηλον, the context gives no account of this Sobelus, though the persons on either side of him, Maris and Eulogius, are both described. Zahn evidently feels this difficulty, for he writes 'vix me continui, quin proprio Marte scribe-rem πρεσβυτέρους pro πρεσβύτερον.' (5) Ignatius in his reply to Mary (§ 3) speaks of 'the *τινο* men' (τοῖν ἀνδρῶν) whose praises she had sounded, whereas this reading would make them three. Indeed Zahn seems to have been taken captive by an apparently apposite notice in *Rel. Jur. Eccl. Ant.* p. 77 (Lagarde) εἰάν ὀλιγανδρία ὑπάρχη καὶ μήπου [1. μήπω] πλήθος τυγχάνη τῶν δυναμένων ψηφίσασθαι περὶ ἐπισκόπου ἐντὸς δεκαδύο ἀνδρῶν, εἰς τὰς πλησίον ἐκκλησίας, ὅπου τυγχάνει πεπηγνῖα, γραφέτωσαν, ὅπως ἐκεῖθεν ἐκλεκτοὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρες παραγενόμενοι δοκιμῇ δοκιμάσωσι τὸν ἄξιον ὄντα κ.τ.λ. (see *I. v. A.* p. 157, note 3). The three persons however who are mentioned in this ordinance are not intended themselves to be the clergy of the newly founded church, but only to choose the bishop (as Zahn himself sees), and it is afterwards ordered



φρονοῦσιν σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν ταύτης παθῶν ἀλογοῦσιν, αὐτοὶ  
 ἐν ἑαυτοῖς προσφάτω νεότητι ἱερωσύνης ἀστράπτουντες πο-  
 λιάν. ἀνάσκαλον δὲ τῷ λογισμῷ σου διὰ τοῦ δοθέντος σοι  
 10 παρὰ Θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ γνώσῃ ὡς  
 Σαμουὴλ μικρὸν παιδάριον ὃ βλέπων ἐκλήθη, καὶ τῷ χορῷ

-νάσκαλον. τῷ λογισμῷ] g; τῶν λογισμῶν G; *cogitationem* L. In A the words are translated *considera* (in *mentem caſe*) *cogitatione spiritus sancti qui datus est tibi*, etc., which seems to have read τῷ λογισμῷ, and omitted σου διὰ.

10 Θεοῦ] g; τοῦ θεοῦ G.

11 μικρὸν παιδάριον] GgL; παιδάριον ὦν [Anton.

96]; *dum puer erat* A.

that the bishop shall appoint not two but three presbyters. Thus the notice is not appropriate to the case before us. For the reason why the form *Κασσοβόλων* is preferred to *Κασσοβήλων* see above, p. 720.

2. ἐπισκεψάσθω κ.τ.λ.] A quotation from Num. xxvii. 16, 17, abridged and altered. A part of the same passage appears (though not as a direct quotation) in *Hero* 8.

5. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ] Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 158 sq.) suggests that some personal motives must have led our Ignatian writer to urge the claims of youth so strongly here and in the parallel passage, *Magn.* 3 (comp. *Hero* 3).

7. αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'though youthful in years and called so recently to the priesthood (προσφάτω νεότητι ἱερωσύνης), yet by their intrinsic character (αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς) they glisten, as it were, with the silver hairs of venerable age (ἀστράπτουντες πολιάν)'; comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 1 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐν παροικίᾳ μικρὰ ὑπαρχούσῃ που προβεβηκὼς τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ εὐρίσκηται...νεὸς δὲ ἢ ἐκεῖ, μεμαρτυρημένος ὑπὸ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ὡς ἄξιος ἐπισκοπῆς, διὰ τῆς νεότητος ἐν πραύτητι καὶ εὐταξίᾳ γῆρας ἐπιδεικνύμενος, δοκιμασθεὶς εἰ ὑπὸ τῶν πάντων οὕτως μαρτυρεῖται, καθιστάσθω ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Accordingly Ignatius, granting the request, replies, *ad Mar.* 3 ἀσμένως ἐπλήρωσα, ἐν

οὐδενὶ ἀμφιβάλλον ὦν αὐτὴ καλῶς ἔχειν δεδοκίμακας· ἔγνω γάρ σε κρίσει Θεοῦ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῖν ἀνδρῶν πεποιῆσθαι.

8. πολιάν] For the figure comp. Basil. *Comm. in Esai.* 104 (*Op.* i. p. 451) πολιά δέ ἐστι φρόνησις ἐν ἀνθρώποις...διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Δανιήλ, παιδάριον ὄντα καὶ νεότερον κατὰ τὴν αἰσθητὴν ἡλικίαν, τὴν δὲ νοητὴν πολιὰν ἐπὶ τῆς φρονήσεως ἔχοντα κ.τ.λ. For the accus. with this and similar verbs see Kühner II. p. 265 sq.

9. ἀνάσκαλον κ.τ.λ.] Euseb. Nicom. in Theodt. *H. E.* i. 5 ἀνασκαλεύσαντι τῷ πνεύματι τὸν λογισμόν, which passage favours the accusative τὸν λογισμόν here. The metaphor of ἀνασκάλλειν, ἀνασκαλεύειν, is from raking embers into a flame; e.g. Dion. Areop. *Eccl. Hier.* vii. 11 (p. 272) τοὺς ἐναποκειμένους ἐν σοὶ τοῦ θείου πυρὸς ἀνασκαλεύσω σπινθῆρας.

11. Σαμουὴλ κ.τ.λ.] These same instances are produced by the pseudo-Ignatius himself in the parallel passage, *Magn.* 3; comp. also *Apost. Const.* ii. 1.

ὃ βλέπων] He is so called 1 Sam. ix. 9, 11, 18, 1 Chron. xxix. 29, but not while he was still μικρὸν παιδάριον. The vision of his childhood however (1 Sam. iii. 4 sq.) might have justified the appellation even then.

τῶν προφητῶν ἐγκαταλεχθεὶς τὸν πρεσβύτην Ἡλεὶ παρανομίας ἐξελέγχει, ὅτι παραπλήγας υἱεὶς Θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων αἰτίου προτετιμῆκει, καὶ παίζοντας εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην καὶ εἰς τὸν λαὸν ἀσελγαίνοντας εἶασεν ἀτιμωρήτους.

III. Δανιὴλ δὲ ὁ σοφὸς νέος ὧν ἔκρινεν ὠμογέροντάς 5  
τινας, δείξας ἐξώλεις αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι, καὶ  
τῷ γένει Ἰουδαίους ὄντας τῷ τρόπῳ Χαναanaίους ὑπάρχειν.  
καὶ Ἰερεμίας, διὰ τὸ νέον παραιτούμενος τὴν ἐγχειριζομένην  
αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ προφητείαν, ἀκούει· μὴ λέγε ὅτι Νεώ-  
τερος εἰμί· διότι πρὸς πάντας οὔς ἂν ἐξαποστείλω σε 10  
πορεύσῃ, καὶ κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν ἐντείλωμαί σοι λαλή-  
σεις· ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἐγὼ εἰμι. Σολομῶν δὲ ὁ σοφός, δυο-  
καίδεκα τυγχάνων ἐτῶν, συνῆκε τὸ μέγα τῆς ἀγνωσίας τῶν  
γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς σφετέροις τέκνοις ζήτημα, ὥς πάντα τὸν

1 ἐγκαταλεχθεὶς] g; ἐγκατελεχθεὶς Gs; ἐγκατελέχθη [Anton.]. Ἡλεὶ] G;  
ἡλεὶ g<sub>1</sub>; ἡλὶ g<sub>4</sub>; *heli* LA. 2 ἐξελέγχει] Gg<sub>1</sub>s; ἐλέγχει g<sub>4</sub>; *redarguit* L.  
4 εἶασεν] GLA (translating loosely, *non castigavit*); οὐκ εἶασεν g. With the latter  
reading the nom. would be Σαμουήλ, but it is evidently wrong. 5 ὁ σοφός]  
Gg<sub>1</sub>LA Anton.; ὁ σοφώτατος g<sub>4</sub>. ὠμογέροντάς] GgL; ὁμογέροντάς Anton.;  
*calumniantes senes* A. 6 ἐξώλεις] Gg<sub>4</sub>s Anton.; ἐξωλίας g<sub>1</sub>; *adulteros*  
L; *impudentes et libidinosos mente* A. 8 τὸ] Gg<sub>1</sub> Anton.; τὸν g<sub>4</sub>.

5. νέος ὧν] Susann. 45 παιδαρίου  
νεωτέρου ᾧ ὄνομα Δανιήλ.

ὠμογέροντας] ‘*crudi senes*’, not  
‘*crudeles senes*’, as it is rendered in  
the Latin Version. It denotes the  
‘*cruda viridisque senectus*’ of Virgil,  
and is used with diverse modifica-  
tions of sense; (1) ‘in a green old  
age’, e.g. Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 791 ὠμογέ-  
ροντα δέ μιν φασ’ ἔμμεναι; (2) ‘in the  
first years of old age’, Galen *Op.* vi.  
p. 379 (Kühn) τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ [τοῦ  
γῆρως] μέρος, ὃ τῶν ὠμογερόντων ὀνο-  
μάζουσι, Dionys. Alex. in Euseb. *H.*  
*E.* vii. 21 ὅσους ὠμογέροντας οὖς ἐκά-  
λει πρότερον ὄντας ἔτρεφεν, Megasth.  
*Fragm.* 23 (*Hist. Græc.* II. p. 419)  
τεσσαροντούτεες ἀποθνήσκουσιν οἱ πρεσ-  
βύτατοι αὐγῶν... ὥστε τριακοντούτεες μὲν  
ὠμογέροντες ἂν πού εἴεν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ

ἄνδρες κ.τ.λ.; (3) ‘prematurely aged’,  
Paul. Silent. in *Anthol.* III. p. 74  
βόστρυχον ὠμογέροντα τί μέμφεαι;  
comp. ὠμὸν γῆρας in Hom. *Od.* xv.  
357. In the passage before us the  
crudity is moral, not physical; the  
passions of this youth had not been  
mellowed by the courses of the suns.

6. ἐξώλεις] ‘*abandoned*’, ‘*accursed*’,  
‘*profligate*’, like ‘*perditos*’, an  
idea of moral turpitude clinging to  
the word; as e.g. Clem. Alex. *Pæd.*  
ii. 10 (p. 235) ταῖς ἐξώλεσιν ἡδυπα-  
θείαις.

7. τῷ γένει κ.τ.λ.] From Susann.  
56 εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Σπέρμα Χαναὰν καὶ οὐκ  
Ἰούδα.

9. Μὴ λέγε κ.τ.λ.] From Jer. i.  
7, 8, abridged.

12. δυοκαίδεκα κ.τ.λ.] So too *Magn.*



15 λαὸν ἐκστῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ τοῦ παιδὸς σοφίᾳ, καὶ φοβη-  
θῆναι, οὐχ ὡς μειράκιον, ἀλλ' ὡς τέλειον ἄνδρα. τὰ δὲ  
αἰνίγματα τῆς Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλίδος, φορὰν ἔχοντα ὥσπερ τὰ  
τοῦ Νείλου ρεύματα, οὕτως ἐπελύσατο ὡς ἔξω ἐαυτῆς γε-  
νέσθαι τὴν οὕτως σοφίην.

20 IV. Ἰωσίας δὲ ὁ θεοφιλής, ἀναρθρα σχεδὸν ἔτι φθεγ-  
γόμενος, ἐλέγχει τοὺς τῷ πονηρῷ πνεύματι κατόχους, ὡς  
ψευδολόγοι καὶ λαοπλάνοι τυγχάνουσιν· δαιμόνων τε ἐκκα-  
λύπτει τὴν ἀπάτην, καὶ τοὺς οὐκ ὄντας θεοὺς παραδειγματίζει,  
καὶ τοὺς ἱερωμένους αὐτοῖς νηποινὶ κατασφάζει, βωμούς τε  
25 αὐτῶν ἀνατρέπει, καὶ θυσιαστήρια νεκροῖς λευψάνοις μαιίνει,  
τεμένη τε καθαιρεῖ καὶ τὰ ἄλση ἐκκόπτει καὶ τὰς στήλας  
συντρίβει καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀσεβῶν τάφους ἀνορύττει, ἵνα μηδὲ  
σημεῖον ἔτι τῶν πονηρῶν ὑπάρχη· οὕτω τις ζηλωτὴς ἦν τῆς

9 πρὸς τοῦ] Gg; παρὰ Anton.

ἔτι] g (with Jer. i. 7.); quoniam L; om.

G Anton.

10 διότι] δι' ὅτι g<sub>1</sub>.

ἐάν] Gg<sub>1</sub>s; ἂν g<sub>4</sub>.

ἐξαπο-

στείλω] Jer. i. 7; ἐξαποστέλλω g<sub>1</sub>; mitto A; ἐξαποστελῶ Gg<sub>4</sub>s Anton.; mittam L.

11 ἐντείλωμαι] Gg<sub>4</sub>s (with Jer. i. 7); ἐντείλομαι g<sub>1</sub>; mando L.

λαλήσεις] g<sub>1</sub>

(with Jer. i. 7); λαλήσης Gg<sub>4</sub>s.

18 ἔξω] GL[A]; ἐξ g.

19 οὕτως] Gg<sub>1</sub>;

οὕτω g<sub>4</sub>.

21 πνεύματι] GLA; ρεύματι g.

22 τυγχάνουσιν] G;

τυγχάνουσι g.

24 νηποινὶ] g; pessime A; νήπιος ὦν GL.

28 ἔτι] GL;

ἢ τί g; super (ἐπὶ) A.

ὑπάρχη] Gg<sub>4</sub>s; ὑπάρχει g<sub>1</sub>.

τις] Gg<sub>1</sub>L[A]; τι g<sub>4</sub>.

3, *Apost. Const.* ii. 1. The Biblical narrative does not mention his age, but simply calls him 'young and tender' (1 Chron. xxix. 1), while of himself he says, 1 Kings iii. 7, ἐγὼ παιδάριον μικρόν. In 1 Kings ii. 11 however [υἱὸς] ἐτῶν δώδεκα is added in several MSS (including A) and some versions, and the tradition was evidently early, for it appears in Eupolemus as quoted by Alexander Polyhistor in Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 30. 8. See Cotelier's note on *Apost. Const.* l. c. for Solomon; and for the Jewish view of this age as a critical time in the development of the man see Farrar *Life of Christ* i. pp. 67, 68, Taylor *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* p. 112.

15. φοβηθῆναι] 1 Kings iii. 28 καὶ ἤκουσαν πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ τὸ κρίμα τοῦτο ὃ ἔκρινεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ βασιλέως.

20. ἀναρθρα κ.τ.λ.] He was eight years old when he began to reign, 2 Kings xxii. 1, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1; but the beginning of his reform is placed twelve years later (2 Chron. xxxiv. 3). In *Magn.* 3 the language suggests that he began to extirpate the idolatries immediately on his accession, when eight years old; and this is evidently the idea here. Probably the example is carelessly borrowed from *Apost. Const.* ii. 1 Ἰωσίας ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὀκτὼ ἐτῶν ἐβασίλευσεν, where however there is no incorrect statement.



εὐσεβείας καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τιμωρός, ἔτι ψελλίζων τῇ γλώττῃ. Δαυεὶδ δὲ ὁ προφήτης ὁμοῦ καὶ βασιλεύς, ἡ τοῦ σωτηρίου κατὰ σάρκα ρίζα, μεираκιον χρίεται ὑπὸ Σαμουὴλ εἰς βασι-  
 λέα· φησὶν γάρ που αὐτὸς ὅτι μικρὸς ἦμην ἐν τοῖς ἀδελ-  
 φοῖς μοῦ καὶ νεώτερος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς μοῦ. 5

V. Καὶ ἐπιλείψει με ὁ χρόνος, εἰ πάντας ἀνιχνεύειν  
 βουλοίμην τοὺς [ἐν] νεότητι εὐαρεστήσαντας Θεῷ, προφη-  
 τείαν τε καὶ ἱερωσύνην καὶ βασιλείαν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐγχειρισθέν-  
 τας· ὑπομνήσεως δὲ ἕνεκα αὐτάρκη καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα. ἀλλὰ  
 σε ἀντιβολῶ, μή σοί τις περιττὸς εἶναι δόξῳ καὶ φανητιῶσα· 10  
 οὐ γὰρ διδάσκουσά σε ἀλλ' ὑπομιμνήσκουσα τὸν ἐμὸν ἐν  
 Θεῷ πατέρα τούτους παρεθέμην τοὺς λόγους· γινώσκω γὰρ  
 τὰ ἑαυτῆς μέτρα καὶ οὐ συμπαραεκτείνω ἑαυτὴν τοῖς τηλικού-  
 τοῖς ὑμῖν. ἀσπάζομαί σου τὸν ἅγιον κλῆρον καὶ τὸν φιλό-  
 χριστόν σου λαὸν τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν κηδεμονίαν ποιμαινόμε- 15

1 γλώττῃ] g; γλώσση G.

prob. it is contracted δᾶδ).

the ambiguous Syriac, is, valueless here).

GLA; βασιλειαν (βασιλείαν g<sub>1</sub>) καὶ ἱερωσύνην g.

αὐτάρκῃ] Gg<sub>4s</sub>; αὐταρκεί g<sub>1</sub>; *sufficiunt* L; *sufficiens sit* A.

G; περιττῇ g.

τὴν] Gg<sub>4s</sub>; ἑαυτὴν g<sub>1</sub>.

φιλόχριστόν σου λαὸν] g; om. GLA.

No subscription in GgLA.

2 Δαυεὶδ] δαυίδ g<sub>4</sub>; δᾶδ g<sub>1</sub>; δαβιδ Gs (but

7 ἐν] gL; om. GA (but A, as coming through

8 ἱερωσύνην καὶ βασιλείαν]

9 ἕνεκα] Gg<sub>1s</sub>; ἕνεκεν g<sub>4</sub>.

10 περιττὸς]

11 ὑπομιμνήσκουσα] Gg<sub>1</sub>; ὑπομνήσκουσα g<sub>4</sub>.

13 ἑαυ-

14 ὑμῖν] Gsg<sub>1s</sub>L; ad te A; ἡμῖν g<sub>4</sub>.

καὶ τὸν

4. Μικρὸς ἦμην κ.τ.λ.] From the apocryphal Psalm cli. 1 of the LXX, which does not appear in the Hebrew.

6. ἐπιλείψει με κ.τ.λ.] The expression is taken from Heb. xi. 32.

10. φανητιῶσα] '*desirous of making a display*', '*ostentatious*', as e.g. Jul. African. in Euseb. *H. E.* i. 7 εἴτ' οὖν φανητιῶντες εἴθ' ἀπλῶς διδάσκοντες, Basil. *de Spir. Sanct.* 30 (III. p. 66), with other passages given by Cotelier. For desideratives in -άω, ιάω, see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 80. Comp. ἐπιδεικτιῶντα in *Philipp.* 10.

21. χριστοφόρῳ] For the meaning

of this epithet see the note on *Ephes.* 9. It is applied to Timothy in *Ps-Magn.* 3, as well as to certain deacons, *Ps-Smyrn.* 12, and to Ignatius himself, *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 5. This epithet 'Christ-bearing', applied to one whose name was Mary, led to misunderstanding. The word *filiae* is omitted in some Latin copies, doubtless because it was thought inappropriate as addressed to the Lord's mother. It seems probable too that the spurious Latin correspondence between Ignatius and the Virgin Mary was suggested by this letter addressed χριστοφόρῳ Μαρίας.

νον. πάντες οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν πιστοὶ προσαγορεύουσίν σε. ὑγιαίνειν με κατὰ Θεὸν προσεύχου, μακάριε ποιμήν.

## 2.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΜΑΡΙΑΝ.

20 **Ι**ΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ ἡλεημένη χάριτι Θεοῦ πατρὸς ὑψίστου καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντος, πιστοτάτῃ, ἀξιοθέῳ, χριστοφόρῳ θυγατρὶ Μαρίας, πλείστα ἐν Θεῷ χαίρειν.

25 **Ι.** Κρείττον μὲν γράμματος ὄψις, ὅσῳ περ μέρος οὔσα τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν αἰσθήσεων οὐ μόνον οἷς μεταδιδοῖ τὰ φιλικὰ τιμᾷ τὸν λαμβάνοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς ἀντιδέχεται τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κρείττοσι πόθον πλουτεῖ· πλὴν δεύτερος, φασίν, λιμὴν καὶ

πρὸς ΜΑΡΙΑΝ] πρὸς μαρίαν εἰς νεάπολιν τὴν πρὸς τῷ ζάρβῳ ἰγνατίος (numbered η in the marg.) G; τοῦ ἁγίου (add. ἱερομάρτυρος g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>) ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεουπόλεως (θεοπόλεως g<sub>3</sub>) ἀντιοχείας (add. ἐπιστολῇ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>) πρὸς μαρίαν g (marked a in the marg. of g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>); *ignatius mariae proselytae* L\*; *responsio epistolae mariae beato ignatio scriptae* (or a *beato ignatio scripta*) A.

19 ἡλεημένη] ἐλεημένη (-νῃ) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. χάριτι] GLA; ὑπὸ g. The reading χάριτι is recognised also by I, which for τῇ ἡλεημένη χάριτι has *misericordiam consequutae et gratiam*.

23 μὲν] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>Ll; γὰρ g<sub>3</sub>; om. A. ὅσῳ περ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>LA; ἥπερ g<sub>3</sub>; *velut* l. μέρος] Ggl; *pars melior* L\* (repeating κρείττον); *propinqua* (δμορος?) A.

24 μεταδιδοῖ] μεταδιδεῖ G. 26 φασίν] Gg<sub>1</sub>; φασί g<sub>3</sub>; *aiunt* L; φησι g<sub>4</sub>; *dicimus* A; al. l.

23. ὅσῳ περ κ.τ.λ.] Zahn's conjecture, ὅσῳ πρῶτον μέρος κ.τ.λ., besides being unnecessary, seems hardly appropriate. The contrast is not between a higher and a lower sense, but between direct apprehension by a sense and indirect apprehension by letter. The *melior* in the Latin comes from an accidental repetition of the κρείττον in the previous clause.

24. οὐ μόνον κ.τ.λ.] 'it not only honours the recipient, when (by those acts whereby) it imparts friendly offices, but also itself is enriched,

when it receives in turn the desire for greater favours'.

26. δεύτερος...λιμὴν] The whole passage has a strong resemblance to Chrysost. *Epist.* 27 (*Op.* III. p. 610) ἐβουλόμην μὲν κατ' ὄψιν συντυχεῖν τῇ εὐλαβείᾳ τῇ σῇ...ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔνι...ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἀναγκαίως ἦλθομεν πλοῦν, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων παραψυχὴν ἑαυτοῖς χαρίζομενοι. The common form of the Greek proverb for a *pis aller* is not δεύτερος λιμὴν, as here, but δεύτερος πλοῦς, as in Chrysostom; e.g. Plato *Phileb.* 19 C, *Phaed.* 99 D,

ὁ τῶν γραμμάτων τρόπος· ὃν ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸν ὄρμον δεδέγμεθα παρὰ τῆς σῆς πίστεως πόρρωθεν, ὥσπερ δι' αὐτῶν εἰδότες τὸ ἐν σοὶ καλόν. αἱ γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ᾧ πάνσοφε γύναι, ψυχαὶ ταῖς καθαρωτέραις εἰκόασι πηγαῖς· ἐκεῖναί τε γὰρ τοὺς παριόντας, καὶ μὴ διψῶσιν, αὐτῷ τῷ εἶδει ἐφέλ- 5  
κονται αὐτοὺς ἀρύσασθαι τοῦ ποτοῦ· ἥ τε σὴ σύνεσις παρεγγυᾷ, μετασχεῖν ἡμᾶς παρακελενομένη τῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ σου βλυζόντων θείων ναμάτων.

II. Ἐγὼ δέ, ᾧ μακαρία, οὐκ ἐμαυτοῦ νῦν τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἄλλων γενόμενος, ταῖς πολλῶν τῶν ἐναντίων γνώμαις 10  
ἐλαύνομαι, τὰ μὲν φυγαῖς, τὰ δὲ φρουραῖς, τὰ δὲ δεσμοῖς· ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς τούτων ἐπιστρέφομαι· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι, ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ὀναίμην τῶν δεινῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων· ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἄξια 15  
τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν 15  
ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι [εἰς ἡμᾶς].

- 2 δι' αὐτῶν] G; *per ipsas* (i.e. *litteras*) L; δι' ἐαυτῶν g; *in eo* l; *e propinquo* A.  
4 καθαρωτέραις] GL; καθαρωτάταις gl; al. A. 5 αὐτῷ] GL; *sui* l; om. g;  
al. A. 6 ποτοῦ] so accentuated correctly in g<sub>4</sub>. The edd. generally (not Zahn) read πότου with g<sub>3</sub>. σὴ] GLAl; om. g. 8 ναμάτων] g;  
*effusionum* A; *liquoribus* l; *aquas* L; πομάτων G. 9 ἐμαυτοῦ] ἐμαυτῷ g<sub>1</sub>;  
ἐμαυτὸν G. 10 ὅσον] ὅσων G. πολλῶν] GgL[1]; dub. A. There is  
no authority for πολλαῖς. 16 εἰς ἡμᾶς] GLl (with Rom. viii. 18); om. gA.  
19 κρίσει] κρίσως G. 20 τοῦν] Gg<sub>4</sub>s; τῇν (sic) g<sub>3</sub>; τοῖς g<sub>1</sub>. 21 ἦσαν]

Arist. *Eth. Nic.* ii. 9, *Polit.* iii. 13, and so frequently.

2. δι' αὐτῶν] sc. τῶν γραμμάτων. The reading δι' ἐαυτῶν is rendered 'with our own eyes', but it would not be altogether a natural expression with this meaning.

7. παρεγγυᾷ] 'is a pledge, a voucher'.

12. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κ.τ.λ.] Taken from *Rom.* 5. So the following words ὀναίμην κ.τ.λ. are adapted from the context of the same passage, ὀναίμην τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων, but the substitution of δεινῶν for θηρίων shows that this letter is supposed to

be written by Ignatius before his condemnation; see *Mar. Ign.* inscr.

14. οὐκ ἄξια κ.τ.λ.] From *Rom.* viii. 18, quoted also *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 9, where the words are put into the mouth of Ignatius.

20. τοῖν ἀνδρῶν] Maris and Eulogius; see *Mar. Ign.* I with the note.

21. ἦσαν] For this verb ἦδω (= ἀνδάνω), which is rare in the active, see Veitch *Greek Verbs* p. 264 sq.

γραφικῶν χωρίων] 'passages of scripture': see *Mar. Ign.* 2, 3, 4. The expression seems to have puzzled the Latin translators, the one rendering it by the unintelligible words 'scrip-



III. Τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς κελευσθέντα ἀσμένως ἐπλήρωσα, ἐν οὐδενὶ ἀμφιβάλλων ὦν αὐτὴ καλῶς ἔχειν δεδοκίμακας. ἔγνω γὰρ σε κρίσει Θεοῦ τὴν μαρτυ-  
 20 ρίαν τοῖν ἀνδροῖν πεποιῆσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ χάριτι σαρκικῇ· πάνν  
 δέ με ἦσαν καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς σου τῶν γραφικῶν χωρίων  
 μνήμαι· ἃς ἀναγνοὺς οὐδὲ μέχρῃς ἐννοίας ἐνεδοίασα περὶ τὸ  
 πρᾶγμα· οὐ γὰρ εἶχον τίσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐκδραμεῖν ὦν εἶχον  
 ἀναντίρρητον ὑπὸ σοῦ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. ἀντίψυχόν σου γε-  
 25 νοίμην ἐγὼ, ὅτι φιλεῖς Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος·  
 διὸ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρεῖ σοι· ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμέ φιλοῦντας ἀγαπῶ·  
 οἱ δὲ ἐμέ ζητοῦντες εἰρήσουσιν εἰρήνην.

IV. Ἐπέρχεται δέ μοι λέγειν ὅτι ἀληθινὸς ὁ λόγος ὃν  
 ἤκουον περὶ σοῦ, ἔτι οὔσης σοῦ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρὰ τῷ μακα-  
 30 ρίῳ πάπῃ Ἀνεγκλήτῳ, ὃν διεδέξατο τὰ νῦν ὁ ἀξιομακάριστος  
 Κλήμης ὁ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου ἀκουστής. καὶ νῦν προσέ-

g; gaudio-affecerunt A; ἦσαν G; erant L (*multum enim mihi erant*); fuerunt l. al] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; om. g<sub>3</sub>; al. A; dub. L. It seems to have been wanting in l, which has *assidua fuerunt spatia*, making συνεχεῖς the predicate. 22 ἐνεδοίασα]

Gg<sub>3</sub>; ἐνεδύασα g<sub>1</sub>; ἐννεδοίασα g<sub>4</sub>. 24 ἀναντίρρητον] Gg<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>LA; ἀντίρρητον

g<sub>4</sub>; ineffabilem [l]. ἀντίψυχόν] G; ἀντίψυχός g. 29 οὔσης σοῦ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>L;

οὔσης (om. σοῦ) g<sub>4</sub>; causante l (thus omitting *te*, but this might easily occur after the last syllable of *causante*); dum...eras. 30 Ἀνεγκλήτῳ] g; anenclctum

(v. l. *anacletum*) l; enacletum A; cletum L; λήνῳ (i. e. λίνῳ) G; see the lower note.

τὰ νῦν] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ad praesens L; νῦν g<sub>4</sub>; dub. A; om. l. 31 ἀκουστής]

Gg<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; ἀκουτιστής g<sub>4</sub>.

tibulum locorum' and the other going altogether wide of the mark.

24. ἀντίψυχόν] Borrowed from the genuine Ignatius; see the note on *Ephes.* 21 (p. 87). It occurs frequently in our spurious Ignatian writer.

26. ἐγὼ τοὺς κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. viii. 17, but the original text of the LXX, following the Hebrew, ends with εὐρήσουσιν, though χάριν is added in A.

29. ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ] See the note on *Mar. Ign.* inscr.

30. Ἀνεγκλήτῳ] Ussher would adopt the reading λίνῳ (after G), be-

cause the succession of the Roman bishops thus accords with *Apost. Const.* vii. 46 Κλήμης δὲ μετὰ τὸν λίνου θάνατον κ.τ.λ. But the preponderance and variety of authorities is decisive in favour of Ἀνεγκλήτῳ, so that our pseudo-Ignatius took the order of the Roman bishops as he found it in Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 21, v. 6), Linus, Anenclctus, Clemens; comp. *Ps-Trall.* 7 Τιμόθεος καὶ λίνος Παύλῳ καὶ Ἀνεγκλητος καὶ Κλήμης Πέτρῳ, where the same sequence seems to be implied, though the order is not necessarily chronological.

31. Κλήμης] The chronology of

θηκας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἑκατονταπλασίως, καὶ προσθείης γε ἔτι, ὧ αὕτη. σφόδρα ἐπεθύμουν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ συναναπαύσασθαι ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ἡ ὁδὸς ἀγτοῦ. ἐπέχει γάρ μου τὴν πρόθεσιν, οὐ συγχωροῦσα εἰς πέρας ἐλθεῖν, ἢ στρατιωτικὴ φρουρά· ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐν οἷς εἰμί, δρᾶν τι 5 ἢ παθεῖν οἷός τε ἐγώ. διὸ δεύτερον τῆς ἐν φίλοις παραμυθίας τὸ γράμμα λογιζόμενος κατασπάζομαι τὴν ἱεράν σου ψυχὴν, παρακαλῶν προσθεῖναι τῷ τόνῳ. ὁ γὰρ παρὼν πόνος ὀλίγος, ὁ δὲ προσδοκώμενος μισθὸς πολὺς.

V. Φεύγετε τοὺς ἀρνούμενους τὸ πάθος Χριστοῦ καὶ τὴν 10 κατὰ σάρκα γέννησιν· πολλοὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἄρτι οἱ ταύτην νοσοῦντες τὴν ἀρρωστίαν. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα σοὶ παραινεῖν εὐηθες, κἀκηρτισμένη μὲν παντὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ ἀγαθῷ δυναμένη δὲ καὶ ἄλλους νουθετεῖν ἐν Χριστῷ. Ἄσπασαι πάντας τοὺς ὁμοίως σοι ἀντεχομένους τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας ἐν Χριστῷ. 15

- 1 ἑκατονταπλασίως] ἑκονταπλασίως g<sub>4</sub>. προσθείης] προσθείη G; πρόσθες g; ἀρῶνας L; *adjicies* l; *adjicias* or *adjicies* A. ἔτι] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>LA(?)l; om. g<sub>4</sub>.  
 2 αὕτῃ] Gg; *dilecta* (ἀγαπητή) L; *tu ipsa* (αὐτή) l; om. A. καὶ] gAl; ὥστε GL.  
 5 ἢ] οἱ g<sub>3</sub>. 7 γράμμα] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>L[A][l]; δῶμα g<sub>4</sub>. 8 παρακαλῶν] Gg<sub>4</sub>s; *deprecans* L; *rogans* l; *et rogo* A; παρακαλῶ g<sub>1</sub>; παρακαλλῶ g<sub>3</sub>. προσθεῖναι] προσθῆναι Gg; ἀρῶνι L; *superadjicere* l; *augere* A. τόνῳ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *robori* L; *ad propositum* l; *virtutem* (*fortitudinem*) A; πόνον g<sub>3</sub>. There is the same v. l. in *Mart. Ant.* 1 (see p. 474).  
 9 πολὺς] displaced in g<sub>3</sub> and printed after Χριστοῦ.  
 10 φεύγετε] Gg<sub>4</sub>sL; φεύγε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub> (but accentuated φεύγε) Al. Χριστοῦ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; τοῦ χριστοῦ g<sub>4</sub>. 12 τὴν] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; om. g<sub>3</sub>.  
 13 μὲν] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>L; ἐν g<sub>4</sub>; al. A; om. [l]. δὲ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>L; al. A; om. g<sub>4</sub> [l].  
 15 ὁμοίως] GA (which has *secundum tuum nomen et similitudinem*); ὁμοίους gL; def. l. σοι] Gg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *tibi* L; σου g<sub>1</sub>s; def. l. For A see the last note.  
 ἀντεχομένους] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀντισχομένους g<sub>3</sub>. 16 οἱ sec.] g; om. G.  
 πρὸ] gLAl; πρὸς G. 17 Ἡρώων] Gg<sub>4</sub>s; *heron* l (with vv. ll.);

this passage is taken from Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 21, 22, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαίων εἰσέτι Κλήμης ἡγέιτο, τρίτον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέχων τῶν τῇδε μετὰ Παῦλόν τε καὶ Πέτρον ἐπισκοπευσάντων βαθμόν· Δίνος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἦν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀνέγκλητος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Εὐδοκίου πρώτου καταστάντος, δεύτερος ἐν τοῖς δηλουμένοις Ἰγνάτιος ἐγνωρίζετο. In *Ps-Philad.* 4 Clement is represented as already dead (τῶν ἐξεληθόν-

των τὸν βίον), while in this epistle, which pretends to be written a little earlier, he is still living. This is explained, as Zahn has pointed out (*I. v. A.* p. 125 sq.), by the sequence of the narrative in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 34, 36, 38, where the death of Clement is mentioned shortly before the martyrdom of Ignatius, while an account of his epistle is given after that event. The inference of our



ἀσπάζονται σε οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι καὶ πρὸ πάντων ὁ ἱερὸς Ἦρων. ἀσπάζεται σε Κασσιανὸς ὁ ξένος μου, καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή μου ἡ γαμετὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ φίλτατα αὐτῶν τέκνα. ἐρρωμένην σε σαρκικὴν καὶ πνευματικὴν  
 20 ὑγείαν ὁ Κύριος ἀγιάσει αἶψά, καὶ ἰδοὺμί σε ἐν Χριστῷ  
 τυχοῦσαν τοῦ στεφάνου.

## 3.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΟΥΣ.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ ἡγαπημένῃ παρὰ Θεοῦ  
 πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀγία τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν

εἰρων g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *eron* L; *urion* A (as it is elsewhere written in this version). Κασ-  
 σιανὸς] gLl; Κασσιανὸς G. A is of no account here. See *Hero* 9, *Ant.* 13. 18 ἡ  
 γαμετὴ] GgAl; *et sponsa* L. 19 τέκνα] gAl; om. GL. σε] gl; om.  
 GL; al. A. σαρκικὴν καὶ πνευματικὴν ὑγείαν] GL; *carnali et spirituali salute* l;  
 σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι g; *spiritu et corpore* A. 20 ἀγιάσει] Gg<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>; ἀγιάσοι g<sub>3</sub>;  
*sanctificet* Ll; al. A. αἶψά] GLAl; om. g. 21 τυχοῦσαν] g; *consecu-*  
*tam* l; *τυγχάνουσαν* G; *potientem* L; *haeredem* A.

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς μαρίαν : α g<sub>1</sub>. No subscription in g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>LA.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΟΥΣ] g<sub>4</sub> (with β in the marg.); *ad trallianos ex smyrna* l (with vv. ll., but always retaining the form *trallianos*); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τραλλη-  
 σίους g<sub>1</sub> (with β in the marg.); τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπό-  
 λεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τραλλησίους β g<sub>3</sub>. As the form Τραλλιανοί is the  
 authentic reading in the heading of the genuine Ignatius (though L has *tralesiis*),  
 I have adopted it here.

author was that the death of Clement immediately preceded that of Ignatius.

3. οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ κ.τ.λ.] Jer. x. 23 οἶδα Κύριε ὅτι οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ.

17. Κασσιανὸς] He is mentioned also *Hero* 9, *Ant.* 13. Zahn adopts the form Κασσιανός, considering that the word is derived from Κάσιον the mountain which overhung Antioch,

or from Κασσιανὰ a fortress near the Syrian Apamea (Strabo -xii. 2, p. 752); see *I. v. A.* p. 159, note 2. But, though the word is sometimes written Κασσιανός in the Greek inscriptions (Boeckh *C. I.* 189, 196, 271, 272, all at Athens), it is more commonly Κασσιανός, and so always apparently in those of Syria and the neighbourhood (Boeckh *C. I.* 4498, 4573 b, 4594, 8947 v). In a Greek



Τράλλεσιν, ἐκλεκτῇ καὶ ἀξιοθέῳ, εἰρηνευούσῃ ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ἐν πάθει τῷ διὰ σταυροῦ καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἀναστάσει· ἣν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν τῷ πληρώματι ἐν ἀποστολικῷ χαρακτῆρι, καὶ εὐχομαι πλεῖστα χαίρειν.

5

I. Ἀνωμον διάνοιαν καὶ ἀνυπόκριτον ἐν ὑπομονῇ ἔγνω ὑμᾶς ἔχοντας, οὐ κατὰ χρῆσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ κτῆσιν· καθὼς ἐδήλωσέν μοι Πολύβιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὑμῶν, ὃς παρεγένετο θελήματι Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ συνεργείᾳ πνεύματος ἐν Σμύρνῃ, καὶ οὕτως μοι συνε- 10 χάρη δεδεμένῳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ὥστε με τὸ πᾶν πλήθος ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρῆσαι. ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν ὑμῶν εὐνοίαν δι' αὐτοῦ, ἔδοξα εὐρὼν ὑμᾶς μιμητὰς ὄντας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος.

II. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ· αὗτός 15 γὰρ ἀγγυπνεῖ ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς λόγον ἀποδώ-  
σων Θεῷ. διὸ καὶ φαίνεσθέ μοι οὐ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ζῶντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀποθανόντα, ἵνα πιστεύοντες εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος κοι-  
νωνοὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ γένησθε. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἐστίν, 20

1 ἀξιοθέῳ] ἀξιοθέῳ g<sub>1</sub>.  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>4</sub> with [I].

8 μοι] l (with I); om. g.  
καὶ] txt l with [I]; add. κυρίου g.

9 πατρὸς]  
10 οὕτως]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; sic l; ὄντως g<sub>3</sub>.

συνεχάρη] συνεχάρει g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

13 ἔδοξα]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; agnoui l. The correct reading in I is ἐδόξασα (see above, p. 154); but there is no indication of this reading in the Long Recension, and probably the author of it had a corrupt text before him.

εὐρὼν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l with I; εὐρέιν g<sub>4</sub>.

ὑμᾶς]

ἡμᾶς g<sub>3</sub>.

17 μοι] g<sub>4</sub>s with I; mihi l; με g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

22 ὑποτάσσεσθε] g<sub>4</sub>s

with I (see above, p. 155); subditi esote l; ὑποτάσσεσθαι g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

23 Ἰησοῦ

Χριστοῦ] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l with I; χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ g<sub>1</sub>.

27 αὐτοῦς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I. In l the

inscription at Rome also, we meet with a Syrian Christian Cassianus with his wife and son; C. I. 9787 ἐνθα κίται ἐμιδάβους, γαμητῇ Κασσιανοῦ Τολμαρίου, κόμης Ἀδάνων καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Πέτρος, and another of the same name from the same place was buried at Treviri, C. I. 9892 ἐνθάδε κίτε ἐν ἡρήνῃ Κασσιανὸς Ἀβεδσιμίου ἀπὸ [κ]ώ-  
(μης) [Ἀδ]δάνων κ.τ.λ. Adana was a

Cilician town between Tarsus and Antioch, and therefore in the locality with which this Ignatian letter is concerned. As in all these cases the name is spelt with σσ, and as our authorities all agree in this form in *Hero* 9, *Ant.* 13, and with only one exception here also, I have written it Κασσιανός. Among Christians in the second century the name is borne by

ὅσαπερ ποιεῖτε, ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράττειν ὑμᾶς·  
 ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς ἀποστόλοις  
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ἐν ᾧ διάγοντες ἐν αὐτῷ  
 εὐρεθησόμεθα. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὄντας μυστηρίων  
 25 Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀρέσκειν· οὐ γὰρ βρω-  
 τῶν καὶ ποτῶν εἰσι διάκονοι ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπηρε-  
 ται· δέον οὖν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐγκλήματα φυλάττεσθαι, ὡς πῦρ  
 φλέγον.

III. Αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἔστωσαν τοιοῦτοι. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐντρέ-  
 30 πεσθε αὐτοὺς ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν οὗ φύλακές εἰσιν τοῦ  
 τόπου, ὡς καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων τύπος ὑπάρ-  
 χει, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ καὶ σύνδεσμος  
 ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ. χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία ἐκλεκτὴ οὐκ  
 ἔστιν, οὐ συνάθροισμα ἁγίου, οὐ συναγωγὴ ὁσίων. πέπεισ-  
 35 μαι δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς οὕτω διακεῖσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐξεμπλᾶριον τῆς  
 ἀγάπης [ὑμῶν] ἔλαβον καὶ ἔχω μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ  
 ὑμῶν· οὗ αὐτὸ τὸ κατὰστημα μεγάλη μαθητεία, ἡ δὲ πραότης  
 αὐτοῦ δύναμις· ὃν λογίζομαι καὶ τοὺς ἀθέους ἐντρέπεσθαι.

sentence is translated *oportet ergo praecepta eorum observare*. The ed. princ. substituted αὐτῶν, which may have been either a misprint or a conjecture founded on the Latin. It has been followed by subsequent editors. 34 ἁγίων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;

ἀγίων g<sub>3</sub>. The best MSS of I have *neque congregatio sancta neque collectio sancto-*  
*rum*: the common text transposes the two clauses. 36 ὑμῶν] I with I;

om. g. μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ] with I; μεθ' ἑμαυτοῦ g<sub>1</sub> (the aspirate over the ε being

blotted) g<sub>3</sub>; μετ' ἑμαυτοῦ g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>4</sub>s. The ed. princ. printed μετ' ἑμαυτοῦ, and has been  
 followed by subsequent editors. 38 δν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s with I; quam (ἦν) I (with

a v.l. quem). Dressel's citation of g<sub>2</sub> for the reading ἦν is an inexplicable error;  
 the MS only begins some lines lower down.

the second Gentile bishop of Jerusalem (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 12) and by the heretic Julius Cassianus (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, p. 378; iii. 13, p. 553; etc.).

'Hospitem illum appellans', says Zahn, 'summam antiquitatis apostolicae simplicitatem affectat; conf. Rom. xvi. 23, Act. xviii. 3'.

13. ἔδοξα] There is no authority for any other reading in this recen-

sion, though it is an obvious corruption of the original ἐδόξασα of Ignatius. It cannot have the sense *agnovi* which the Latin Version gives to it, nor can any adequate meaning be assigned to it consistently with Greek usage.

15. αὐτὸς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] From Heb. xiii. 17, where however it is plural, αὐτοὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.



ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς φείδομαι συντονώτερον ἐπιστεῖλαι, ἵνα μὴ δόξω τισὶν εἶναι προσάντης ἢ ἐπιδεής. δέδεμαι μὲν διὰ Χριστόν, ἀλλ' οὐδέπω Χριστοῦ ἄξιός εἰμι· ἐὰν δὲ τελειωθῶ, τάχα γενήσομαι.

IV. Οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος διατάσσομαι· ἀλλ' ἑμᾶντὸν 5 μετρῶ, ἵνα μὴ ἐν καυχῇσει ἀπόλωμαι. καλὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Κγρίῳ καυχᾶσθαι. καὶ ἐρρωμένος ὦ τὰ κατὰ Θεόν, πλείον με δεῖ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς εἰκῇ φυσιοῦσί με· οἱ γάρ με ἐπαινοῦντες μαστιγοῦσιν· ἀγαπῶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ παθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ἄξιός εἰμι. τὸ γὰρ ζήλος τοῦ ἐχθροῦ πολλοῖς 10 μὲν οὐ φαίνεται, ἐμὲ δὲ πολεμεῖ. χρήζω οὖν πραότητος, ἐν ᾗ καταλύεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ὁ διάβολος.

V. Μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ὑμῖν μυστικώτερα γράψαι; ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι μὴ νηπίοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν βλαβὴν παραθῶμαι· καὶ σύγγνωτέ μοι, μὴ οὐ δυνηθέντες χωρῆσαι τὴν ἐνέργειαν 15 στραγγαλωθῇτε· καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ, οὐ καθότι δέδεμαι καὶ δύναμαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰς ἀγγελικὰς τάξεις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ στρατιῶν ἐξαλλαγὰς, δυνάμεών τε καὶ κυριο-

6 ἵνα μὴ...καλὸν δὲ τὸ] om. g<sub>3</sub>.

τὸν θεὸν Dam. ii. 522; *apud deum* l.

πλείονά με g<sub>4</sub>; πλέον [I].

g Max. with I; φυσῶσιν με Dam.

qui me laudant l; ἐπαινοῦντες γὰρ με Max. Dam.

Dam.; add. *me* l; add. *me* I.

10 τὸ γὰρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; ὁ γὰρ g<sub>3</sub>.

ἐν ᾗ] g Anton. 147; ἐν ᾧ Dam. ii. 650; *ut* l.

Dam.; om. I.

14 παραθῶμαι] παράθωμαι g<sub>4</sub>.

7 τὰ κατὰ Θεόν] g Max. ii. 638; κατὰ

πλείον με] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub> Dam.; πλέον με Max.;

8 μὴ] g<sub>1</sub> with I; om. Max. Dam. φυσιοῦσί με]

οἱ γὰρ με ἐπαινοῦντες] g (comp. I); *hi vero*

9 μαστιγοῦσιν] g Max.

ἀγαπῶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ παθεῖν] l with I; om. g.

11 οὖν πραότητος] Here g<sub>2</sub> begins.

12 ὁ διάβολος] g; διάβολος Anton.

13 ἐδυνάμην] Zahn; *poteram* l; δύναμαι I; ἐβουλόμην g.

18 ἀρχαγγέλων] Morel; ἀγγέλων g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>.

2. προσάντης κ.τ.λ.] '*harsh or importunate*,' i.e. with a beggar's importunity (ἐπιδεής 'indigus'). Or does ἐπιδεής mean 'deficient', 'weak'?

17. τὰς ἀγγελικὰς κ.τ.λ.] For the enumeration here comp. *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 ἀναρίθμητοι στρατιαὶ ἀγγέλων, ἀρχαγγέλων, θρόνων, κυριοτήτων, ἀρχῶν, ἐξουσίων, δυνάμεων, στρατιῶν αἰωνίων· τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ ἐξαπτέρυγα Σεραφὶμ κ.τ.λ. In the passage which follows,

ἐξαλλαγὰς seems to mean 'varieties', for which διαφορὰς and παραλλαγὰς are synonymes.

22. τὸ...ἀπαράθετον] '*peerlessness*,' as e.g. in Basil. c. *Eunom.* i. 26 (l. p. 237).

27. ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ κ.τ.λ.] From I Cor. i. 11. Part of the same passage is quoted also *Ps-Ephes.* 2.

29. εἰσὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] From Tit. i. 10.



τήτων διαφοράς, θρόνων τε καὶ ἐξουσιῶν παραλλαγὰς, αἰώνων  
 20 τε μεγαλειότηας, τῶν τε Χερουβείμ καὶ Σεραφεείμ τὰς ὑπερο-  
 χὰς, τοῦ τε πνεύματος τὴν ὑψηλότητα καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν  
 βασιλείαν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τὸ τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ ἀπαρά-  
 θετον, ταῦτα γινώσκων ἐγὼ οὐ πάντως ἤδη τετελείωμαι ἢ  
 μαθητῆς εἰμι, οἷος Παῦλος καὶ Πέτρος· πολλὰ γάρ μοι λείπει,  
 25 ἵνα Θεοῦ μὴ ἀπολειφθῶ.

VI. Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλ' ἡ ἀγάπη Ἰησοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ, ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες καὶ μὴ ἢ ἐν ἡμῖν  
 σχίσματα· ἦτε δὲ κατηρτισμένοι τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῷ  
 αὐτῷ νοῒ. εἰςὶ γάρ τινες ματαιολόγοι καὶ φρεναπάται, οὐ  
 30 χριστιανοὶ ἀλλὰ χριστέμποροι, ἀπάτη περιφέροντες τὸ ὄνομα  
 Χριστοῦ, καὶ καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, καὶ  
 τὸν ἰὸν προσπλέκοντες τῆς πλάνης τῇ γλυκεῖᾳ προσηγορίᾳ,  
 ὥσπερ οἶνομέλιτι κώνειον κεραννύντες, ἵνα ὁ πίνων, τῇ γλυ-  
 κυτάτῃ κλαπείς ποιότητι τὴν γευστικὴν αἴσθησιν, ἀφυλάκτως  
 35 τῷ θανάτῳ περιπαρῇ. παραινεί τις τῶν παλαιῶν· μηδεὶς

The reading ἀρχαγγέλων seems to be required by the context and is suggested by the rendering of 1, *et possum quidem intelligere caelestia; angelorum scilicet atque archangelorum ordines, militiarum diversitates, virtutum et dominationum differentias*, where the translator has wrongly connected together τὰς ἀγγελικὰς τάξεις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων. στρατιῶν] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; στρατειῶν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. 20 μεγαλειότηας] g<sub>4</sub>; magnificentias l; μεγαλότηας g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. Χερουβείμ...Σεραφεείμ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; χερουβιν...σεραφιν g<sub>2</sub>; cherubin...seraphin l (but with a v.l. cherubim...seraphim).

22 καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν] om. g<sub>4</sub>. 24 Παῦλος καὶ Πέτρος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; paulus aut petrus l; πέτρος καὶ παῦλος g<sub>2</sub>, this being the common order. 27 λέγητε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; λέγετε g<sub>2</sub>. 31 Χριστοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; τοῦ χριστοῦ g<sub>3</sub>. καὶ sec.] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; et l; ἵνα καὶ g<sub>2</sub>. 32 γλυκεῖα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; γλυκία g<sub>2</sub>. 33 οἶνομέλιτι] οἶνωμέλιτι g<sub>1</sub>. κώνειον] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; κώνιον g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>.

30. χριστέμποροι] 'traffickers in Christ': see *Ps-Magn.* 9 with the note. Comp. Basil. *Ep.* 240 (III. p. 370) χριστέμποροι γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ οὐ χριστιανοί. In both passages the word is suggested by the accompanying καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον 'huckstering the word', with the idea of adulteration involved, a phrase borrowed from 2 Cor. ii. 17. This last phrase is rightly translated in the

Latin Version here 'cauponantes verbum evangelii' (after Ennius 'non cauponantes bellum'), but in *Ps-Magn.* 9 'verbum Dei in tabernis praedicantes'.

35. τις τῶν παλαιῶν] The source of the quotation which follows has not been pointed out. Can it be taken from the elder quoted by Irenæus (iii. 17. 4), 'sicut quidam dixit superior nobis de omnibus qui quo-

ἀγαθὸς λεγέσθω, κακῶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν κεραυνῆς. λέγουσι γὰρ Χριστόν, οὐχ ἵνα Χριστὸν κηρύξωσιν ἀλλ' ἵνα Χριστὸν ἀθετήσωσιν· καὶ οὐ νόμον προβάλλουσιν ἵνα νόμον συστήσουσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀνομίαν καταγγείλωσιν· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Χριστὸν ἀλλοτριούσι τοῦ πατρός, τὸν δὲ νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ· 5 τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν διαβάλλουσιν· ἐπαισχυνόμενοι τὸν σταυρὸν τὸ πάθος ἀρνοῦνται καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν οὐ πιστεύουσιν· τὸν Θεὸν ἄγνωστον εἰσηγοῦνται· τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγέννητον νομίζουσιν· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα οὐδὲ ὅτι ἔστιν ὁμολογοῦσιν. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον 10 εἶναι λέγουσι, ταῦτόν δὲ εἶναι πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ τὴν κτίσιν ἔργον Θεοῦ οὐ διὰ Χριστοῦ ἀλλ' ἐτέρου τινὸς ἀλλοτρίας δυνάμεως.

VII. Ἀσφαλίξεσθε οὖν τοὺς τοιούτους, ἵνα μὴ λάβητε βρόχον ταῖς ἐαυτῶν ψυχαῖς· καὶ τὸν βίον ὑμῶν ἀπρόσκοπον 15 τίθεσθε πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἵνα μὴ γένησθε παρὶς τῇ σκοπιᾷ, καὶ ὡς δίκτυον ἐκτεταμένον. ὁ μὴ ἰώμενος γὰρ ἐαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐαυτοῦ ἀδελφός ἐστίν τοῦ λυμαινομένου ἐαυτόν. ἔαν οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποθῇσθε φυσίωσιν, ἀλαζονείαν,

1 ἀγαθὸς] ἀγαθὸς g<sub>2</sub>. 3 ἀθετήσωσιν] εὐθετήσωσιν g<sub>3</sub>. νόμον pri.] μόνον g<sub>2</sub>. προβάλλουσιν ἵνα νόμον] om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. I have inserted the words from the Latin which runs *et legem proferunt non ut legem statuant, sed ut legi contraria annuntient*. They are obviously wanted to preserve the parallelism with the preceding sentence. The omission is easily explained by homœoteleuton. The missing words are differently supplied by Zahn. συστήσουσιν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; συστήσωσιν g<sub>4</sub>; *statuant* l. As the existence of a conjunctive future is doubtful (see Winer *Gramm.* pp. 89, 95), and as ἵνα is found with a future indicative (*ib.* p. 36), I have preferred συστήσουσιν. 6 τὴν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; καὶ τὴν g<sub>3</sub>; *et* l. ἐκ παρθένου] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; κατὰ σάρκα g<sub>4</sub>. 8 πιστεύουσιν...νομίζουσιν] g<sub>1</sub>; πιστεύουσι...νομίζουσι g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 10 ὁμολογοῦσιν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ὁμολογοῦσι g<sub>2</sub>. 11 δὲ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; δ' g<sub>2</sub>. 16 τίθεσθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *affronite* l; τίθεσθαι g<sub>2</sub> (ε being written above). τῇ σκοπιᾷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *explorationis* (τῆς σκοπιᾶς) l; τῆς κοπιᾶς g<sub>2</sub>, but with σ written above and

libet modo depravant quae sunt Dei et adulterant veritatem: *In Dei lacte gypsum male miscetur*.

9. τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.] Language closely resembling Acts xix. 2.

10. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.] Three classes of heretics are here signified: (1) Ebionites; (2) Sabellians; (3)

Gnostic dualists; together with the later heresies which were allied to any of these.

16. παγὶς τῇ σκοπιᾷ κ.τ.λ.] From Hosea v. 1 παγὶς ἐγενήθητε κ.τ.λ., where τῇ σκοπιᾷ stands for the proper name 'Mizpah' of the original.

17. ὁ μὴ ἰώμενος κ.τ.λ.] From Prov.



20 τύφον, ὑπεροψίαν, δυνατόν ὑμῖν ἔστιν εἶναι ἀχωρίστους Θεοῦ.  
 ἐγγὺς γάρ τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτόν· καὶ ἐπὶ τίνα, φησὶν,  
 ἐπιβλέψω ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν ταπεινὸν καὶ ἡσυχίον καὶ τρέ-  
 μοντά μοι τοὺς λόγους; αἰδεῖσθε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον  
 25 ὑμῶν ὡς Χριστόν, καθὰ ὑμῖν οἱ μακάριοι διατάξαντο ἀπό-  
 στολοι. ὁ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ὢν καθαρὸς ἔστιν· διὸ  
 καὶ ὑπακούει τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις· ὁ δὲ  
 ἐκτὸς ὢν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσ-  
 βυτέρων καὶ τῶν διακόνων τι πράσσω, ὁ τοιοῦτος μεμίαν-  
 30 ται τῇ συνειδήσει, καὶ ἔστιν ἀπίστον χεῖρων. τί γάρ ἐστιν  
 ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλ' ἢ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐπέκεινα πάν-  
 των κρατῶν, ὡς οἶόν τε ἄνθρωπον κρατεῖν μιμητὴν γινόμενον  
 κατὰ δύναμιν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ; τί δὲ πρεσβυτέριον ἀλλ' ἢ  
 σύστημα ἱερόν, σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου;  
 τί δὲ διάκονοι, ἀλλ' ἢ μιμηταὶ τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων, λει-  
 35 τουργοῦντες αὐτῷ λειτουργίαν καθαρὰν καὶ ἄμωμον; ὡς  
 Στέφανος ὁ ἅγιος Ἰακώβῳ τῷ μακαρίῳ, καὶ Τιμόθεος καὶ  
 Λίνος Παύλῳ, καὶ Ἀνέγκλητος καὶ Κλήμης Πέτρῳ. ὁ τοῖνυν

afterwards corrected into τῇ σκοπιᾷ. 17 ἑαυτὸν] ἑμαυτόν g<sub>2</sub>. 18 ἑαυτοῦ]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; αὐτοῦ g<sub>4</sub>. ἀδελφός κ.τ.λ.] written in g<sub>3</sub> ἀδελφόν ἐστὶ καὶ λυμαινόμενος  
 τὸν ἑαυτοῦ. λυμαινόμενον] λυμαινομαίνον g<sub>2</sub>. 19 ἀποθῆσθε] g<sub>3</sub>; ἀπόθησθε  
 g<sub>4</sub>; ἀπόθεσθε g<sub>2</sub>. ἀλαζονείαν] ἀλαζωνίαν g<sub>2</sub>. 20 τύφον] τύφον g<sub>4</sub>.  
 ἀχωρίστους] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀχωρίστοις g<sub>3</sub>. 21 ἐγγὺς γάρ] g<sub>2</sub>; add. ἐστὶ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> [I].  
 τοῖς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. The word was omitted by Ussher, apparently through accident, and  
 he was followed by Voss and several later editors. 24 καθὰ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; καθ'  
 ὁ g<sub>3</sub>. ἀπόστολοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; οἱ ἀπόστολοι g<sub>2</sub>. 28 μεμίανται] μεμίεται g<sub>4</sub>.  
 29 χεῖρων] χεῖρον g<sub>2</sub>. 31 ἄνθρωπον] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; add. πάντων g<sub>4</sub>. γινό-  
 μενον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; γενόμενον g<sub>2</sub>. 35 αὐτῷ] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; add. αἰ g<sub>4</sub>. 37 Ἀνέγ-  
 κλητος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *anacletus* l. The form Ἀνάκλητος was tacitly substituted in the  
 Greek text by Morel, as may be inferred from his note on another passage (see  
 p. 148 of his edition), and he has been followed by several other editors (e.g.  
 recently Cureton and Dressel), though not by Ussher.

xviii. 9.

21. ἐγγὺς κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. lxxxiv (lxxxv). 9. The quotation which follows, ἐπὶ τίνα κ.τ.λ., is from Is. lxvi. 2.

24. διατάξαντο ἀπόστολοι] The reference is to the spurious *Apostolical Constitutions*: see esp. ii. 20 ὁ γὰρ ἀκούων αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ

αὐτὸν ἀθετῶν Χριστὸν ἀθετεῖ κ.τ.λ.

28. μεμίανται κ.τ.λ.] From Tit. i. 15 μεμιάται...ἢ συνειδήσεις, while the following expression, καὶ ἔστιν ἀπίστον χεῖρων, is from 1 Tim. v. 8.

35. ὡς Στέφανος κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Hero* 3.

37. Ἀνέγκλητος] See the note on Ps-Ign. *Mar.* 4.



τούτων παρακούων ἄθεος πάμπαν εἴη ἂν καὶ δυσσεβής, ἀθε-  
τῶν Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάταξιν σμικρύνων.

VIII. Ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπιστέλλω, οὐκ ὅτι ἔγνω-  
ν τοιοῦτους τινὰς ἐν ὑμῖν· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ συγχωρήσειέν ποτε ὁ  
Θεὸς τοιοῦτον εἰς ἀκοὰς ἐλθεῖν τὰς ἐμάς, ὁ μὴ φεισάμενος τοῦ 5  
υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀγίαν ἐκκλησίαν· ἀλλὰ προορῶν τὰς  
ἐνέδρας τοῦ πονηροῦ ταῖς παραγγελίαις προασφαλίζομαι  
ὑμᾶς, ὡς τέκνα μου ἀγαπητὰ καὶ πιστὰ ἐν Χριστῷ, προ-  
ποτίζων ὑμᾶς τὰ φυλακτικά τῆς λοιμικῆς τῶν ἀνυποτάκτων  
νόσου· ἧς ὑμεῖς ἀποφεύγετε τὴν νόσον εὐδοκίᾳ Χριστοῦ τοῦ 10  
Κυρίου ἡμῶν. ὑμεῖς οὖν ἀναλαβόντες πραότητα γίνεσθε  
μιμηταὶ παθημάτων [Χριστοῦ] καὶ ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἡγά-  
πησεν ἡμᾶς δοῦς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λύτρον, ἵνα τῷ αἵματι  
αὐτοῦ καθάρισις ἡμᾶς παλαιᾶς δυσσεβείας καὶ ζωὴν ἡμῖν  
παράσχηται, μέλλοντας ὅσον οὐδέπω ἀπόλλυσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς 15  
ἐν ἡμῖν κακίας· μηδεὶς οὖν ὑμῶν τι κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον  
ἔχέτω· ἄφετε γὰρ, φησὶν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται

1 τούτων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *istis* l; τοῦτον g<sub>2</sub>. πάμπαν] πάνπαν g<sub>4</sub>. ἀθετῶν]  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *et contemnens* l. The editors read καὶ ἀθετῶν, following the ed. princ.,  
in which the καὶ was inserted without authority from the MS. 4 συγχωρή-  
σειέν] g<sub>1</sub>s<sub>2</sub>s<sub>3</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; συγχωρήσειέ g<sub>4</sub>. 5 ἀκοὰς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; τὰς ἀκοὰς g<sub>3</sub>. φεισά-  
μενος] φησάμενος g<sub>2</sub>. 6 τὴν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; om. g<sub>3</sub>. 7 παραγγελίαις] g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s;  
παραγγελαίς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 9 λοιμικῆς] g<sub>4</sub>s; λυμικῆς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. The correction was  
made by Morel. The word λυμικός does not appear to occur. 10 ἧς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s  
(and so perhaps l, which has *quasi...tanquam morbum*); οἷς g<sub>3</sub>, adopted by Zahn.  
εὐδοκίᾳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; εὐδοκία γὰρ αὐτῆς g<sub>3</sub>. l has *benepiacite in christo* etc. 12 Χρι-  
στοῦ] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 15 παράσχηται] παράσχειται g<sub>2</sub>. 16 ἡμῖν]  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *nobis* l; ὑμῖν g<sub>2</sub>. ὑμῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *vestrum* l. The reading ἡμῶν,  
which has no authority, has appeared in the editions after Voss, who appar-  
ently was the first to introduce it. 17 φησὶν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s;

7. προασφαλίζομαι] ‘*I make you secure for myself beforehand*’; Jos. B. J. i. 2. 3 προησφαλίσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἄδηλον, Clem. Hom. Ep. Clem. 7 προασφαλίζεσθε.

8. προποτίζων κ.τ.λ.] ‘*administering a draught to you which shall be an antidote to the pestilential malady of the disorderly*’. The words προποτί-  
ζειν, προποτίσμος, commonly are medi-

cal terms (e.g. Galen *Op.* xi. p. 795, Dioscorid. *Op.* i. p. 300, Kühn). For φυλακτικά we should rather expect προ-  
φύλακτικά, since φύλακτικός commonly takes a genitive of the thing preserved.

13. δοὺς ἑαυτὸν κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. ii. 6 ὁ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάν-  
των; comp. Matt. xx. 28, Mark x. 45.

17. Ἀφετε κ.τ.λ.] A very loose quotation from Mark xi. 25 (comp.

ἡμῖν. μὴ ἀφορμὰς δίδοτε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἵνα μὴ ὀλίγων τινῶν  
 ἀφρόνων εἵνεκεν ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία βλασφημῇται.  
 20 οὐαὶ γάρ, φησὶν ὁ προφήτης ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ,  
 δι' οὗ τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

IX. Κωφώθητε οὖν, ὅταν ὑμῖν χωρὶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 λαλῇ τις, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ Δαυεὶδ, τοῦ  
 ἐκ Μαρίας· ὃς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐκ παρ-  
 25 θένου, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσαύτως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτὸν Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρω-  
 πος· ἀληθῶς ἀνέλαβεν σῶμα· ὁ λόγος γὰρ σὰρξ ἐγένετο,  
 καὶ ἐπολιτεύσατο ἄνευ ἁμαρτίας· τίς γάρ, φησὶν, ἐξ ἡμῶν  
 ἐλέγχει με περὶ ἁμαρτίας; ἔφαγεν καὶ ἔπιεν ἀληθῶς· ἐσταυ-  
 ρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου· ἀληθῶς δὲ καὶ οὐ  
 30 δοκῇσει ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν, βλεπόντων οὐρανίων καὶ  
 ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων· οὐρανίων μὲν ὡς τῶν ἀσωμά-  
 των φύσεων, ἐπιγείων τε Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν  
 παρόντων κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ ἀνθρώπων σταυρουμένου τοῦ  
 Κυρίου, καταχθονίων δὲ ὡς τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ συναναστάντος

*dicente domino* l. The later editors (not Zahn) here read ὑμῶν, for which there is no authority. It was so printed however in the ed. princ., and, though corrected to ἡμῶν by Morel, was reintroduced by Ussher and Voss.

18 δίδοτε] g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>; δίδοται g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; διδῶτε g<sub>4</sub>.

19 εἵνεκεν] g<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>; εἵνεκεν (sic) g<sub>3</sub>; ἔνεκεν g<sub>4</sub>.

βλασφημῇται] g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; βλασφημεῖται g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

21 βλασφημεῖται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; βλασφη-  
 μῇται g<sub>2</sub>; βλασφημεῖτε g<sub>4</sub>.

23 Δαυεὶδ] δαδ g<sub>1</sub>; δαυὶδ g<sub>3</sub>.

25 ταῦτὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> (with variations as to the breathing); ταῦτὸ g<sub>3</sub>.

26 γὰρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *inquit* l.

28 ἐλέγχει] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἐλέγξει g<sub>4</sub>; *arguet* l.

29 οὐ δοκῇσει] εὐδοκῇσει g<sub>4</sub>l.

32 τε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; δὲ g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; *vero* l. The editors read δέ after Morel.

33 ἐκεῖνο] g<sub>4</sub>; ἐκείνου g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>. The *v* has been written first and then erased in g<sub>1</sub>.

It was printed ἐκείνου in the ed. princ., but corrected by Morel. Later editors however with Ussher and Voss have returned to ἐκεῖνο. See the lower note.

34 καταχθονίων δὲ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; καὶ καταχθονίων δὲ g<sub>4</sub>.

Matt. vi. 14, Luke xi. 4). It is quoted almost as here in Polyc. *Phil.* 2: see also Clem. Rom. 13 with the note on the passage.

18. ἵνα μὴ...ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.] The expression is made up from 1 Tim. vi. 1, Tit. ii. 5.

20. Οὐαὶ κ.τ.λ.] From Is. lii. 5; see the note on the genuine Ignatius, p. 172.

26. ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. i. 14. The passage which follows, τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ., is from Joh. viii. 46.

33. κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ] A common expression in later Greek, e.g. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 8, 9, iv. 7, v. 10, vii. 11; comp. iv. 13 κατ' αὐτὸ...τοῦ χρόνου. On the other hand the genitive with κατὰ would be inexplicable in κατ' ἐκείνου καιροῦ.



τῷ Κυρίῳ· πολλὰ γάρ, φησὶν, σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων  
 ἄγιων ἠγέρθη, τῶν μνημείων ἀνεφχθέντων· καὶ κατήλ-  
 θεν εἰς ἄδην μόνος, ἀνῆλθεν δὲ μετὰ πλήθους· καὶ ἔσχισεν  
 τὸν ἀπ' αἰῶνος φραγμὸν καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον αὐτοῦ ἔλυσεν·  
 καὶ ἀνέστη διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν τοῦ πατρός· 5  
 καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας συνδιατρίψας τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἀνε-  
 λήφθη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ,  
 περιμένων ἕως ἄν τεθῶσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦς πό-  
 δας αὐτοῦ. τῇ οὖν παρασκευῇ τρίτῃ ὥρα ἀπόφασιν ἐδέξατο  
 παρὰ τοῦ Πιλάτου συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ πατρός· ἕκτη ὥρα 10  
 ἐσταυρώθη· ἐννάτῃ ἀπέπνευσεν· πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως ἑτάφη·  
 τὸ σάββατον ὑπὸ γῆν μένει ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ ᾧ ἀπέθετο αὐ-  
 τὸν Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθείας· ἐπιφωσκούσης κυριακῆς  
 ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· ὥς περ  
 ἦν Ἰωνᾶς ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς 15  
 νύκτας, οὔτως ἔσται καὶ ὁ γιὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ  
 καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας. περιέχει  
 οὖν ἡ μὲν παρασκευὴ τὸ πάθος, τὸ σάββατον τὴν ταφήν, ἡ  
 κυριακὴ τὴν ἀνάστασιν.

4 μεσότοιχον] μεσότυχον g<sub>1</sub>; μεσότειχον g<sub>3</sub>. 13 Ἀριμαθείας] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἀριμαθίας  
 g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 17 καρδίᾳ] κοιλίᾳ g<sub>3</sub>. 21 τὸ δοκῆσει] g<sub>2</sub>; τῷ δοκῆσει g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; δοκῆσει  
 g<sub>4</sub>. The τῷ of the ed. princ. was corrected into τὸ by Morel. Later editors from  
 Ussher and Voss onwards have returned to τῷ, but this is quite inadmissible.  
 γεγενῆσθαι] γεγενείσθαι g<sub>2</sub>. It is so printed in the ed. princ. also, but g<sub>1</sub> has γεγε-  
 νῆσθαι. 22 σῶμα] g; τὸ σῶμα Chron-Pasch. 416. πεπονθέναι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;  
 τῷ τε πεπονθέναι g<sub>3</sub>. 23 οὐ τῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; οὕτω g<sub>2</sub>l. 29 ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>;  
 om. g<sub>4</sub> (by homœoteleuton), and so app. l. 31 ἔχον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἔχων g<sub>2</sub>.  
 Θεός] g<sub>1</sub>; om. Chron. παρθένου] g<sub>1</sub>; add. μαρίας Chron. 33 ὁ πάντας

1. πολλὰ...σώματα κ.τ.λ.] From  
 Matt. xxvii. 52, loosely quoted.

2. κατήλθεν κ.τ.λ.] Taken from  
 the *Doctrine of Addai* p. 9 (ed. Phil-  
 lips), as quoted by Eusebius *H. E.*  
 i. 13 καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν ἄδην καὶ διέσχισε  
 φραγμὸν...καὶ κατέβη μόνος ἀνέβη δὲ  
 μετὰ πολλοῦ ὄχλου κ.τ.λ. (with vv. 11.);  
 see Ussher's note here.

4. φραγμὸν κ.τ.λ.] The metaphor  
 of Ephes. iii. 14, τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ  
 φραγμοῦ λύσας, but differently applied.

7. ἐκάθισεν κ.τ.λ.] From Heb.  
 x. 12, 13; comp. i. 13, where Ps. cx  
 (cix). 1 is directly quoted.

9. τρίτῃ ὥρᾳ κ.τ.λ.] See *Apost.*  
*Const.* v. 14 ἕκτη μὲν ὥρᾳ σταυρώσαντες  
 αὐτόν, τρίτῃ δὲ ὥρᾳ τὴν ἀπόφασιν δεξά-  
 μενοι τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ...καὶ περὶ τὴν  
 ἐνάτην ὥραν...ἀπέπνευσε, καὶ θάπτεται  
 πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως ἐν μνημείῳ καινῷ·  
 ἐπιφωσκούσης δὲ τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων,  
 ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐπλήρωσεν ἐκεῖνα ἃ  
 καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πάθους ἡμῶν προέλεγεν



20 X. Εἰ δέ, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἄθεοι ὄντες, τουτέστιν ἄπιστοι, λέγουσι, τὸ δοκήσει γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ ἀληθῶς ἀνελληφέναι σῶμα, καὶ τῷ δοκεῖν τεθνηκέναι, πεπονθέναι οὐ τῷ ὄντι· τίνος ἔνεκεν ἐγὼ δέδεμαι καὶ εὐχομαι θηριομαχῆσαι; δωρεὰν οὖν ἀποθνήσκω· ἄρα καταψεύδομαι τοῦ  
 25 σταυροῦ τοῦ Κυρίου. καὶ περιπτὸς ὁ προφήτης· ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν, καὶ κόψονται ἐφ' ἐλγτοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ ἀγαπῆτῳ. οὐκοῦν ἄπιστοι αὐτοὶ οὐχ ἦττον τῶν σταυρωσάντων αὐτόν. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ τῷ δοκεῖν ἔχω τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀποθανόντι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι· ἀληθείας γὰρ ἀλλότριον τὸ  
 30 ψεῦδος. ἀληθῶς τοίνυν ἐγέννησεν Μαρία σῶμα Θεὸν ἔναι· κόν ἔχον· καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη ὁ Θεὸς λόγος ἐκ τῆς παρθένου σῶμα ὁμοιοπαθεὶς ἡμῖν ἡμφιεσμένος· ἀληθῶς γέγονεν ἐν μήτρᾳ ὁ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐν μήτρᾳ διαπλάττων· καὶ ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ σῶμα ἐκ τῶν τῆς παρθένου σπερμάτων,  
 35 πλὴν ὅσον ἄνευ ὁμιλίας ἀνδρός· ἐκνοφορήθη, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς, χρόνων περιόδοις· καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐτέχθη, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς· καὶ

ἀνθρώπους ἐν μήτρᾳ]  $g_1g_3$  (writing however *μήτρῃ*)  $g_4$  Chron.; om.  $g_2$  (by homœoteleuton). There is great confusion in the rendering of *l*, but the words πάντας ἀνθρώπους at least are omitted.

34 σπερμάτων]  $g_1g_2g_3$  Chron.; αἱμάτων  $g_4$ .

In *l* the sentence runs *faciens sibi corpus ex virgine, sine semine scilicet et colloctione viri*. This testifies to the reading σπερμάτων, though the translator has freely altered. The reading αἱμάτων was Morel's conjecture, and hence it appears in some later editions. Its appearance in  $g_4$  was also doubtless due to conjecture.

35 ἄνευ] here,  $g$ ; after ἀνδρός, Chron. ὁμιλίας] ὁμηλίας  $g_2$ . ἐκνοφορήθη]  $g$ ; *portatusque in utero l*; ἀληθῶς ἐκνοφορήθη Chron. 36 χρόνων]  $g_4s$  Chron.; χρόνον  $g_1g_2$ ; χρόνου  $g_3$ . For χρόνων περιόδοις *l* has simply *tempore*. καὶ tert.]  $gl$ ; om. Chron. The words καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐγαλακτοτροφήθη... ἡμεῖς are omitted in  $g_4$  (from homœoteleuton).

φάσκων ὅτι Δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ποιῆσαι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας: comp. viii. 33 τρίτῃ δέ, ὅτι ἀπόφασιν ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπὸ Πιλάτου ἔλαβεν κ.τ.λ.

14. ὥσπερ ἦν κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xii. 40, quoted word for word.

25. ὄψονται κ.τ.λ.] From Zach. xii. 10. The rendering of the first part of the verse however is taken from Joh. xix. 37 (comp. Rev. i. 7),

where the LXX has ἐπιβλέφονται πρὸς με' ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο. The second part is loosely quoted from the LXX.

32. γέγονεν κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 γέγονεν ἐν μήτρᾳ παρθένου ὁ διαπλάσσων πάντας τοὺς γεννωμένους. The context has several expressions in common with this chapter of the Pseudo-Ignatius. See on ὁ κριτὴς κριθεῖς and τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου ὀφείως below.

34. σπερμάτων] Milton *Par. Lost*

ἀληθῶς ἐγαλακτοτροφήθη καὶ τροφῆς κοινῆς καὶ ποτοῦ με-  
 έσχεν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς· καὶ τρεῖς δεκάδας έτων πολιτευσά-  
 μενος έβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου ἀληθῶς καὶ οὐ δοκήσει· καὶ  
 τρεῖς ένιαυτοὺς κηρύξας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ποιήσας σημεῖα 5  
 καὶ τέρατα ὑπὸ τῶν ψευδοῖουδαίων καὶ Πιλάτου τοῦ ἡγε-  
 μόνος ὁ κριτῆς έκρίθη, έμαστιγώθη, έπὶ κόρρης έραπίσθη,  
 ένεπτύσθη, ἀκάνθινον στέφανον καὶ πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον έφό-  
 ρεσεν, κατεκρίθη, έσταυρώθη ἀληθῶς, οὐ δοκήσει, οὐ φαν-  
 τασία, οὐκ ἀπάτη· ἀπέθανεν ἀληθῶς καὶ έτάφη καὶ ἡγέρθη  
 έκ τῶν νεκρῶν· καθὼς που προσηύχετο λέγων, σὺ δέ Κύριε 10  
 ἀνάστησόν με, καὶ ἀνταποδώσω αὐτοῖς· καὶ ὁ πάντοτε έπα-  
 κοῦων αὐτῷ πατὴρ ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει, ἀνάστα ὁ Θεός, κρῖ-  
 νον τὴν γῆν, ὅτι σὺ κατακληρονομήσεις έν πᾶσι τοῖς

5 τοῦ] g (comp. l); om. Chron.

homœoteleuton). For έμαστιγώθη g<sub>2</sub> has έμασστηγώθη. After έμαστιγώθη Chron. adds ὑπὸ δούλων.

κόρρης] suggested by Ussher and read by Voss; κόρης or κάρης g<sub>1</sub>; κάρης g<sub>2</sub>; κόρης g<sub>4s</sub> Chron. έραπίσθη] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; έρραπίσθη edd. after Morel.

7 έφόρεσεν] g<sub>2</sub> Chron.; έφόρησε g<sub>4s</sub>; έφόρησεν g<sub>1</sub>. 8 οὐ δοκήσει] g Chron.; *voluntarie complacens* (εὐδοκήσει or εὐδοκήσας) l.

12 αὐτῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; αὐτοῦ g<sub>4</sub>.

κρίνον] κρίνον g<sub>2</sub>; κρίνων g<sub>3</sub>; *judica* l.

15 ἀληθινῶς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>;

iii. 284 'Made flesh, when time shall be, of Virgin seed'.

2. τρεῖς δεκάδας κ.τ.λ.] The thirty years and the three years are mentioned in a similar juxtaposition in Melito *Fragm.* 6 (p. 416 Otto).

6. ὁ κριτῆς έκρίθη] *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 κριθεὶς ὁ κριτῆς, Melito *Fragm.* 13 (p. 419) 'judex judicatur'.

10. Σὺ δέ Κύριε κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. xli (xl). 10. The quotation Ἀνάστα κ.τ.λ., which follows, is from Ps. lxxxii (lxxxii). 7.

11. ὁ πάντοτε έπακούων αὐτῷ] The expression is taken from Joh. xi. 42 πάντοτε μου ἀκούεις.

14. καὶ ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ.] Taken from 2 Cor. iv. 14.

16. Ἐγὼ εἰμι κ.τ.λ.] Inaccurately quoted from Joh. xi. 25, 26.

19. τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου ὄψεως] The ex-

pression occurs *Apost. Const.* viii. 12; comp. *Ps-Smyrn.* 7 τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου πνεύματος.

23. Σίμωνα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Apost. Const.* vi. 8 καὶ προεβάλοντο Κλεόβιόν τινα καὶ παρέξευξαν τῷ Σίμωνι· οὗτοι δέ μαθητεύουσι Δοσιθέῳ τινί...εἴτα καὶ έτεροι έτέρων κατήρξαν έκτόπων δογμάτων Κήρινθος καὶ Μάρκος καὶ Μένανδρος καὶ Βασιλείδης καὶ Σατορνῖλος, where the anachronisms are quite as flagrant as here, and more obvious.

τὸν πρωτότοκον κ.τ.λ.] The expression used by Polycarp *Phil.* 7, and ascribed to him by Irenæus iii. 3. 4.

24. ὀρυγμαδὸν] 'a hubbub, a noisy crowd'. The word ὀρυγμαδός is a late and corrupt form of ὀρυμαγδός; see Lobeck *Pathol.* p. 349.

ἀνθρωπολάτρας] This term might well be employed of the Simonians,



ἔθνεσιν. ὁ τοίνυν ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν πατὴρ καὶ ἡμᾶς δι'  
 15 αὐτοῦ ἐγερεῖ· οὐ χωρὶς τὸ ἀληθινῶς ζῆν οὐχ ἔξει τις· λέγει  
 γὰρ ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωὴ· ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, κἂν ἀπο-  
 θάνῃ, ζήσεται· καὶ πᾶς ὁ ζῶν καὶ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, κἂν  
 ἀποθάνῃ, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. φεύγετε οὖν τὰς ἀθέους  
 αἱρέσεις· τοῦ διαβόλου γάρ εἰσιν ἐφευρέσεις, τοῦ ἀρχεκά-  
 20 κου ὄφews, τοῦ διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπατήσαντος Ἀδὰμ τὸν  
 πατέρα τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν.

XI. Φεύγετε δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς κακὰς παραφυάδας·  
 Σίμωνα τὸν πρωτότοκον αὐτοῦ υἱόν, καὶ Μένανδρον καὶ Βασι-  
 λίδην καὶ ὅλον αὐτοῦ τὸν ὀρυγμαδὸν τῆς κακίας, τοὺς ἀνθρω-  
 25 πολάτρας, οὓς καὶ ἐπικατάρτους λέγει Ἱερεμίας ὁ προφήτης·  
 φεύγετε καὶ τοὺς ἀκαθάρτους Νικολαῖτας, τοὺς ψευδωνύμους,

ἀληθῶς g<sub>4</sub>.

17 ζήσεται...κἂν ἀποθάνῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub> (see the next note); om. g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

But Dressel wrongly says that the words are wanting in 1 and in Joh. xi. 26, for they are represented in both, though not verbatim. He has misunderstood a note of Ussher.

18 ζήσεται] add. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα g<sub>4</sub> (so Bryennios, but perhaps he has misread).

19 ἐφευρέσεις] *adinventio* (ἐφεύρεσις) l. 24 ὀρυγμαδὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>;

ὀρυμαγδὸν g<sub>4</sub>. 26 ἀκαθάρτους] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἐπικατάρτους g<sub>4</sub>; *inmundissimos* l.

since they worshipped Simon (Just. *Apol.* i. 26, Hippol. *Hær.* vi. 18; see Zahn's note here); but in this sense it would not apply to other heretics named in the context. It is probable therefore that the word is used with a different bearing. These heretics might be called 'men-worshippers', because, though they denied the divinity of Christ, they yet paid Him in some sense divine honours. On somewhat similar grounds the Catholics were called *anthropolatraz* by the Apollinarians (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 101, *Op.* II. p. 89; *Poem. Dogm.* 10, *Op.* II. p. 254), and the Nestorians by the Catholics (Cyril. Alex. *Epist.* 20, *Op.* x. 296 Migne; *Cod. Justin.* i. 1. 5, 6, *Νεστόριον τὸν ἀνθρωπολάτρην*). The force which the word has here appears from Athan. *Or. c. Arian.* ii. 16 (*Op.* I. p. 382) δι' ἀνθρώπου δὲ ψιλοῦ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἀπρεπὲς ἦν, ἵνα μή, ἀνθρωπον

Κύριον ἔχοντες, ἀνθρωπόλατραι γενώμεθα.

25. ἐπικατάρτους κ.τ.λ.] Jer. xvii. 5 ἐπικατάρτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃς τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον.

26. Νικολαῖτας κ.τ.λ.] So again *Philad.* 6 οἶος ὁ ψευδώνυμος Νικολαίτης. The expression is borrowed from *Apost. Const.* vi. 8. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. p. 490, iii. p. 522) defends Nicolas himself against the charges to which his professed followers laid themselves open; but Irenæus (*Hær.* i. 26. 3) and Hippolytus (*Hær.* vii. 36) represent him as the true founder of the sect; see *Galatians* p. 297, note, ed. 5. These passages of the interpolated epistles are in the mind of Stephanus Gobarus (Photius *Bibl.* 232), when he mentions Ignatius among those writers who exculpated Nicolas.



τοὺς φιληδόνους, τοὺς συκοφάντας· [οὐ γὰρ ἦν τοιοῦτος ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων Νικόλαος·] φεύγετε καὶ τὰ τοῦ ποιηροῦ ἔγγονα, Θεόδοτον καὶ Κλεόβουλον, τὰ γεννῶντα καρπὸν θανατηφόρον, οὗ ἂν τις γεύσῃται, παραντίκα ἀποθνήσκει, οὐ τὸν πρόσκαιρον θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τὸν αἰώνιον. οὗτοι οὐκ εἰσὶ 5 φυτεία πατρός, ἀλλ' ἔγγονα κατηραμένα· πδσα δέ, φησὶν ὁ Κύριος, φυτεία, ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐπογ-  
 ράνιος, ἐκρίζωθήτω· εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν τοῦ πατρὸς κλάδοι, οὐκ ἂν ἦσαν ἐχθροὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀπο-  
 κτεινάντων τὸν τῆς δόξης Κύριον· νῦν δὲ τὸν σταυρὸν ἄρ- 10  
 νούμενοι καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐπαισχυνόμενοι καλύπτουσι τὴν Ἰου-  
 δαίων παρανομίαν, τῶν θεομάχων, τῶν κυριοκτόνων· μικρὸν γὰρ εἰπεῖν, προφητοκτόνων· ὑμᾶς δὲ παρακαλεῖ Χριστὸς εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀφθαρσίαν διὰ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνα-  
 στάσεως, ὄντας μέλη αὐτοῦ. 15

## XII. Ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ Σμύρνης ἅμα ταῖς συμ-

1 τοὺς συκοφάντας] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; συκοφάντας (om. τοὺς) g<sub>4</sub>. οὐ γὰρ...Νικόλαος] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *non enim talis fuit apostolorum minister nicolaus* l; om. g<sub>3</sub>. In g<sub>1</sub> apparently these same words (for some are still legible) have been written and afterwards erased.  
 2 τὰ...ἔγγονα] τὸν...ἔγγονα g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; τὸν...ἔκγονον g<sub>4</sub>; *nepotes* l.  
 3 Κλεόβουλον] κλεόβουνον g<sub>4</sub>. 6 πατρός] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s with I; τοῦ πατρὸς g<sub>2</sub>.  
 7 μου] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; ἡμῶν g<sub>4</sub>. ἐπουράνιος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; οὐράνιος g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with Matt. xv.  
 13. 14 αὐτοῦ pri.] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>3</sub>; ἑαυτοῦ g<sub>4</sub>. 17 μοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *mihi* l;  
 μου g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 18 παρακαλεῖ] παρακαλῇ g<sub>1</sub>. 21 τῇ προσευχῇ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>3</sub>

3. Θεόδοτον] Probably the person meant is Theodotus the leather-seller of Byzantium (Anon. in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28, Ps-Tertull. *adv. Omn. Haer.* 8). The gross anachronism is no objection to this identification. In the parallel passage, *Apost. Const.* vi. 8, from which our Pseudo-Ignatius largely borrows, the heretic Marcus is ante-dated by about a century. It is unnecessary therefore to substitute *Theodas* (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. p. 898) as proposed by Ussher, or *Thebuthis* (Hegesipp. in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22) as suggested by Cotelier. On the supposed reference to this

passage of the Pseudo-Ignatius in Jerome (*c. Helvid.* 17, *Op.* II. p. 225) see the introduction.

Κλεόβουλον] The same person who is elsewhere called Cleobius; see Epiphan. *Haer.* li. 6 Κλεόβιον, *εἵπουν* Κλεόβουλον. He is first mentioned by Hegesippus in the same context with Simon and Dositheus, as the founder of a sect called *Κλεοβιηνοί* (in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22). In *Apost. Const.* vi. 8 he appears as a disciple of Dositheus and fellow-disciple of Simon, and lower down (§ 16) he and Simon are spoken of as 'forging poisonous books in the name of Christ and His disci-

παρούσαις μοι ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὧν οἱ ἡγούμενοί με  
κατὰ πᾶν ἀνέπαυσαν σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι. παρακαλεῖ  
ὑμᾶς τὰ δεσμά μου, ἃ ἔνεκεν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ περιφέρω αἰ-  
20 τούμενος Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν· διαμένετε ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς  
ἀλλήλους καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ. πρέπει γὰρ ὑμῖν τοῖς καθ' ἓνα,  
ἐξαιρέτως καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ἀναψύχειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον  
εἰς τιμὴν πατρὸς καὶ εἰς τιμὴν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν  
ἀποστόλων. εὐχομαι ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀκοῦσαί μου ἵνα μὴ  
25 εἰς μαρτύριον ὧ ὑμῖν γράψας. καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ δὲ προσεύ-  
χεσθε, τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀγάπης χρήζοντος ἐν τῷ ἐλέει τοῦ  
Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναί με τοῦ κλήρου οὗ περικείμεαι ἐπι-  
τυχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμος εὔρεθῶ.

XIII. Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη Σμυρναίων καὶ Ἐφε-  
30 σίων. μνημονεύετε ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας· ὅθεν οὐκ  
ἄξιός εἰμι λέγεσθαι, ὧν ἔσχατος τῶν ἐκεῖ. ἔρρωσθε ἐν  
Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὁμοίως

comp. [I]; προσευχῇ (om. τῇ) g<sub>4</sub>.  
g<sub>3</sub>. Ἰησοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; υἱοῦ g<sub>4</sub>.

23 πατρὸς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; τοῦ πατρὸς  
26 χρήζοντος] χρῖζοντος g<sub>2</sub>.

29 Σμυρναίων] σμυρνέων g<sub>2</sub>.

30 ὑμῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἡμῶν g<sub>3</sub>; I has *memor est*

*vestri* (μνημονεύεται ὑμῶν) *ecclesia quae est in syria*. In I the text runs *μνημονεύετε ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑμῶν τῆς κ.τ.λ.* It seems therefore that ὑμῶν is correct and that the words *ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς* were dropped out accidentally, perhaps in the original MS of this recension or some earlier copy from which it was taken. The editors read ἡμῶν (with g<sub>3</sub>), which makes a sort of sense.

ples'. In the spurious Armenian *Epistle of the Corinthians to S. Paul* ver. 2 (see Rinck's *Sendschr. d. Korinth.* p. 228) he is mentioned as coming to Corinth with Simon and undermining the faith of some persons there. In *Auct. Imp. Op. ad Matth.* Hom. 14 (Chrys. *Op.* vi. p. cxcix) the name is written *Cleonius*, probably, as Cotelier suggests, a corruption for *Cleovius* (= Κλεόβιος). He and his followers are mentioned by Theodoret *H. F.* i. 1, ii. 1; but no particulars are given.

6. πᾶσα δὲ κ.τ.λ.] From Matt. xv. 13 quoted nearly word for word.

9. ἐχθροὶ κ.τ.λ.] An expression

borrowed from Phil. iii. 18. Just below the words τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων κ.τ.λ. are adapted from 1 Cor. ii. 8.

12. κυριοκτόνων] See *Tars.* 3, with the note.

30. μνημονεύετε ὑμῶν] The words *ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς*, which stand before ὑμῶν in the genuine Ignatius, have disappeared, so that the sentence is imperfect. Hence ὑμῶν is altered into ἡμῶν in some Greek texts; and the Latin translator, reading *μνημονεύεται*, boldly renders the passage, '*memor est vestri ecclesia quae est in Syria*', unless indeed we ought to read '*memores este vestri ecclesiae* etc.'



καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις· καὶ οἱ κατὰ ἄνδρα ἀλλήλους ἀγαπάτε ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδία. ἀγνίζεται ὑμῶν τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα, οὐ μόνον νῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω· ἔτι γὰρ ἐπὶ κινδύνων εἰμί· ἀλλὰ πιστὸς ὁ πατήρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληρῶσαί μου τὴν αἵτησιν καὶ ὑμῶν· ἐν ᾧ εὔρε- 5  
θείημεν ἅμωμοι. ὀναίμην ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ.

## 4.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑΙ.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ πατρὸς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ σωτήρι, ἐν ᾧ ἀσπά- 10  
ζομαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Μαι-  
άνδρῳ καὶ εὐχομαι ἐν Θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυ-  
ρίῳ ἡμῶν· ἐν ᾧ πλείστα χαίρειν ὑμᾶς εἶη.

I. Γνούς ὑμῶν τὸ πολυνεύτακτον τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγάπης, ἀγαλλιώμενος προειλάμην ἐν πίστει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προσ- 15  
λαλῆσαι ὑμῖν. ἀξιώθεις γὰρ ὀνόματος θείου καὶ ποθεινοῦ, ἐν οἷς περιφέρω δεσμοῖς ἄδω τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν αἷς ἔνωσιν

2 ἀγνίζεται ὑμῶν] with I; *castificet vos* 1; ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς  $g_1 g_2 g_3 g_4$ . 4 ἐπὶ κινδύνων] ἐπικίνδυνον  $g_1 g_2$ ; ἐπικίνδυνος  $g_4$ ; ἐπικένδυνος  $g_3$ ; *in periculo* 1; ὑπὸ κίνδυνον I. 6 ὀναίμην] ὀνέμειν  $g_2$ .

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου πρὸς τραλλησίους (with β in the marg.)  $g_1$ ; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ β' πρὸς τραλλησίους  $g_2$ . None recorded for  $g_3 g_4$ .

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑΙ] τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ γ πρὸς μαγνησίους  $g_2$ ; τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς μαγνησίους (with γ in the margin)  $g_1$ ; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπέλως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς μαγνησίους. γ.  $g_3$ ; τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπισκόπου (sic) πρὸς μαγνησίους (with γ in the marg.)  $g_4$ . See above, p. 105 sq.

10 σωτήρι]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; add. *nostro* 1; add. ἡμῶν I (see p. 105). 11 Μαιάνδρῳ]

4. ἐπὶ κινδύνων] For this conjectural reading, on which I have ventured, comp. Xen. *Hipparch.* iv. 5 ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ κινδύνων ἐλαύνητέ που κ.τ.λ.

18. ὅς ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. iv. 10. The expression οὐ τῷ αἵματι

κ.τ.λ. is adapted from 1 Pet. i. 18, and ἔγνωτε Θεὸν κ.τ.λ. from Gal. iv. 9.

22. πιστὸς κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. x. 13.

33. οὐχ οἱ κ.τ.λ.] A loose quotation from Job xxxii. 9, 10, with a



εὐχομαι σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὅς ἐστιν  
 σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, μάλιστα δὲ πιστῶν· οὗ τῷ  
 20 αἵματι ἐλγτρώθητε· δι' οὗ ἔγνωτε Θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπ'  
 αὐτοῦ ἐγνώσθητε· ἐν ᾧ ὑπομένοντες τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπήρειαν  
 τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου διαφεύξεσθε. πιστὸς γάρ, ὅς οὐκ ἔασει  
 ὑμᾶς πειρασθῆναι ὑπὲρ ὃ δύνασθε.

II. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡξιώθην ἰδεῖν [ὑμᾶς] διὰ Δαμᾶ τοῦ ἀξιο-  
 25 θεοῦ ὑμῶν ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτέρων Θεοῦ ἀξίων, Βάσ-  
 σου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ τοῦ συμβιωτοῦ μου διακόνου  
 Ζωτίωνος, οὗ ἐγὼ ὀναίμην, ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ  
 τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ χάριτι Θεοῦ ἐν νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

III. Καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ πρέπει μὴ καταφρονεῖν τῆς ἡλικίας  
 30 τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ πατρὸς πᾶσαν  
 ἐντροπὴν αὐτῷ ἀπονέμειν, καθὼς ἔγνω καὶ τοὺς ἀγίους  
 πρεσβυτέρους οὐ πρὸς τὴν φαινομένην ἀφορῶντας νεότητα  
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐν Θεῷ φρόνησιν· ἐπεὶ περ οὐχ οἱ πολυχρόνιοί  
 εἰσι σοφοὶ οὐδὲ οἱ γέροντες ἐπίστανται σύνεσιν, ἀλλὰ  
 35 πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἐν βροτοῖς. Δανιὴλ μὲν γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς δω-  
 δεκαετῆς γέγονε κάτοχος τῷ θείῳ πνεύματι, καὶ τοὺς μάτην  
 τὴν πολιὰν φέροντας πρεσβύτας συκοφάντας καὶ ἐπιθυμη-  
 τὰς ἄλλοτρίου κάλλους ἀπήλεγξεν. Σαμουὴλ δέ, παιδάριον

Μεάνδρῳ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

15 προειλάμην] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; προειλόμην g<sub>4</sub>s.

16 καὶ]

g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

17 ἔγνω] laudare (αἰνεῖσιν?) l.

22 διαφεύξεσθε]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>4</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; effugite l; διαβρῆξεσθε g<sub>3</sub>. In I the sentence is different, but διαφυγόντες appears there.

ὅς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s l; ὡς g<sub>2</sub>.

ἔασει] ἔαση g<sub>2</sub>.

23 δύνασθε]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; δυνάμεθα g<sub>4</sub>.

24 ὑμᾶς] I; vos l; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

διὰ Δαμᾶ]

I; per...damam l; διὰ δαγμᾶ g<sub>4</sub>; διάδαγμα (sic) g<sub>1</sub>; διαδαγμα (sic) g<sub>2</sub>; διάδεγμα g<sub>3</sub>.

27 Ζωτίωνος] ζωτίωνος (sic) g<sub>4</sub>.

ὑποτάσσεται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s l; ὑποτάσ-

σετε g<sub>2</sub>.

32 οὐ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l; οὐς g<sub>2</sub>.

37 ἐπιθυμητὰς] ἐπιθυμῆτας g<sub>1</sub>.

38 ἀπήλεγξεν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἀπήλεγξε g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; manifestavit l. The word was incorrectly printed ἀπήλειξεν in the ed. princ., which was emended ἀπέδειξεν in the edd. of Plantinus. This emendation has been adopted by some later editors.

transposition of clauses.

35. Δανιὴλ μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] For these examples which follow, see the parallel passage *Mar. ad Ign.* 2, 3, 4, with the notes.

δωδεκαετῆς] His age is not given in

the narrative, and it is difficult to see whence it could have been derived. It may have been transferred from Solomon; see the note on *Mar. ad Ign.* 3 δυοκαίδεκα κ.τ.λ.

ὃν μικρόν, τὸν ἐνενηκονταετῇ Ἡλεὶ διελέγχει τοῦ Θεοῦ προ-  
 τετιμηκότα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας. ὡσαύτως καὶ Ἱερεμίας  
 ἀκούει πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, μὴ λέγε ὅτι νεώτερός εἰμι. Σολομῶν  
 δὲ καὶ Ἰωσίας, ὁ μὲν δωδεκαετῆς βασιλεύσας τὴν φοβερὰν  
 ἐκείνην καὶ δυσερμήνευτον ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν κρίσιν ἔνεκα τῶν 5  
 παιδίων ἐποιήσατο, ὁ δὲ ὀκταετῆς ἄρξας τοὺς βωμοὺς καὶ  
 τὰ τεμένη κατερρίπτου καὶ τὰ ἄλση κατεπίμπρα· δαίμοσιν  
 γὰρ ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐ Θεῷ, ἀνακείμενα· καὶ τοὺς ψευδοῖερεῖς κατα-  
 σφάττει ὡς ἂν φθορέας καὶ ἀπατεῶνας ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' οὐ  
 θειότητος λατρευτάς. τοιγαροῦν οὐ τὸ νέον εὐκαταφρόνητον, 10  
 ὅταν Θεῷ ἀνακείμενον ᾖ· ἀλλ' ὅταν γνώμην μοχθηρόν, καὶ  
 πεπαλαιωμένον ᾖ ἡμερῶν κακῶν. νέος ἦν ὁ χριστοφό-  
 ρος Τιμόθεος· ἀλλ' ἀκούσατε, οἷα γράφει αὐτῷ ὁ διδάσκα-  
 λος· μηδεὶς σοῦ τῆς νεότητος καταφρονεῖτω, ἀλλὰ τύπος  
 γίνου τῶν πιστῶν ἐν λόγῳ, ἐν ἀναστροφῇ. πρέπον οὖν 15

1 ὃν μικρόν, τὸν ἐνενηκονταετῇ] ὃν, μικρόν τὸν ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη g<sub>2</sub>. 'Ηλεὶ] or ἡλεὶ  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἡλεὶ g<sub>2</sub>. 7 τεμένη] τεμένει g<sub>2</sub>. κατερρίπτου] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; κατηρίπτου g<sub>4</sub>.  
 There is no authority for κατέρριπτε, which is generally read. κατεπίμπρα]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; κατεπίμπρα g<sub>2</sub>. 8 ψευδοῖερεῖς] g<sub>3</sub>; ψευδιερεῖς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s.

κατασφάττει] g; *interfecit* l. The editors commonly read κατέσφαττεν against all  
 the Greek authorities. 9 ἀπατεῶνας] ἀπαταῖωνας g<sub>2</sub>. 11 ἀλλ' ὅταν

γνώμην μοχθηρόν, καὶ πεπαλαιωμένον κ.τ.λ.] *sed illa aetas quae sententiae nocet, etiam  
 si inveterata etc.* 1; ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν γνώμην μοχθηρὰν καὶ πεπαλαιωμένον κ.τ.λ. g<sub>2</sub>; ἀλλ'  
 ὁ τὴν γνώμην μοχθηρὰν καὶ πεπαλαιωμένος κ.τ.λ. g<sub>1</sub>; ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν γνώμην μοχθηρὸς  
 καὶ πεπαλαιωμένος κ.τ.λ. g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. I have ventured on a conjectural emendation  
 which is suggested by a comparison of the authorities. 14 καταφρονεῖτω]

3. μὴ λέγε κ.τ.λ.] From Jer. i. 7,  
 quoted also *Mar. ad Ign.* 3.

7. κατερρίπτου] There seems to  
 be quite sufficient authority for a verb  
 καταρριπῶ (καταριπῶ); see Steph.  
 Thes. s. v. κατερειπῶ (ed. Hase et  
 Dind.).

12. πεπαλαιωμένον κ.τ.λ.] From *Su-  
 sanni.* 52 πεπαλαιωμένε ἡμερῶν κακῶν  
 (LXX and Theodotion).

14. μηδεὶς σου κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim.  
 iv. 12, quoted exactly.

22. Οὐ σέ κ.τ.λ.] Freely quoted  
 from 1 Sam. viii. 7 οὐ σέ ἐξουθενήκα-  
 σιν, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐμέ ἐξουθενώκασιν (v. 1. ἐξου-

θενήκασιν). The next passage, οὐ γὰρ  
 καθ' ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ., is from Exod. xvi. 8.

24. οὐδεὶς κ.τ.λ.] The passage  
 which follows is taken from *Apost.*  
*Const.* vi. 1, 2, Δαθὰν γὰρ καὶ Ἀβειρῶν  
 ἀντιπρόσωποι γεγόμενοι Μωσεί κατεπό-  
 θησαν εἰς γῆν, Κορὲ δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ  
 διακόσιοι πεντήκοντα διαστασιάσαντες  
 πυρὸς παρανάλωμα γεγόνασι...καὶ Ἀζα-  
 ρίας [ὁ] καὶ Ὀζίας...κατατολμῆσας τῆς  
 ἱερωσύνης...ἐξανάτειλε λέπραν...καίτοιγε  
 οὐδὲ εἰς ἀτιμώρητος· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀβεσ-  
 σαλὼμ καὶ Ἀβεδδαδὰν ἔμειναν ἀτιμώρη-  
 τοι κ.τ.λ. (comp. § 3 κατήλθοσαν εἰς  
 ἄδου ζῶντες), combined with ii. 27 ὡς



ἐστιν καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπακούειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν καὶ κατὰ  
 μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν· φοβερὸν γάρ ἐστι τῷ τοιούτῳ  
 ἀντιλέγειν· οὐ γὰρ τουτονὶ τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τις,  
 ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον  
 20 παρά τινος παραλογισθῆναι· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτο οὐ πρὸς  
 ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ πρὸς Θεὸν ἔχει τὴν ἀναφοράν. τῷ γὰρ  
 Σαμουὴλ λέγει ὁ Θεός, οὐ γὰρ καθ' ἡμῶν ὁ γογγυσμός,  
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ. οὐδεὶς ἔμεινεν ἀτιμώρητος  
 25 ἐπαρθεὶς κατὰ τῶν κρειττόνων· οὔτε γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ Δαθὰν  
 καὶ Ἀβειρῶν ἀντίπαν, ἀλλὰ Μωσεῖ· καὶ ζῶντες εἰς ἄδου  
 κατηνέχθησαν. Κορὲ δὲ καὶ οἱ συμφρονήσαντες αὐτῷ κατὰ  
 Ἀαρὼν διακόσιοι πεντήκοντα πυρίφλεκτοι γεγόνασιν. Ἀβεσ-  
 σαλώμ, πατραλοίας γενόμενος, ἐκκρεμῆς ἐν φυτῷ γέγονεν  
 30 καὶ ἀκίσιν ἐβλήθη τὴν κακόβουλον καρδίαν. Ἀβεδδαδὰν

καταφρονεῖτο g<sub>2</sub>.17 τῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; τὸ g<sub>3</sub>.21 ἀλλὰ πρὸς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>;πρὸς δὲ g<sub>4</sub>.22 παρελογίσαντο] παρελογήσαντο g<sub>2</sub>.

23 Μωσῆς] μωϋσῆς

(sic) g<sub>3</sub>. But the name is not so written in this authority where it occurs just below.γὰρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub> 1; om. g<sub>4</sub>.ἡμῶν] So all the authorities, (g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> 1),

as in LXX, Exod. xvi. 8. The editors commonly print ὑμῶν.

26 Ἀβειρῶν]

ἀβειρῶν g<sub>2</sub>.ἀντίπαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀντίπον g<sub>3</sub>.Μωσεῖ] μωσῇ g<sub>2</sub>.28 Ἀβεσσαλώμ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀβεσαλῶν g<sub>2</sub>.29 πατραλοίας] πατραλύας g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>.ἐκκρεμῆς] g<sub>4</sub>; ἐκκρεμῆς g<sub>1</sub>; ἐκκρεμῆς g<sub>2</sub>; *appensus* 1; ἐκεῖ κρεμῆθις g<sub>3</sub>.

30 Ἀβεδ-

δαδὰν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub> g<sub>4</sub>; *achab* (or *ahab* or *aab*) *et dadan* 1; ἀβνὲρ g<sub>3</sub>. It seems probable that the reading of 1 (*aabetddadan*, when taken in its simplest form) is only a corruption of ἀβεδδαδὰν. See the lower note.

γὰρ ὁ Σαούλ, ἄνευ τοῦ Σαμουὴλ προσ-  
 ἐνέγκας, ἤκουσεν ὅτι Μεματαιώταί σοι  
 ...καὶ ὡς Ὁζίας...ἐλεπρώθη διὰ παρα-  
 νομίαν, οὕτως καὶ πᾶς λαϊκὸς οὐκ ἀτιμώ-  
 ρητος ἔσται...οὐχὶ οἱ Κορεῖται...πυρίκαν-  
 στοὶ ἐγένοντο...καὶ Δαθὰν καὶ Ἀβειρῶν  
 ζῶντες κατέβησαν εἰς ἄδου, and viii. 46  
 οἱ Κορεῖται καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ὁζίας...γε-  
 νόμενοι οἱ μὲν πυρίφλεκτοι, ὁ δὲ κατὰ  
 τοῦ μετώπου λεπρός.

30. Ἀβεδδαδὰν] The reference is  
 explained by *Apost. Const.* vi. 2 (the  
 context of the passage already quoted)  
 ὁ δὲ Ἀβεδδαδὰν, οὐκ ἔστι μοι, φησί,  
 μερὶς ἐν Δαυὶδ οὐδὲ κληρονομία ἐν νίφ

Ἰεσσαί, δῆλον ὡς ἀναξιοπαθῶν ἄρχεσθαι  
 ὑπὸ Δαυὶδ κ.τ.λ. It is therefore a  
 blundering substitution of Obededom  
 (2 Sam. vi. 10), sometimes written  
 Ἀβεδδαδὰν, for Sheba (2 Sam. xx.  
 1) by the author of the *Apostolic  
 Constitutions*; and the blunder has  
 been blindly copied by our Ignatian  
 writer. Cotelier (on *Apost. Const.*  
 l. c.) suggests an explanation of  
 the error; 'Initio potuit scriptum  
 haberi Ἀβεε, ut est in MS Alexandr.  
 2 Reg. xx. 1, 7, vel etiam Σαβεε, ita  
 ut nonnemo ad oram libri sui Ἀβελα  
 δὰν posuerit e 2 Reg. xx. 18, unde



ὡσαύτως τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφαιρεῖται δι' ὁμοίαν αἰτίαν. Ὁζίας λεπροῦται, κατατολμήσας ἱερέων καὶ ἱερωσύνης. Σαοὺλ ἀτιμούνται, μὴ περιμείνας τὸν ἀρχιερέα Σαμουήλ. χρὴ οὖν καὶ ὑμᾶς αἰδεῖσθαι τοὺς κρείττονας.

IV. Καὶ πρόπον ἐστὶν μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι Χριστιανούς 5 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ τὸ λέγεσθαι ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶναι μακάριον ποιεῖ. εἰ τινὲς ἐπίσκοπον μὲν λέγουσιν, χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα ποιούσιν· τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐρεῖ καὶ αὐτός, ὃς καὶ ὁ ἀληθινὸς καὶ πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μόνος φύσει ἀρχιερεύς, τί με καλεῖτε, Κύριε, Κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω; 10 οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι οὐκ εὐσυνεΐδητοι, ἀλλ' εἰρωνές τινες καὶ μόρφωνες εἶναι μοι φαίνονται.

V. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τέλος τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, καὶ πρόκειται ζωὴ ἢ ἐκ φυλακῆς καὶ θάνατος ὁ ἐκ παρακοῆς, καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν εἰρημένων εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ αἰρεθέντος μέλλει χωρεῖν, 15 φύγωμεν τὸν θάνατον καὶ ἐκλεξώμεθα τὴν ζωὴν. δύο γὰρ λέγω χαρακτῆρας ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐρίσκεσθαι, καὶ τὸν μὲν νομίσματος τὸν δὲ παραχαράγματος· ὁ θεοσεβὴς ἄνθρωπος

7 εἰ τινὲς] *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>*; οἵτινες *g<sub>4</sub>*; *quidam autem* l. 8 ὃς καὶ] *g<sub>4</sub>s*; *qui et* l; ὡς καὶ *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>*; om. *g<sub>3</sub>* (the transcriber probably had the reading ὡς καὶ before him, and the words seemed superfluous). 9 ἀρχιερεὺς] *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>*; ἱεράρχης *g<sub>4</sub>*. 12 φαίνονται] *g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s*; φαίνωνται *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>*. 14 ἕκαστος] *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s*; *unusquisque* l; ἕκαστον *g<sub>3</sub>*. 15 εἰρημένων] *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>*; ἡρημένων *g<sub>4</sub>s*; *de praedictis* l. The reading ἡρημένων was a conjecture of Morel's, accepted by subsequent editors. τοῦ αἰρεθέντος] *Cotelier*; *quem sibi...elegerit* l; τοῦ ἀξεθέντος (sic) *g<sub>3</sub>*; τοῦ εὐρεθέντος *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>*. I has εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον. In l the sentence runs *in locum quem sibi de praedictis elegerit*, connecting τῶν εἰρημένων with what follows. The misprints in *g<sub>3</sub>* are especially frequent hereabouts, e.g. ὑττεῖ for ἐπεῖ, ξωῇ for ζωῇ, χάρειν for χωρεῖν. A comparison of the authorities led me to conjec-

postea factum Ἀβεδαδάν'. The reading Ἀβνέρ in *g<sub>3</sub>* here is of course a deliberate emendation.

8. ὁ ἀληθινὸς κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Ps-Smyrn.* 9, and see also *Apost. Const.* viii. 46 οὐ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἢ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους πολεμοῦσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀλλὰ τὸν πάντων ἐπίσκοπον καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχιερέα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν κ.τ.λ., and again πρῶτος τοίνυν τῇ φύσει ἀρχιερεύς ὁ μονογενὴς

Χριστός κ.τ.λ.

10. τί με καλεῖτε κ.τ.λ.] From Luke vi. 46.

11. μόρφωνες] '*impersonators, hypocrites*'. The lexicons do not give any other instance of the word. Its coinage was perhaps suggested by 2 Tim. iii. 5 ἔχοντες μόρφωσιν εὐσεβείας.

15. τῶν εἰρημένων] i.e. the two

νόμισμά ἐστιν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ χαραχθέν· ὁ ἀσεβὴς ψευδώνυμον  
 20 νόμισμα, κίβδηλον, νόθον, παραχάραγμα, οὐχ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἀλλ'  
 ὑπὸ διαβόλου ἐνεργηθέν. οὐ δύο φύσεις ἀνθρώπων λέγω,  
 ἀλλὰ τὸν ἓνα ἄνθρωπον ποτὲ μὲν Θεοῦ ποτὲ δὲ διαβόλου  
 γίνεσθαι· ἐὰν εὐσεβῇ τις, ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ ἐστιν· ἐὰν δὲ  
 ἀσεβῇ τις, ἄνθρωπος τοῦ διαβόλου, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀλλ'  
 25 ἀπὸ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γνώμης γινόμενος. οἱ ἄπιστοι εἰκόνα ἔχουσι  
 τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς πονηρίας· οἱ πιστοὶ εἰκόνα ἔχουσι τοῦ  
 ἄρχοντος Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· δι' οὗ ἐὰν μὴ  
 αὐθαιρέτως ἔχωμεν τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ  
 πάθος, τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν.

30 VI. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις προσώποις τὸ  
 πᾶν πλήθος ἐθεώρησα ἐν πίστει καὶ ἡγάπησα, παραινῶ, ἐν  
 ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ σπουδάσατε πάντα πράττειν, προκαθημένου  
 τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς  
 τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων τῶν ἐμοὶ  
 35 γλυκυτάτων πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὅς  
 πρὸ αἰῶνος παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ γεννηθεὶς ἦν λόγος Θεός, μονο-

ture τοῦ αἰρεθέντος, before I saw that it had been anticipated by Cotelier and that Patrick Young (see Ussher, p. 16) before Cotelier had suggested τὸν αἰρεθέντα.

21 διαβόλου]  $g_1g_2g_3$ ; τοῦ διαβόλου  $g_4$ . οὐ δύο]  $g_2g_4s$ ; non duas l; δύο (om. οὐ)  $g_1$ ; δύο (sic)  $g_3$ . 22 ποτὲ μὲν]  $g_1g_3$ ; τότε μὲν  $g_2$ . 25 γινόμενος]  $g_1g_2g_4s$ ; γενόμενος  $g_3$ . 26 οἱ πιστοὶ]  $g_1g_2g_3g_4s$ ; οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ I; *fideles autem* [1]. The interpolator however has so altered the context, that the text of I does not weigh much in determining his reading; and l freely inserts connecting particles. 27 Θεοῦ]  $g_1g_2g_3$ ; τοῦ θεοῦ  $g_4$ . ἐὰν]  $g_1g_3g_4s$ ; ἂν  $g_2$ . 28 ἔχωμεν] ἔχομεν  $g_2$ . 31 ἡγάπησα]  $g_1g_4$ ; ἡγάπησα  $g_2$ ; ἀγάπη  $g_3$ ; *dilectione* l. There is the same v.l. in I. 36 Θεός]  $g_1g_2g_4s$  l; θεοῦ  $g_3$ ; comp. *Philipp.* 2 for this same v.l. in  $g_3$ .

classes of persons indicated in the preceding chapter. If the reading τοῦ αἰρεθέντος be correct, the words will mean 'the place assigned to the alternative chosen', i.e. to obedience (φυλακῆς) or disobedience (παρακοῆς), as the case may be.

35. ὅς πρὸ αἰῶνος κ.τ.λ.] This is directed against the teaching of Marcellus of Ancyra, as Zahn (*I. 7*.

*A. p. 137 sq.*) has rightly seen. The main charge against the Christology of Marcellus was that he obscured the doctrine of the personality of the Son at both ends; (1) He denied its existence before the world began (controverted in ὅς πρὸ αἰῶνος...μονογενὴς υἱός), and (2) He merged it in God the Father at the end of the world (controverted in ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ...



γενῆς υἱός, καὶ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων ὁ αὐτὸς διαμένει· τῆς γὰρ βασιλείας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔσται τέλος, φησὶν Δανιὴλ ὁ προφήτης. πάντες οὖν ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσωμεν, καὶ μηδεὶς κατὰ σάρκα βλεπέτω τὸν πλησίον ἀλλ' ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. μηδὲν ἔστω ἐν ὑμῖν, ὃ δυνήσεται ὑμᾶς μερίσαι, 5 ἀλλ' ἐνώθητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ Θεῷ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ.

VII. Ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ποιεῖ· οὐ δύναμαι γάρ, φησὶν, ποιεῖν ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδέν· οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ πρεσβύτερος, μὴ 10 διάκονος, μὴ λαϊκός· μηδὲ τι φαινέσθω ὑμῖν εὐλογον παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην· τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον παράνομον καὶ Θεοῦ ἐχθρόν. πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ἅμα συνέρχεσθε· μία δέησις ἔστω κοινή, εἰς νοῦς, μία ἐλπίς, ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν πίστει τῇ ἀμώμῳ τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, οὗ ἄμεινον 15

1 ὁ αὐτός] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; αὐτὸς (om. ὁ) g<sub>4</sub>; ipse l.

ἑαυτοῦ g<sub>3</sub> (with Joh. v. 30); a me ipso l.

sive l; μὴ g<sub>4</sub>.

μῆ...μῆ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; μῆδὲ...μῆδὲ (sic) g<sub>3</sub>; seu (sive)...sive l.

13 συνέρχεσθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; συνέρχεσθαι g<sub>2</sub>; convenite l.

θεοῦ g<sub>4</sub>.

17 ἐπὶ ἑνᾷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ὡς ἐπὶ ἑνᾷ g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> l.

9 ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; απ'

10 μῆδὲ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; καὶ μῆδὲ (sic) g<sub>3</sub>;

16 Θεοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; τοῦ

19 μύθοις] g<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s with I;

διαμένει): see e.g. Euseb. *c. Marc.* ii. 4 (p. 110 Gaisford) ἀρχὴν τε πρόσκαιρον καὶ νεωτέραν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδούς, καὶ ταύτης τέλος ὑφίστάμενος, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀληθῶς μονογενῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱὸν ἀρνιούμενος, λόγον δὲ ψιλὸν ἀνούσιον καὶ ἀνυπόστατον ὑποτιθέμενος κ.τ.λ. The prophecy of Daniel (ii. 44, vii. 14, 27), quoted below, is taken, not from the Greek text of the prophet, but from the indirect quotation in the angel Gabriel's message, Luke i. 33. This same passage is quoted also by Eusebius against Marcellus, *c. Marc.* ii. 1 (p. 66). See also *Ps-Smyrn.* 3.

9. οὐ δύναμαι κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. v. 30.

20. ἐπέχετε] 'give heed'. If the

reading ἐνέχετε be correct, it must mean 'insist upon', but ἐνέχειν with the dative generally signifies 'to press upon', i.e. 'to threaten' (e.g. Gen. xlix. 23), and the emendation seems therefore necessary.

21. τὰ ἀρχαία κ.τ.λ.] Verbatim from 2 Cor. v. 17, as commonly read, but τὰ πάντα should be omitted there.

28. οὐ ῥήτος κ.τ.λ.] The original text of Ignatius seemed to favour strongly the doctrine of Marcellus (see above, p. 126 sq.); but the interpolator, whose theological sympathies lay in quite the opposite direction, has altered it so as to make it a direct polemic against this heretic. Marcellus denied, or seemed to deny, the separate personality, οὐσία or ὑπό-



οὐδέν ἐστιν. πάντες ὡς εἷς εἰς τὸν ναὸν Θεοῦ συντρέχετε, ὡς ἐπὶ ἐν θυσιαστήριον, ἐπὶ ἓνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀρχιερεὰ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου Θεοῦ.

VIII. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις, μηδὲ μύθοις  
 20 ἐπέχετε καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις καὶ Ἰουδαϊκοῖς τύ-  
 φοις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονε καινὰ τὰ πάντα.  
 εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ νόμον Ἰουδαϊκὸν καὶ περιτομὴν σαρκὸς  
 ζῶμεν, ἀρνούμεθα τὴν χάριν εἰληφέναι. οἱ γὰρ θειότατοι  
 προφήται κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἔζησαν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ  
 25 ἐδιώχθησαν, ἐμπνέομενοι ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος, εἰς τὸ πληρο-  
 φορηθῆναι τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ὅτι εἷς Θεὸς ἐστιν ὁ παντοκρά-  
 τωρ ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος οὐ ῥητὸς ἀλλ' οὐσιώδης· οὐ  
 γὰρ ἐστιν λαλιᾶς ἐνάρθρου φῶνημα, ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θεϊκῆς

*fabulis* 1; μύθους *g₂g₃*.

20 ἐπέχετε] *intendatis* 1; ἐνέχετε *g₃*; ἀνέχετε *g₁g₂g₄*.

As both ἐνέχετε and ἀνέχετε are unintelligible, I have substituted ἐπέχετε. Vedelius conjectured ἐνέχεσθε, and Ussher προσέχετε (comp. 1 Tim. i. 4). 21 τὰ πάντα]

*g₁g₂sg₃*; πάντα (om. τὰ) *g₄*.

25 ἀπὸ] *g₁sg₂sg₃*; ὑπὸ *g₄*.

26 ἀπειθοῦντας]

*g₁g₂g₃g₄* with I. There is no authority for ἀπιστοῦντας. The ed. princ. misprinted it ἀπειτοῦντας, which Morel corrected into ἀπιστοῦντας.

στασις, of the Son; his conception of the Logos reduced it to a mere utterance of the Father; it was a voice issuing from silence; Euseb. *Ecccl. Theol.* ii. 8 (p. 214) οἶα λόγον αὐτὸν σημαντικὸν τινος ἢ προστακτικὸν προελθεῖν τοῦ Θεοῦ φάσκει, *ib.* ii. 9 (p. 219) μετὰ δὲ τὴν σιγὴν καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν προελθεῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ...κατὰ προφορὰν φωνῆς ἐνάρθρου, φθεγγομένου δηλαδὴ καὶ λαλοῦντος τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁμοίως ἀνθρώποις (comp. *ib.* iii. 3, p. 318 sq.). Accordingly Eusebius in reply discusses the different significations of λόγος (*ib.* ii. 13, p. 229 sq.). Among others he mentions ὁ διὰ γλώττης καὶ φωνῆς ἐνάρθρου σημαίνων τι, and he rejects this (τὸν διὰ φωνῆς ἀκούμενον) as inadequate for the theological conception, because

it does not allow a distinct ὑπόστασις. Thus our Ignatian writer directly controverts the language in which Marcellus either actually stated or was represented to have stated his opinions. See also Meletius in Epiphanius. *Haer.* lxxiii. 30 (p. 878 sq.) λόγος ἐστὶ τε καὶ λέγεται νίος, οὐ μὴν φωνὴ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲ ῥῆμα νοεῖται· ὑφέστηκε γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐνεργεῖ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα κ.τ.λ. It seems to follow from this change that our interpolator read the words in his text of the original Ignatius αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθὼν, without the insertion αἰδῖος οὐκ (see above, pp. 125, 126), since otherwise he would not have gone so far out of his way, even if he had thought it necessary to make any alteration at all.

οὐσία γεννητή· ὃς κατὰ πάντα εὐαρέστησεν τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν.

IX. Εἰ οὖν οἱ [ἐν] παλαιοῖς γράμμασιν ἀναστραφέντες εἰς καινότητα ἐλπίδος ἦλθον ἐκδεχόμενοι Χριστόν, ὡς ὁ Κύριος διδάσκει λέγων, εἰ ἐπιστεύετε Μωσῇ, ἐπιστεύσατε 5 ἄν ἐμοί· περὶ γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψεν, καὶ, Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἠγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν, καὶ εἶδεν καὶ ἐχάρη· πρὶν γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ [γενέσθαι] ἐγὼ εἰμί· πῶς ἡμεῖς δυνησόμεθα ζῆσαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ; οὗ καὶ οἱ προφήται ὄντες δούλοι τῷ πνεύματι προεώρων αὐτόν καὶ 10

1 ὃς κατὰ πάντα εὐαρέστησεν] I; ὃς πάντα κατεναρέστησεν  $g_1$ ; ὃς πάντα κατεναρέσκει  $g_3$ ; ἐν πᾶσιν εὐαρέστος  $g_2g_4$ ; *in omnibus bene complacens* l. τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν]  $g_1g_3g_4$  with I; τῷ ὑποστήσαντι  $g_2$ ; *substituto* l. 3 ἐν παλαιοῖς] I; παλαιοῖς (om. ἐν)  $g_1g_2g_3g_4$ ; *ex antiquis* l. The reading of g however might perhaps stand, as the dative of the *norma*. 4 καινότητα]  $g_2sg_4s$  with I; κενότητα  $g_1$ ; *vacuam* (*spem*) l; νεύτητα  $g_3$ . 5 ἐπιστεύετε]  $g_1g_3$ ; ἐπιστεύσατε  $g_2g_4$ . Μωσῇ]

1. τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν] It is tempting with Zahn (see *I. v. A.* p. 137, note 1) to adopt the other reading τῷ ὑποστήσαντι, i.e. 'who gave Him His ὑπόστασις' (comp. e.g. Alex. Aphrod. *Probl.* 1 τῷ Θεῷ τῷ καὶ τὴν τούτων οὐσίαν ὑποστήσαντι); but we are precluded by the fact that τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν stands in the text of the genuine Ignatius.

5. εἰ ἐπιστεύετε κ.τ.λ.] The passages are from Joh. v. 46 (εἰ ἐπιστεύετε κ.τ.λ.) and Joh. viii. 56, 58 (Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ κ.τ.λ.).

8. γενέσθαι] This insertion from Joh. viii. 58 seems necessary, for πρὶν is never a preposition. The editors have silently acquiesced in the faulty text. Comp. *Philipp.* 6, where the passage is again quoted.

12. αὐτὸς κ.τ.λ.] Verbatim from Is. xxxv. 4. The next passage, ὁ μὴ ἐργαζόμενος κ.τ.λ., is loosely quoted from 2 Thess. iii. 10; the third, ἐν ἰδρωτί κ.τ.λ., is word for word from Gen. iii. 19.

13. ἀργίαις κ.τ.λ.] Chrysost. *de Laz.*

i. 7 (i. p. 716) οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι νομίζουνσιν ὅτι δι' ἀργίαν αὐτοῖς τὸ σάββατον δέδοται.

16. σαββατίζέτω κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.*

ii. 36 γίνωσκε δημιουργίαν Θεοῦ...καὶ σαββατιεῖς...σαββατισμὸν μελέτης νόμων, οὐ χειρῶν ἀργίαν, vi. 23 ὁ σαββατίζειν δι' ἀργίας νομοθετήσας διὰ τὴν τῶν νόμων μελέτην νῦν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς, ἀναλογιζομένους δημιουργίας καὶ προνοίας νόμον, εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ Θεῷ, vii. 23 τὸ σάββατον μέντοι καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἐορτάζετε, ὅτι τὸ μὲν δημιουργίας ἐστὶν ὑπόμνημα τὸ δὲ ἀναστάσεως, vii. 36 κόσμον ἔκτισας...καὶ σάββατον ὥρισας εἰς μνήμην τούτου...εἰς μελέτην τῶν σῶν νόμων, and again σαββατίζειν ἐνετεῖλω, οὐ πρόφασιν ἀργίας διδούς.

μελέτη νόμων] See *Philad.* 2.

17. ἔωλα] 'stale meats, a day old'; because the Jews were not allowed to kindle a fire on the sabbath (Exod. xxxv. 3), and were ordered to cook their meat on the previous day (Exod. xvi. 23); comp. Hieron. *in Isai.* lxxv. 4 sq. (*Op.* iv. p. 775) 'jus hesternum, quod Graeci vocant ἔωλον, avidis faucibus devora-



ὡς διδάσκαλον ἀνέμενον, καὶ προσεδόκων ὡς Κύριον καὶ  
 σωτήρα, λέγοντες· αὐτὸς ἦξει καὶ σώσει ἡμᾶς. μηκέτι  
 οὖν σαββατίζωμεν Ἰουδαϊκῶς καὶ ἀργαίαις χαίροντες· ὁ μὴ  
 ἐργαζόμενος γὰρ μὴ ἐσθιέτω· ἐν ἰδρώτι γὰρ τοῦ προσώ-  
 15 ποῦ σοῦ φάγη τὸν ἄρτον σοῦ, φασὶ τὰ λόγια. ἀλλ' ἕκα-  
 στος ὑμῶν σαββατίζέτω πνευματικῶς, μελέτη νόμων χαίρων,  
 οὐ σώματος ἀνέσει· δημιουργίαν Θεοῦ θαυμάζων, οὐχ ἔωλα  
 ἐσθίων καὶ χλιαρὰ πίνων καὶ μεμετρημένα βαδίζων καὶ  
 ὀρχήσει καὶ κρότοις νοῦν οὐκ ἔχουσι χαίρων· καὶ

g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; μωσεῖ g<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s. 8 εἶδεν] ἴδεν g<sub>2</sub>. γενέσθαι] om. gl. 9 δυνησόμεθα]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; δυνησώμεθα g<sub>2</sub>. 13 σαββατίζωμεν] g<sub>4</sub>s; σαββατίζομεν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. ἀρ-  
 γαίαις] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἀργαίαις g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 14 ἰδρώτι] ἰδρώτητι g<sub>2</sub>. 15 φάγη] φαγῇ g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.  
 φασὶ τὰ λόγια] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; τὰ λόγια φησιν g<sub>4</sub>; *dicunt eloquia* l. 16 νόμων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;  
*legis* l. The common reading νόμου was Morel's conj.; comp. *Philad.* 4 for the  
 same v. l. 17 οὐχ ἔωλα] οὐκ ἔωλα (sic) g<sub>4</sub>s; οὐχ ἔωλα g<sub>2</sub>; οὐκ ἔωλα g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *non om-*  
*nia* (οὐ καὶ ὅλα?) l. 18 μεμετρημένα] μεμετρημένα g<sub>2</sub>. 19 ὀρχήσει] ὀρ-  
 χήσει g<sub>2</sub>. κρότοις...χαίρων] *plausum manuum* (χειρῶν) *nunc* (νῦν) *habens* l.

bant [Judaei]', quoted by Ussher.

18. χλιαρὰ] '*lukewarm drinks*'; comp. Justin. *Dial.* 29 (p. 246) μηδέ, ὅτι θερμὸν πίνομεν ἐν τοῖς σάββασι, δεινὸν ἡγεῖσθε. The drinks were 'lukewarm', not cold, because some degree of warmth could be kept in them by furnaces lighted overnight. The conditions of lighting and keeping lighted and of using furnaces for this purpose are laid down in Mishna *Shabbath*.

μεμετρημένα βαδίζων] Referring to the Talmudical regulations which defined the limits of a Sabbath day's journey (Acts i. 12); comp. Mishna *Erubin* passim. See also Orig. *de Princ.* iv. 17 (i. p. 176) περὶ τοῦ σαββάτου φάσκοντες τόπον ἐκάστῳ εἶναι δισχιλίους πήχεις, Hieron. *Epist.* 121 (i. 884) 'Barachibas et Simeon et Hellel magistri nostri tradiderunt nobis, ut bis mille pedes ambulemus in sabbato', where he has erroneously substituted feet for cubits. These passages are quoted by Ussher.

19. ὀρχήσει καὶ κρότοις κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Exod. xxxii. 19, Judges xxi. 21, 2 Sam. vi. 16, 21 (LXX). The common Hebrew word for a festival was derived from 'dancing'; see Gesen. *Thes.* s. v. 117. Dancing was also a religious ceremonial even with the staid and ascetic sect of the Therapeutes; see Philo *de Vit. Cont.* 11 (ii. p. 485 M). The Christian fathers are frequent in their denunciations of this mode of observing their sabbaths among the Jews; e.g. Augustin. *In Psalm.* xxxii *Enarr.* ii. 6 (*Op.* iv. 191) 'Observa diem sabbati non carnaliter, non Judaicis deliciis, qui otio abutuntur ad nequitiam; melius enim utique tota die foderent, quam tota die saltarent'; comp. ib. *In Psalm.* xci *Enarr.* 2 (iv. 982), *Serm.* ix *de Dec. Chord.* 3 (v. 50) 'melius feminae eorum die sabbati lanam facerent quam toto die in menianis suis impudice saltarent', Chrysost. *adv. Iud.* i. 2 (i. p. 590) οὗτοι δὲ χοροὺς μαλακῶν συναγάγοντες κ.τ.λ.



μετὰ τὸ σαββατίσαι ἑορταζέτω πᾶς φιλόχριστος τὴν κυριακὴν, τὴν ἀναστάσιμον, τὴν βασιλίδαν, τὴν ὑπατον πασῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἣν περιμένων ὁ προφήτης ἔλεγεν, εἰς τὸ τέλος, ἵπέρ τῆς ὀγδόης· ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου γέγονεν νίκη ἐν Χριστῷ· ὃν τὰ 5 τέκνα τῆς ἀπωλείας ἀρνοῦνται, οἱ ἐχθροὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία, οἱ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονοῦντες, οἱ φιλήδονοι καὶ οὐ φιλόθεοι, μόρφωσιν εὔσεβείας ἔχοντες τὴν δὲ ἀγ-  
 νωμιν ἀγῆς ἡρνημένοι, οἱ χριστέμποροι, τὸν λόγον κα-  
 πηλεῖοντες καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πωλοῦντες, οἱ τῶν γυναικῶν 10 φθορεῖς καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμηταί, οἱ χρηματολαί-  
 λαπες· ὧν ῥυσθείητε ἐλέει Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

X. Μὴ οὖν ἀναίσθητοι ὦμεν τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ.

5 νίκη]  $g_1g_2sg_3$ ; ἡ νίκη  $g_4$ . ὃν]  $g_1g_3g_4s$  1; ὧν  $g_2$ . 6 σταυροῦ] σωτήρος  $g_1g_2sg_3g_4$ ; *salvatoris* 1. I have restored σταυροῦ from Phil. iii. 18. The similarity of the contractions of the two words has doubtless caused the substitution. 9 χριστέμποροι] χρηστέμποροι  $g_2$ . 11 χρηματολαίλαπες] χρηματολέλαπαις (sic)  $g_2$ . 15 μιμήσεται]  $g_1g_2$  with 1; μιμήσεται  $g_3g_4s$ . I translates *nisi* (ἐὰν μὴ) *nos tentaverit*. καθά]  $g_1$  with 1; καθό  $g_3$ ; καθά καὶ  $g_2$ ; καὶ  $g_4$  (so Bryennios, but does it not read καθά καὶ with  $g_2$ ?). 16 παρατηρήσῃ]  $g_1$ ; παρατηρήσῃς  $g_2sg_4s$ ; παρατηρήσεις  $g_3$ . In Ps. cxxx. 3 there are both readings, παρατηρήσῃς and παρατηρήσῃ. 19 οὐ]  $g_1g_2$ ; οὐ γάρ  $g_3$ ; *non enim* 1; οὐδὲ  $g_4$ . 20 ᾧ]  $g_2$ ; *quo* 1; ὁ (with Is. lxii. 2)  $g_1g_3g_4s$ . 22 πρῶτως]  $g_1g_3g_4s$ ; πρῶτος  $g_2$ . 24 ὑπέρθεσθε]  $g_1g_2g_4$  with 1; ἀπόθεσθε  $g_3$ . 25 χάριτος] χαίριτος  $g_2$ . 26 αὐλίσθητε]  $g$ ; *exultate* 1; ἀλίσθητε 1. 28 πανσθέντα] πανθέντα  $g_4$ . ὁ γὰρ χριστιανισμὸς...χριστιανισμὸν εἰς ὃν πᾶν ἔθνος κ.τ.λ.] So I, except that for *eis ὃν* his text has ᾧ; *non enim christiani-*

1. ἑορταζέτω κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* ii. 60 καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναστασίμῳ, τῇ κυριακῇ, σπουδαιοτέρως ἀπαντᾶτε, vii. 36 διὸ καὶ τὴν ἀναστάσιμον, ἑορτὴν πανηγυρίζοντες τῇ κυριακῇ χαίρομεν κ.τ.λ.; comp. v. 20.

2. τὴν βασιλίδαν] ‘the queen of days’, as in Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xlv. 10 (i. p. 841) ἡ βασιλίσσα τῶν ὥρων τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν ἡμερῶν πομπεύει; comp. *ib. Orat.* xviii. 28 (i. p. 348 sq.) τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα καὶ περιβόητον ἡ βασιλίσσα τῶν ἡμερῶν. So too the Jews spoke of the sabbath as שַׁבָּת. See the

notes of Ussher and Cotelier.

3. εἰς τὸ τέλος κ.τ.λ.] Ps. vi. 1, xii (xi). 1. The LXX rendering ὑπέρ τῆς ὀγδόης was commonly so explained by the Greek fathers, e.g. Euseb. *Comm. in Psalm.* (Op. v. 120, Migne) ὀγδόῃ ἡ ἀναστάσιμος τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμέρα κυριακὴ σωτήριος (comp. *ib.* 140). Similarly Gregory Nazianzen, Theodoret, and Cyril of Alexandria. The Hebrew is probably a musical term ‘on the octave’, whatever may be the meaning of ‘octave’ in this connexion.

- 15 ἔὰν μιμήσῃται ἡμᾶς καθὰ πράσσομεν, οὐκ ἔτι ἐσμέν·  
 ἔὰν γὰρ ἀνομίας παρατηρήσῃ, Κύριε, Κύριε, τίς ὑποστη-  
 σεται; γενώμεθα οὖν ἄξιοι τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἧς εἰλήφαμεν·  
 ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἄλλῳ ὀνόματι καλεῖται πλείον τούτου, οὗτος οὐκ  
 ἔστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ· οὐ δέδεκται τὴν προφητείαν τὴν λέγουσαν  
 20 περὶ ἡμῶν ὅτι κληθήσεται ὀνόματι καινῷ, ᾧ ὁ Κύριος ὀνο-  
 μάσει ἀγτόν, καὶ ἔσται λαὸς ἄγιος. ὅπερ καὶ πεπλήρωται  
 πρῶτως ἐν Συρίᾳ· ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ γὰρ ἐχρημάτισαν οἱ μαθη-  
 ταὶ χριστιανοί, Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλη-  
 σίαν. ὑπέρθεσθε οὖν τὴν κακὴν ζύμην τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν,  
 25 τὴν σεσηπυῖαν, καὶ μεταβάλλεσθε εἰς νέαν ζύμην χάριτος.  
 αὐλίσθητε ἐν Χριστῷ, ἵνα μὴ ὁ ἀλλότριος ὑμῶν κυριεύσῃ.  
 ἄτοπόν ἐστιν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν λαλεῖν ἐπὶ γλώσσης, καὶ τὸν  
 παυσθέντα ἰουδαϊσμόν ἐπὶ διανοίας ἔχειν· ὁ γὰρ χριστιανι-

*tas in judaismum credidit, sed judaismus in christianitatem, omnes denique gentiles aequaliter etc.* I (Zahn suggests that *eis ὃν* is omitted, owing to the similarity to the preceding *-ισμον*, but prob. *eis ὃν* was read *ἴσον* by a common itacism and translated *aequaliter*); οὐ γὰρ χριστιανισμός, οὐκ ἔστιν ἰουδαϊσμός· εἰς γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ χριστὸς εἰς ὃν (*eis eis ὃν* g<sub>4</sub>) πᾶν ἔθνος g. Zahn has done right in supplying words from the Latin, but he gives them οὐ γὰρ χριστιανισμός εἰς ἰουδαϊσμόν κ.τ.λ. The form which I have substituted seems to me to be preferable for two reasons: (1) It adheres more closely to the original Ignatius; (2) It better explains the existing text of the Greek mss. Words would be omitted partly owing to the recurrence of similar letters, ὁ γὰρ χριστιανισμός οὐκ εἰς [ἰουδαϊσμόν ἐπίστευσεν ἀλλ'] ἰουδαϊσμός εἰς χρισ-τ[ιανισμ]όν, and the emendations would follow to make this mutilated text intelligible.

5. τὰ τέκνα κ.τ.λ.] Is. lvii. 4; comp. Joh. xvii. 12, 2 Thess. ii. 3, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας.

6. οἱ ἐχθροὶ κ.τ.λ.] From Phil. iii. 18, 19. See the upper note.

7. φιλήδονοι κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Tim. iii. 4, 5, but not verbatim.

9. χριστέμποροι] As in *Ps-Trall.* 6. So Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xl. 11 (I. p. 698) μηδὲ γενώμεθα χριστοκάπηλοι καὶ χριστέμποροι; comp. ib. *Carm. de Vit. Sua* 1756 (II. p. 766). See also the passage of Basil quoted on *Ps-Trall.* 6.

τὸν λόγον κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Cor. ii. 17.

11. χρηματολαίλαπες] *Apost. Const.* ii. 49 χρηματολαίλαψ with a v. l. χρηματολάψ.

16. ἔὰν κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. cxxix (cxxx). 3 verbatim.

20. κληθήσεται κ.τ.λ.] Loosely quoted from Is. lxii. 2, 12.

22. ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κ.τ.λ.] Acts xi. 26, where the reading *πρῶτως* (instead of *πρῶτον*) is supported by the context here. Comp. *Antioch.* inscr.

23. Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου] See the note on *Antioch.* 7.

26. αὐλίσθητε] '*δύνουας*'. Though Ignatius himself read ἀλίσθητε '*be ye*

σμὸς οὐκ εἰς ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλ' ἰουδαϊσμὸς εἰς  
 χριστιανισμόν· εἰς ὃν πᾶν ἔθνος πιστεύσαν καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα  
 ἐξομολογησάμενη εἰς Θεὸν σὺνήχθη, καὶ γέγοναν οἱ λιθώ-  
 δεις τῇ καρδίᾳ τέκνα τοῦ Θεοῦ φίλου Ἀβραάμ, καὶ ἐν τῷ  
 σπέρματι αὐτοῦ ἐνευλογήθησαν πάντες οἱ τεταγμένοι εἰς 5  
 ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἐν Χριστῷ.

XI. Ταῦτα δέ, ἀγαπητοί μου, οὐκ ἐπέγνων τινὰς ἐξ  
 ὑμῶν οὕτως ἔχοντας, ἀλλ' ὥς μικρότερος ὑμῶν θέλω προ-  
 φυλάσσεσθαι ὑμᾶς μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὰ ἄγκιστρα τῆς κενοδο-  
 ξίας, ἀλλὰ πεπληροφόρησθε ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ πρὸ πάντων μὲν 10  
 αἰώνων γεννηθέντι παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, γεννωμένῳ δὲ ὕστερον  
 ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου δίχα ὁμιλίας ἀνδρός, καὶ πολιτευ-  
 σαμένῳ ὁσίως, καὶ πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ μαλακίαν θεραπεύσαντι  
 ἐν τῷ λαῷ, καὶ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ποιήσαντι ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ  
 ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τοῖς ἐξοκείλασιν εἰς πολυθείαν τὸν ἕνα καὶ 15

2 πιστεύσαν]  $g_1g_2g_3$ ; ἐπίστευσε  $g_4$ . 3 γέγοναν]  $g_1g_2$ ; γέγονασιν (sic)  $g_3$ ;  
 γεγόνασιν  $g_4$ . λιθῶδεις] ὕπατον  $g_2$  (Dressel), but this substitution is unin-  
 telligible and probably (as Zahn suggests) it is some confusion, as ὕπατον occurs § 9  
 above. Perhaps it was seen through from the previous page or leaf. 4 τοῦ]  
 $g_1g_2g_3$ ; om.  $g_4$ . Θεοῦ φίλου] Cotelier after 1, which has *amici dei* (see the  
 lower note); θεοῦ φίλοι  $g$ . But probably we should go a step further and read *θεο-*  
*φίλους* or *φιλοθέου*: see the end of the next chapter. 5 ἐνευλογήθησαν]  $g_1g_3$ ;  
 ἐνευλογήθησάν τε  $g_2$ ; εὐλογήθησαν  $g_4$ . The τε (=ται) of  $g_2$  seems to be an incomplete  
 correction into the ἐνευλογήθησονται of Gen. xxii. 18. 6 ἐν Χριστῷ] txt  $g_1g_2g_3$ ;  
 add. ἰησοῦ  $g_4$ . 10 πεπληροφόρησθε] πεπληροφορεῖσθε  $g_2$ ; *ut ad plenum instructi*  
*sitis* 1; πληροφορεῖσθαι  $g_1g_3g_4$ . The reading in I may be doubtful, but it must  
 have been either πεπληροφόρησθε or πεπληροφορήσθαι, and was probably the former.

*salted*', there seems to be no reason  
 for doubting that the interpolator  
 either read in his text or substituted  
 αὐλίσθητε. The Latin translator's  
 rendering '*exultate*' seems to arise  
 from a confusion of αὐλίζειν with  
 αὐλεῖν.

2. πᾶν ἔθνος κ.τ.λ.] The language  
 is adapted from Is. xlv. 23 (Alex.),  
 lxvi. 18; comp. Phil. ii. 11.

3. οἱ λιθῶδεις κ.τ.λ.] An allusion  
 to Matt. iii. 9, Luke iii. 8.

4. Θεοῦ φίλου] For the title 'friend

of God' as applied to Abraham see  
 the note on Clem. Rom. 10.

ἐν τῷ σπέρματι κ.τ.λ.] Gen. xxii. 18.

5. τεταγμένοι κ.τ.λ.] Taken from  
 Acts xiii. 48.

11. γεννωμένῳ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost.*  
*Const.* vii. 37 τὸν ἐκ Μαρίας γεννηθέντα  
 δίχα ἀνδρός, τὸν πολιτευσάμενον ὁσίως,  
 τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου  
 καὶ ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα κ.τ.λ., vii.  
 41 ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου Μαρίας γεννη-  
 θέντα καὶ πολιτευσάμενον ὁσίως...καὶ  
 σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ



μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν καταγγείλαντι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα, καὶ  
τὸ πάθος ὑποστάντι, καὶ πρὸς τῶν χριστοκτόνων Ἰουδαίων  
ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἡγεμόνος καὶ Ἡρώδου βασιλέως καὶ  
σταυρὸν ὑπομείναντι καὶ ἀποθανόντι, καὶ ἀναστάντι, καὶ  
20 ἀνελθόντι εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα, καὶ καθ-  
εσθέντι ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐρχομένῳ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν  
αἰώνων μετὰ δόξης πατρικῆς κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ  
ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ὁ γνοὺς ἐν  
πληροφορίᾳ καὶ πιστεύσας μακάριος· ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς  
25 φιλόθεοι καὶ φιλόχριστοί ἐστε ἐν πληροφορίᾳ τῆς ἐλπίδος  
ἡμῶν· ἥς ἐκτραπήναι μηδενὶ ἡμῶν γένηται.

XII. Ὁναίμην ὑμῶν κατὰ πάντα, εἴνπερ ἄξιός ᾧ· εἰ  
γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι, πρὸς ἓνα τῶν λελυμένων ὑμῶν οὐκ εἰμί.  
οἶδα ὅτι οὐ φυσιοῦσθε, Ἰησοῦν γὰρ ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. καὶ  
30 μᾶλλον, ὅταν ἐπαινῶ ὑμᾶς, οἶδα ὅτι ἐντρέπεσθε, ὡς γέγραπ-

11 γεννωμένῳ]  $g_3$ ; γενωμένῳ  $g_4$ ; γεννώμενον  $g_1$ ; γεννόμενον  $g_2$ . 12 ὀμιλίας] ὀμηλίας  $g_2$ . πολιτευσάμενῳ]  $g_3g_4s$ ; πολιτευσάμενον  $g_1g_2$ ; and so for θεραπεύσαντι, ποιήσαντι, καταγγείλαντι, ὑποστάντι, ὑπομείναντι, ἀποθανόντι, ἀναστάντι, ἀνελθόντι, καθεσθέντι, ἐρχομένῳ, where  $g_3g_4s$  have datives, and  $g_1g_2$  accusatives. See *Ps-Smyrn.* 1 for a similar phenomenon. 15 ἐξοκέλασιν]  $g_4s$ ; ἐξοκίλασιν  $g_1g_2$ ; ἕξω αὐλίσασι  $g_3$ . εἰς πολυθείαν]  $g_1g_2g_4s$ ; τῆς πολιτείας  $g_3$ . In 1 the whole sentence is translated *iis qui longe erant et iis qui prope in multitudine* (or *-nem*) (τοῖς ἕξω καὶ πλησίον εἰς πολυπληθίαν?). 17 καὶ πρὸς]  $g_1g_2g_4s$  1; πρὸς (om. καὶ)  $g_3$ . 24 ὥσπερ οὖν]  $g_1g_2g_4$ ; ὥσπερ νῦν  $g_3$ ; *quomodo* 1. 26 ἡμῶν]  $g_1g_2g_3g_4s$ ; *nostrum* (but v. l. *vestrum*) 1. The reading in I seems certainly to be ὑμῶν (though there is a v. l.), and perhaps it should be read here. But I have thought it best to retain ἡμῶν as supported by the authorities. 27 ᾧ]  $g_1g_3g_4s$ ; ᾧν  $g_2$ . 28 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν  $g_4$  (Bryennios).

ἀποθανόντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναστάντα  
...καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ  
καθεσθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ  
πάλιν ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ  
αἵωνος μετὰ δόξης κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ  
νέκρους, viii. 1 ὅτι...ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων μονο-  
γενὴς ἐν ὑστέρῳ καιρῷ ἐκ παρθένου  
γεγέννηται δίχα ὀμιλίας ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὅτι  
ἐπολιτεύσατο ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἄνευ ἁμαρ-  
τίας κ.τ.λ., viii. 12 γενόμενος ἐκ παρθέ-  
νου...πολιτευσάμενος ὁσίως...πᾶσαν νό-  
σον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων  
ἀπελάσας, σημεία τε καὶ τέρατα ἐν τῷ

λαφ̄ ποιήσας κ.τ.λ. Comp. *Ps-Smyrn.*  
1, *Ps-Trall.* 10.

13. πᾶσαν κ.τ.λ.] See the note on  
*Philipp.* 5.

20. ἀνελθόντι κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.*  
v. 19 ἀνῆλθε πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα  
αὐτὸν...καθίσας ἐκ δεξιῶν...ὃς καὶ ἐλεύ-  
σεται ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἵωνος μετὰ  
δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς κρίναι ζῶντας  
καὶ νέκρους καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ  
τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, with vii. 41 (quoted in  
the last note). For ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ  
κ.τ.λ. comp. *Ps-Smyrn.* 3.

ται· δίκαιος ἐάγτοϋ κατηγορος· καὶ, λέγε σὺ τὰς ἁμαρτίας  
 σοῦ πρῶτος, ἵνα δικαιωθῇς· καὶ, ὅταν ποιήσῃτε πάντα τὰ  
 διατεταγμένα ἡμῖν, λέγετε ὅτι Δοῦλοὶ ἐσμεν ἀχρεῖοι· ὅτι  
 τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὑψηλὸν βδέλγμα παρὰ Θεῶ· ὁ Θεὸς  
 γάρ, φησὶν, ἰλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. διὰ τοῦτο οἱ 5  
 μεγάλοι ἐκείνοι Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰωβ γῆν καὶ σποδὸν ἔμ-  
 προσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἑαυτοὺς ὠνόμαζον· καὶ ὁ Δανεῖδ, τίς  
 εἰμι ἐγὼ ἐναντίον σοῦ, Κύριε, ὅτι ἐδόξασας με ἕως τοῦ-  
 του; καὶ Μωσῆς ὁ παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους πραότατος λέγει  
 πρὸς Θεόν· ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωσσος εἰμι ἐγώ. τα- 10  
 πεινοφρονεῖτε οὖν καὶ αὐτοί, ἵνα ὑψωθῇτε· ὁ ταπεινῶν γὰρ  
 ἐάγτὸν ὑψωθήσεται, καὶ ὁ ὑψῶν ἐάγτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται.

XIII. Σπουδάσατε οὖν βεβαιωθῆναι ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν  
 τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἵνα πάντα ὅσα ποιεῖτε  
 κατεγοδωθήσεται, σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι, πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, 15  
 μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν καὶ ἀξιοπλόκου  
 καὶ πνευματικοῦ στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν  
 κατὰ Θεὸν διακόνων. ὑποτάγητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀλλή-  
 λοις, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί, ἵνα ἑνωσις ᾗ κατὰ Θεὸν ἐν  
 ὑμῖν.

20

2 πρῶτος] here, g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; after σὺ, g<sub>4</sub>[1]. 6 Ἰωβ] l; ἰακώβ g. 7 ἑαυτοῦς]  
 here, g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; after σποδόν, g<sub>4</sub>. ὠνόμαζον] txt g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s l; praef. ἴσον g<sub>2</sub>; praef. ἴσον  
 g<sub>1</sub>. It may have come in from the termination of the preceding and the commence-  
 ment of the following word ὕψων. Δανεῖδ] δαδ g<sub>1</sub>. 9 πραότατος] g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s;  
 πραώτατος g<sub>1</sub>; πρῶτατος g<sub>3</sub>. 11 αὐτοί] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; αὐτοῖς g<sub>2</sub>; ὑμεῖς g<sub>3</sub>; vos  
 ipsi l. 15 κατενοδωθήσεται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; κατενοδοθήσεται g<sub>2</sub>; κατενοδωθῇ g<sub>4</sub>;  
 dirigamini in viam rectam l. τε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>[1]. 17 πρεσβυτερίου]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; πρεσβυτέρου (sic) g<sub>3</sub>; presbytero l. 19 ὁ Χριστὸς] g; iesus l; ἰησοῦς  
 χριστὸς l. 24 ἁγίος εἰμι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub> (but written εἰμή) with l; εἰμι ἁγίος g<sub>4</sub>.  
 25 ἡνωμένης] ἐνωμένης g<sub>2</sub>; laudabili (αἰνουμένης) l. προσευχῆς καὶ ἀγάπης]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l (with l); ἀγάπης καὶ προσευχῆς g<sub>4</sub>. 29 καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ] g<sub>1</sub>; om. l. 30 αἱ]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s with l; om. g<sub>2</sub>.

1. Δίκαιος κ.τ.λ.] The passages  
 which follow are taken from Prov.  
 xviii. 17 (Δίκαιος κ.τ.λ.), Is. xliii. 26  
 (Λέγε κ.τ.λ.), Luke xvii. 10 (Ὅταν ποιή-  
 σῃτε κ.τ.λ.), Luke xvi. 15 (τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώ-  
 ποις κ.τ.λ.), Luke xviii. 13 (ὁ Θεὸς  
 ἰλάσθητι κ.τ.λ.).

6. Ἀβραὰμ κ.τ.λ.] For Abraham  
 see Gen. xviii. 27 ἐγὼ δέ εἰμι γῆ καὶ  
 σποδός; for Job, Job xlii. 6 ἡγημαι δέ  
 ἐμαυτὸν γῆν καὶ σποδόν: comp. Wisd.  
 xvii. 32. The reading Ἰακώβ is a  
 very natural corruption owing to the  
 proximity of Ἀβραάμ. The passage

XIV. Εἰδὼς ὑμᾶς πεπληρωμένους παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ, συντόμως παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. μνημονεύετε μου ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑμῶν, ἵνα Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω, καὶ τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ἥς οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι καλεῖσθαι  
 25 ἐπίσκοπος· ἐπιδέομαι γὰρ τῆς ἡνωμένης ὑμῶν ἐν Θεῷ προσευχῆς καὶ ἀγάπης, εἰς τὸ ἀξιοθῆναι τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν διὰ τῆς εὐταξίας ὑμῶν ποιμανθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ.

XV. Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Ἐφέσιοι ἀπὸ Σμύρνης, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν, παρόντες εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς,  
 30 οἱ κατὰ πάντα με ἀνεπαύσατε, ἅμα Πολυκάρπῳ. καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ ἐκκλησίαι ἐν τιμῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς. ἔρρωσθε ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ, πνεῦμα κεκτημένοι ἀδιάκριτον, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ.

## 5.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΡΣΩΙ.

35 ἸΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ σεσωσμένῃ ἐν Χριστῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀξιεπαίνω καὶ ἀξιομνημονεύτῳ καὶ ἀξιαγα-

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς μαγνησίους  $g_1$  (the epistle being numbered γ' in the marg.); τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου πρὸς μαγνησίους ἐπιστολὴ γ'  $g_2$ . Nothing in  $g_3g_4$ .

προς τοὺς ἐν ταρσῷ ἰγνάτιος  $G$ ; τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταρσῷ (ταρσῷ)  $g_1g_4$  (with δ' in the marg. of  $g_4$ , but not of  $g_1$ ); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ δ' πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταρσῷ ἰγνάτιος  $g_2$ ; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταρσῷ. δ.  $g_3$ ; *ignatius tarsensis*  $L^*$  (see p. 631); *ad tarsenses...ex philippis* 1 (with vv. 11.); *ad tarsum urbem*  $A$ .

36 ἀξιεπαίνω]  $G$ ; ἀξιεπαινέτω  $g$ . καὶ sec.]  $GL1$ ; om.  $g[A]$  (but  $A$  omits the previous καί).

seems to be suggested by Clem. Rom. 17, 18, where Abraham and Job, Moses and David, are mentioned together in this connexion.

7. τίς εἰμι κ.τ.λ.] Loosely quoted from 2 Sam. vii. 18.

10. ἰσχνόφωνος κ.τ.λ.] From Exod. iv. 10.

11. ὁ ταπεινῶν κ.τ.λ.] From Luke

xiv. 11, xviii. 14, the clauses being transposed.

14. πάντα κ.τ.λ.] Ps. i. 3.

17. πρεσβυτερίον] The false reading πρεσβυτέρου makes στεφάνου a proper name, and ἀξιοπλόκου thus becomes nonsense. Hence Morel's conjecture ἀξιονίκου, in which he has been followed by several editors.



πητῷ, τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Ταρσῷ· ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείῃ διὰ παντός.

I. Ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῷ· οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀλόγων θηρίων βιβρωσκόμενος, ταῦτα γάρ, ὡς ἴστε, Θεοῦ 5  
 θελήσαντος ἐφείσαντο τοῦ Δανιήλ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπομόρφων, οἷς ὁ ἀνήμερος θῆρ ἐμφωλεύων νύττει με ὀσημέραι καὶ τιτρώσκει· ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς λόγον ποιοῦμαι τῶν δεινῶν, οὐδέ ἔχω τὴν ψυχὴν τιμίαν ἐμαγτῷ, ὡς ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὴν μάλ-  
 λον ἢ τὸν Κύριον. διὸ ἔτοιμός εἰμι πρὸς πῦρ, πρὸς 10  
 θηρία, πρὸς ξίφος, πρὸς σταυρόν· μόνον, ἵνα [τὸν] Χρισ-  
 τὸν ἴδω τὸν σωτῆρά μου καὶ Θεόν, τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀποθανόντα. παρακαλῶ οἷν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ὁ δέσμιος Χρισ-  
 τοῦ ὁ διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐλαυνόμενος· στήκετε ἐν 15  
 τῇ πίστει ἐδραῖοι, ὅτι [ὁ] δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται· 15  
 γίνεσθε ἀκλινεῖς, ὅτι Κύριος κατοικίζει μονοτρόπους ἐν οἴκῳ.

5 ἴστε] ἴσται g<sub>2</sub>; ἴστε g<sub>4</sub>. 6 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀλλ' ὑπ' g<sub>3</sub>; ὑπὸ δὲ G. 7 ὁ ἀνήμερος] gLA; ὡς ἀνήμερος G; al. l. ἐμφωλεύων νύττει] GL; *habitat in iis et...agitat* A; ἐμφωλεύει ὃς νύττει g; *obsident...ac devorant* [l]. ὀσημέραι] ὡς ἡμέραι g<sub>2</sub>. 9 ἐμαυτῷ] gLlA; ἐν αὐτῷ G. ὡς ἀγαπᾶν] g; *ut...diligam* l; ὡς ἀγαπῶν GL; al. A. 11 τὸν] G; om. g. 12 ἴδω] εἶδω g<sub>2</sub>; ἴδε g<sub>3</sub>; *sciens* (εἰδὼς) L (omitting ἵνα). σωτῆρα] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>LlA; πατέρα g<sub>3</sub>. 14 γῆς] γῆς καὶ γῆς g<sub>2</sub>. θαλάττης] g; θαλάσσης G. 15 ἐδραῖοι] txt GL[A]; add. γίνεσθε g. It perhaps comes from below. ὁ] Gg<sub>2</sub> (Dressel, but apparently by an error); om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 16 μονοτρόπους] ὁμοτρόπους g<sub>3</sub>. 20 καὶ δοκήσει ἀπέθανεν] GL; om. gl Anon-Syr.<sub>4</sub>. For καὶ δοκήσει ἐσταυρώθη καὶ δοκήσει ἀπέθανεν A has

4. Ἀπὸ Συρίας κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Ign. *Rom.* 5.

6. ἀνθρωπομόρφων] See the note on Ign. *Smyrn.* 4 τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων.

8. οὐδενὸς κ.τ.λ.] The expressions are borrowed from Acts xx. 24.

10. πρὸς πῦρ κ.τ.λ.] A combination of Ign. *Smyrn.* 4 πρὸς πῦρ, πρὸς μάχαιραν, πρὸς θηρία, with *Rom.* 5 πῦρ καὶ σταῦρος...μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.

13. παρακαλῶ οἷν κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. iv. 1; comp. Philem. 9.

14. διὰ γῆς κ.τ.λ.] See Ign. *Rom.* 5.

στήκετε κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 1 Cor. xvi. 13, Col. i. 23. See also Ign. *Ephes.* 10, Polyc. *Phil.* 10.

15. δίκαιος κ.τ.λ.] From Hab. ii. 4, quoted also Rom. i. 17, Gal. iii. 11, Heb. x. 38.

16. Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. lxxvii (lxxviii). 6.

II. Ἐγνων ὅτι τινὲς τῶν τοῦ Σατανᾶ ὑπηρετῶν  
 ἐβουλήθησαν ὑμᾶς ταραξάει· οἱ μὲν, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς δοκῇσει  
 20 ἐγεννήθη καὶ δοκῇσει ἐσταυρώθῃ [καὶ δοκῇσει ἀπέθανεν].  
 οἱ δέ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν υἱὸς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ· οἱ δέ, ὅτι  
 αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός· ἄλλοι δέ, ὅτι ψιλὸς  
 ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν· ἕτεροι δέ, ὅτι ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη οὐκ ἐγεί-  
 25 ρεται καὶ δεῖ τὸν ἀπολαυστικὸν βίον [ζῆν καὶ] μετιέναι.  
 τοῦτον γὰρ εἶναι πέρας τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς μετ' οὐ πολὺ  
 φθαρησομένοις. τοσούτων κακῶν ἐσμὸς εἰσεκώμασεν, ἀλλ'  
 ὑμεῖς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἵξατε τῇ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῶν· Παύλου  
 γάρ ἐστε πολῖται καὶ μαθηταὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων  
 καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκότος τὸ εὔαγ-  
 30 γέλιον καὶ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ περι-  
 φέροντος.

III. Οὗ μεμνημένοι πάντως γινώσκετε ὅτι Ἰησοῦς  
 ὁ Κύριος ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη ἐκ Μαρίας, γενόμενος ἐκ  
 γυναικός, καὶ ἀληθείᾳ ἐσταυρώθη. ἐμοὶ γάρ, φησὶν,  
 35 μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Κυρίου

*specie passus est et crucifixus est*, so that it is doubtful whether this translator's text had the second clause or not. Voss accidentally omits *δοκῇσει ἐγεννήθη καὶ*, though found in all the authorities.

21 οὐκ ἔστιν] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>LlA Anon-Syr.<sub>4</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>.

22 Θεός] txt GgLlA; add. *pater* Anon-Syr.<sub>4</sub>. 23 ἐγείρεται] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>L; ἐγγερεται g<sub>3</sub>; *resurrexit* l.

(om. ζῆν καὶ) g; *habere* l; *frui* A. 24 ζῆν καὶ μετιέναι] GL; μετιέναι

A. 25 τοῦτον] GLg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; τοῦτο g<sub>4</sub>s; al.

27 εἵξατε] εἵξατε g<sub>3</sub>; ἤξατε g<sub>2</sub>; *veniat* (ἤξατε, taken as an aor. imper. from ἤκω) L; *intendatis* l.

ὑποταγῇ] *mandatis* (ἐπιταγῇ?) l. 28 Ἱερο-

σολύμων] ἱεροσολύμων g<sub>2</sub>. 34 φησὶν] Gg<sub>2</sub>; φησὶ g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; contr. g<sub>1</sub>.

35 τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ] Gg (g<sub>1</sub> does not insert τοῦ before Ἰησοῦ, as in the ed. princ.); *domini* L; *domini nostri iesu christi* lA (but l has a v. l. *mei*).

19. οἱ μὲν κ.τ.λ.] For this attack on diverse heresies comp. *Philipp.* 3—7, *Trall.* 6.

22. ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός] See *Philipp.* 7.

23. ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη κ.τ.λ.] See the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 9 ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ οὐ κρίνεται οὐδὲ ἀνίσταται, with the note.

26. εἰσεκώμασεν] See *Antioch.* i, with the note.

27. οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν κ.τ.λ.] From Gal. ii. 5. Here τῇ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῶν must be 'the subjection which they imposed.'

28. ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων κ.τ.λ.] From Rom. xv. 19.

30. τὰ στίγματα κ.τ.λ.] An allusion to Gal. vi. 17.

33. γενόμενος κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Gal. iv. 4.

34. ἐμοὶ κ.τ.λ.] From Gal. vi. 14.

[Ἰησοῦ]· καὶ ἀληθείᾳ ἔπαθεν καὶ ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη· εἰ παθητὸς γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ Χριστός, εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν· καί, ὁ ἀπέθανεν, τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν ἐφάπαξ· ὁ δὲ ζῇ, τῷ Θεῷ ζῇ. ἐπεὶ τίς χρεία δεσμῶν, Χριστοῦ μὴ ἀποθανόντος; τίς χρεία ὑπομονῆς; τίς χρεία μαστί- 5 γων; τί δήποτε Πέτρος μὲν ἐσταυροῦτο, Παῦλος δὲ καὶ Ἰάκωβος μαχαίρα ἐτέμνοντο, Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐφυγαδεύετο ἐν Πάτμῳ, Στέφανος δὲ ἐν λίθοις ἀνηγρεῖτο πρὸς τῶν κυριοκτόνων Ἰουδαίων; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων εἰκῇ· ἀληθείᾳ γὰρ ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Κύριος ὑπὸ τῶν δυσσεβῶν. 10

IV. Καὶ ὅτι οὗτος ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ γυναικὸς υἱὸς ἐστὶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὁ σταυρωθεὶς πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως καὶ Θεὸς λόγος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν τὰ πάντα· λέγει γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος, εἰς Θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα· 15 καὶ πάλιν, εἰς γὰρ Θεός, καὶ εἰς μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἄνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· καί, ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ

1 ἔπαθεν καὶ] gl[A]; om. GL. ἀπέθανεν Gg<sub>1</sub>; ἀπέθανε g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. εἰ παθητὸς] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>Ll; συμπαθητὸς (sic) g<sub>3</sub>; al. A. 2 εἰ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>Ll; καὶ εἰ g<sub>3</sub>; al. A. 3 ὁ ἀπέθανεν] Gg<sub>1</sub>; ὁ ἀπέθανε g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *quod mortuus est* L; *qui mortuus est* l. 4 τῷ Θεῷ ζῇ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>L; ζῇ τῷ Θεῷ g<sub>2</sub> (with Rom. vi. 10) l. 5 τίς χρεία ὑπομονῆς] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>LlA; om. g<sub>2</sub>. 6 δὲ] g; et A; om. Ll. 7 ἐτέμνοντο] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; κατετέμνοντο g<sub>4</sub>; *caesi sunt* L; *obtruncati sunt* l. 8 πρὸς] g; παρὰ G. 9 οὐδὲν τούτων εἰκῇ] GgL; *ne unus quidem vane laboravit* A; *ne in hoc quidem est victoria* (οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ νίκη) l. ἀληθείᾳ γὰρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>L[l]A; ἀλήθεια γὰρ ὅτι g<sub>3</sub>. 11 ὅτι] gl; om. GL[A]. οὗτος] Ggl; *sic* (οὕτως) L; om. A (but the Syriac from which it was translated doubtless had οὗτος; see Petermann). 12 ὁ] glA; om. GL. 16 καὶ πάλιν] GLAl; om. g. 18 τὰ] GL; om. g. Both l and A translate as if they had τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς. ὁπατὰ] txt gl[L] (see above, p. 173) [l][A]; add. τε G. 19 πρὸ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>L[l]; ὁ

1. εἰ παθητὸς κ.τ.λ.] From Acts xxvi. 23.

3. ὁ ἀπέθανεν κ.τ.λ.] From Rom. vi. 10.

4. ἐπεὶ τίς χρεία κ.τ.λ.] Imitated from *Trall.* 10, *Smyrn.* 4.

8. κυριοκτόνων] So *Ps-Trall.* 11; comp. *Apost. Const.* viii. 46 Στέφανος

...πρὸς τῶν κυριοκτόνων Ἰουδαίων λίθοις βληθείς. Similarly *χριστοκτόνος* occurs several times.

12. πρωτότοκος κ.τ.λ.] Col. i. 15, the context being quoted below.

14. εἰς Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. viii. 6.

16. εἰς γὰρ Θεός κ.τ.λ.] 1 Tim. ii. 5.



πάντα, [τά] ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, ὁρατὰ καὶ ἀόρατα· καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέ-  
20 στήκεν.

V. Καὶ ὅτι οὐκ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς ἀλλ' υἱὸς ἐκείνου, λέγει, ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ πατέρα ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν μου καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν· καὶ, ὅτε ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, τότε καὶ αὐτός ὑποταγήσεται τῷ  
25 ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, ἵνα ἡ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πάσιν. οὐκοῦν ἕτερός ἐστιν ὁ ὑποτάξας καὶ ὢν τὰ πάντα ἐν πάσιν, καὶ ἕτερος ᾧ ὑπετάγη, ὃς καὶ μετὰ πάντων ὑποτάσσεται.

VI. Καὶ οὕτε ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ δι' οὗ καὶ ἐν ᾧ  
30 γέγονε τὰ πάντα· πάντα γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· ἡνίκα ἐποίει τὸν οὐρανόν, συμπαρήμην αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἡμην παρ' αὐτῷ ἀρμόζουσα, καὶ προσέχαιρέν μοι καθ' ἡμέραν. πῶς δ' αὖν ὁ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ἤκουσεν, κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου; πῶς δὲ καὶ ἔλεγεν, πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμι; καὶ, δοξά-

πρὸς g<sub>4</sub>; al. A. 21 Θεός] G[A]; add. καὶ πατήρ g; add. pater L. It should probably be omitted. 22 ἐκείνου] txt gL; add. οὗ G; add. ὃς (?) l; al. A.

23 ὅτε] Gg; quando L. Zahn rightly infers that L read ὅτε, as it generally translates ὅταν 'quando utique.' In 1 Cor. xv. 28 it is ὅταν. 24 ὑποταγῇ] g; ὑποταγεί G (Dressel).

αὐτὸς] GLA; add. ὁ υἱὸς g (from 1 Cor. xv. 28).

25 ἵνα ἡ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>Ll; om. g<sub>2</sub>A. 26 ὢν] g; ὁ ὢν G; qui est Ll; def. A. 27 ὑπετάγη] ὑπετάγει g<sub>2</sub>. ὃς] Gg<sub>3</sub>Ll; ᾧ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; def. A.

μετὰ πάντων] Gg; cum omnibus L; post haec omnia (μετὰ πάντα, but it is probably a loose translation) l; def. A. 28 ὑποτάσσεται] Gg; subjicietur L; subjectus erit l; def. A.

29 ὁ δι' οὗ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ille per quem l; δι' οὗ (om. ὁ) Gg<sub>3</sub>; per quem L[A]. 31 καὶ ἐκεῖ] Gsg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; κακεῖ g<sub>4</sub>. 33 ὁ ψιλὸς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>;

ψιλὸς (om. ὁ) g<sub>4</sub>. 34 δοξάσεις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; δοξάσης g<sub>2</sub>; δόξασον (with Joh. xvii. 5) G; glorifica l; clarifica L.

The passage following, ἐν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ., is from Col. i. 15—17 abridged.

22. ἀναβαίνω κ.τ.λ.] John xx. 17.

23. ὅτε ὑποταγῇ κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. xv. 28. For ὅτε with the conjunctive see Winer *Gramm.* § xli. p. 372 sq.

30. πάντα κ.τ.λ.] John i. 3. The next passage, ἡνίκα κ.τ.λ., is from Prov. viii. 27, 30, loosely quoted.

33. Κάθου κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. cx (cix). 1, quoted also Acts ii. 34, Heb. i. 13.

34. ἔλεγεν κ.τ.λ.] The passages which follow are taken from Joh. viii. 58 πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ κ.τ.λ., Joh. xvii. 5 δόξασόν κ.τ.λ., Joh. vi. 38 καταβέβηκα κ.τ.λ., Joh. i. 9—11 ἦν τὸ φῶς κ.τ.λ., Joh. i. 1 Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν κ.τ.λ.

CEIC ME TḦ ΔΟΥΞΗ ἢ ΕἶΧΟΝ ΠΡὸ ΤΟΥ ΤὸΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ;  
 ΠΟΙΟΣ Δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἑρεῖ, ΚΑΤΑΒΕΒΗΚΑ ἘΚ ΤΟΥ ΟὐΡΑΝΟΥ, ΟὐΧ  
 ἵΝΑ ΠΟΙΩ Τὸ ΘΕΛΗΜΑ Τὸ ἘΜΟΝ, ἈΛΛὰ Τὸ ΘΕΛΗΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΜ-  
 ΨΑΝΤΟΣ ΜΕ; ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΙΟΥ Δὲ ἀνθρώπου ἔλεγεν τὸ ἦΝ Τὸ  
 ΦΩΣ Τὸ ΑΛΗΘΙΝΟΝ, ὃ ΦΩΤΙΖΕΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ ἔρχομενον 5  
 Εἰς ΤὸΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ· ἘΝ Τῷ ΚΟΣΜῳ ἦΝ, καὶ ὁ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΔΙ' Αὐτοῦ  
 ἔΓΕΝΕΤΟ, καὶ ὁ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ Αὐτὸν ΟὐΚ ἔΓΝΩ· Εἰς Τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν,  
 καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι Αὐτὸν Οὐ ΠΑΡΕΛΑΒΟΝ; Πῶς Οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος  
 ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἔκ Μαρίας ἔχων τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι,  
 ἀλλ' οὐχὶ Θεὸς λόγος καὶ μονογενὴς υἱός; Ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ 10  
 ἦΝ ὁ ΛΟΓΟΣ, καὶ ὁ ΛΟΓΟΣ ἦΝ ΠΡὸς ΤὸΝ Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦΝ  
 ὁ ΛΟΓΟΣ. καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις, ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ἔκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν  
 Αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα Αὐτοῦ· ΠΡὸ ΤΟΥ Αἰῶνος ἔθεμελίωσέν με,  
 ΠΡὸ Δὲ Πάντων ΒΟΥΝῶΝ ΓΕΝΝᾶ με.

VII. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀνίστανται τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν, λέγει· 15  
 ἈΜΗΝ Λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἔρχεται ὥρα ἐν ἣ πάντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς  
 ΜΗΗΜΕΙΟΙΣ ἀκούσονται τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ γιόϋ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ

1 δόξῃ] gLiA (but lA add *apud te* after εἶχον with Joh. xvii. 5, g adds *παρά σου* after γενέσθαι, and L adds *a te* after *mundus esset*); add. σου G. γενέσθαι]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; γίνεσθαι g<sub>2</sub>; *fieret* lA; εἶναι (from Joh. xvii. 5, though there is a v.l. γενέ-  
 σθαι) G; *esset* L. 2 ἄνθρωπος] txt GglA; add. *nudus* (ψιλός) L. ἑρεῖ] g;

*posset dicere* l; *valet dicere* A; *diceret* L; ἔλεγεν G. 4 ἔλεγεν τὸ] G; *dictum est*

*quod* A; *diceretur* (ἐλέγετο?) l; ἔλεγεν or ἔλεγε (om. τὸ) g. No stress can be laid  
 on the fact that τὸ is unrepresented in L. 10 μονογενὴς υἱός] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ὁ μονο-

γενὴς υἱός g<sub>4</sub>; υἱὸς μονογενὴς G. 13 ἔθεμελίωσεν] g<sub>1</sub> (but ν is afterwards

erased) g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἔθεμελίωσε G. 15 ἀνίστανται] G; ἀνίσταται g. ἡμῶν]

Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>LlA; ὑμῶν g<sub>4</sub>. 17 τοῦ υἱοῦ] gLiA; om. G. 19 καὶ τὸ...ἀθανά-

σταν] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>[A]Ll; om. g<sub>3</sub>. 20 σωφρόνως ζῆν καὶ δικαίως] gLiA; σωφρόνως

καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζῆν G. 21 πάλιν λέγει] Gg<sub>4</sub>L\*lA (A however omits πάλιν); *prae*f.

*καθὼς* Παῦλος g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> (but om. πάλιν g<sub>4</sub>); *prae*f. αὐτὸς ὁ Παῦλος g<sub>3</sub>; *prae*f. *secundum*

*quod* l (but om. in some MSS). οὔτε μοιχοί] GgLA; *neque fornicarii* (πόρνοι)

l (omitting οὔτε πόρνοι below). οὔτε μαλακοί] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>LlA; om. g<sub>2</sub>s. 22 οὔτε

ἀρσενοκοῦται] gLiA; om. G. οὔτε πόρνοι] Gg<sub>2</sub>sLA; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l.

23 οὔτε κλέπται] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>LlA; om. g<sub>2</sub>. In A μέθυσοι and κλέπται are transposed.

After κλέπται l adds *neque rapaces* (οὔτε ἄρπαγες). οὐ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>A; om. Gg<sub>2</sub>.

The negative is not repeated in Ll, but the genius of the language was adverse.

Both readings appear in 1 Cor. v. 9, but the omission has by far the highest support.

12. Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] Prov. viii. 22,  
 23, 25, a favourite text in the Arian  
 controversy.

16. Ἀμὴν κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. v. 25,  
 28, loosely quoted.

18. ὁ ἀπόστολος] The passages

οἱ ἀκούσαντες ζήσονται. καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος· δεῖ γὰρ τὸ  
 φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν [καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο  
 20 ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανάσιαν]· καὶ ὅτι δεῖ σωφρόνως ζῆν καὶ  
 δικαίως, [πάλιν] λέγει· μὴ πλανᾶσθε· οὔτε μοιχοὶ οὔτε  
 μαλακοὶ οὔτε ἀρσενικοῖται οὔτε πόρνοι οὔτε λοῖδοροι  
 οὔτε μέθγχοι οὔτε κλέπται βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρο-  
 25 νομήσαι δύνανται· καὶ, εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, οὐδέ  
 Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται· κενὸν ἄρα τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ δέ  
 καὶ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν· [ἔτι ἐστὲ ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν]· ἄρα  
 καὶ οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ ἀπώλοντο. εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ  
 ταύτῃ ἡλπιότες ἐσμὲν ἐν Χριστῷ μόνον, ἐλεεινότεροι  
 πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν. εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, φάγω-  
 30 μεν [καὶ] πίωμεν, ἀῖριον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκουμεν. οὕτω δὲ  
 διακείμενοι, τί διοίσομεν ὄνων καὶ κυνῶν, οἳ μηδὲν τοῦ  
 μέλλοντος φροντίζοντες μόνου τοῦ φαγεῖν εἰσιν ὀρεκτικοὶ  
 καὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸ φαγεῖν; ἀνεπιστάτητοι γὰρ εἰσιν τοῦ  
 κινουῦντος ἔνδοθεν νοῦ.

The negative is unquestioned in Gal. v. 21. κληρονομήσαι δύνανται] GL; hereditant A; κληρονομήσουσιν (as in 1 Cor. v. 10, Gal. v. 21) g; possidebunt l.

24 εἰ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>lA; om. (but supplied in the marg.) G; οἳ g<sub>2</sub>. 26 ὑμῶν

pri.] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>A; ἡμῶν Gg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l (but with a v.l. vestra). ἔτι...ὑμῶν] GLIA;

om. g. 27 καὶ] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>4</sub>A. 31 καὶ κυνῶν] GLA

(vel a canibus) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l (but the words are transposed canum vel asinorum);

om. g<sub>2</sub>. μηδὲν] Gg<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; μὴδὲ (sic) g<sub>4</sub>; al. A. 32 μόνου] Gg<sub>4</sub>;

μόνου g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. εἰσιν ὀρεκτικοί] g<sub>1</sub>; φροντίζουσιν εἰς ὄρεξιν ἐρχόμενοι GL (but L

has omitted the words φροντίζοντες μόνου τοῦ φαγεῖν, owing to the repetition of

φροντίζο-); al. A. The reading of G is best taken thus, οἳ μηδὲν τοῦ μέλλοντος

φροντίζοντες (sc. ἡμεῖς); μόνου τοῦ φαγεῖν φροντίζουσιν (ὄνοι καὶ κύνες), εἰς ὄρεξιν

ἐρχόμενοι καὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸ φαγεῖν. But it cannot be right. 33 ἀνεπιστά-

τητοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀνεπίστατα g<sub>3</sub>; ἀνεπίστατοι G; insciū L[1]. A is altogether wide

here, but the words non resurgunt seem to be intended as a rendering (though

wholly incorrect) of ἀνεπιστάτητοι. The reading ἀνεπίστητοι, which some editors

adopt, has nothing to recommend it. See the lower note. τοῦ κινουῦν-

τος ἔνδοθεν νοῦ] τοῦ κι- G (breaking off abruptly in the middle of the word); mouentis

intus intellectus L; τὸν νοῦν τοῦ κινουῦντος ἔνδοθεν g; quid interius moueatur l;

al. A.

which follow are from 1 Cor. xv. 53

δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν κ.τ.λ., and 1 Cor.

vi. 9, 10, μὴ πλανᾶσθε κ.τ.λ.

24. εἰ νεκροὶ κ.τ.λ.] Passages strung

together from 1 Cor. xv. 16, 14, 17, 18,

19, 32.

33. ἀνεπιστάτητοι] 'without a di-

rector,' as Euseb. Dem. Ev. iv. 7 (p.

155) ὡς ἂν μὴ ἀνάρχοι καὶ ἀνεπιστάτητοι

θρεμμάτων δίκην ἀλόγων, Cyr. Alex. de



VIII. Ὀναίμην ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ. νήφετε· πᾶσαν ἑκαστος κακίαν ἀπόθεσθε, καὶ τὸν θηριώδη θυμόν, καταλαλίαν, συκοφαντίαν, αἰσχρολογίαν, εὐτραπελίαν, ψιθυρισμόν, φυσίωσιν, μέθην, λαγνείαν, φιλαργυρίαν, φιλοδοξίαν, φθόνον, καὶ πᾶν τὸ τούτοις συνωδόν· ἐνδύσασθε 5 δὲ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς προνοίαν μὴ ποιεῖσθε εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑποτάσσεσθε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, οἱ διάκονοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ὁ λαὸς τοῖς διακόνοις. ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν φυλαττόντων ταύτην τὴν εὐταξίαν· καὶ ὁ Κύριος εἶη μετ' αὐτῶν διη- 10 νεκῶς.

IX. Οἱ ἄνδρες, στέργετε τὰς γαμετὰς ὑμῶν· αἱ γυναῖκες, τοὺς ὁμοζύγους. οἱ παῖδες, τοὺς γονεῖς προηγείσθε· οἱ γονεῖς, τὰ τέκνα ἐκτρέφετε ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ

2 ἑκαστος]  $g_1 g_2 g_3 L_1$ ; om.  $g_4 A$ . ἀπόθεσθε]  $g$ ; ἀποθέσθαι  $L$  (and so ἐνδύσασθαι, ποιεῖσθαι; see above, p. 634)  $l$  (but it reads ἐνδύσασθε, ποιεῖσθε); *et amove*  $A$ . 3 αἰσχρολογίαν εὐτραπελίαν]  $g_1 g_2 g_3 L_1$ ; εὐτραπελίαν αἰσχρολογίαν  $g_4$ .  $A$  has only *scurrilitatem* for all the three words αἰσχρολογίαν, εὐτραπελίαν, ψιθυρισμόν. In  $l$  εὐτραπελίαν is rendered *malam conversationem*. εὐτραπελίαν]  $g_2 g_4$ ; εὐτραπελίαν  $g_1 g_3$ . 6 δὲ]  $gl$ ; *et*  $A$ ; om.  $L$ . ἡμῶν] So it is read in  $g$  (not ὑμῶν) with the other authorities. The omission in  $A$  is due to the ambiguous Syriac. 7 ποιεῖσθε]  $g_1 g_3$ ; ποιῆσθε  $g_2$ ; ποιεῖσθαι  $L$ ; ποιῆτε  $g_4$ . 8 τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις]  $gl A$ ; *episcopo et presbyteris*  $L$ . 9 ὁ λαὸς] *txt*  $L_1 A$ ; add. τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ  $g$ . ἀντίψυχον]  $g_1 g_2$ ; ἀντίψυχος  $g_3 g_4$ . ἐγὼ] *txt*  $g_1 g_2 g_3 L$ ; add. γενόμην  $g_4$ ; add. *efficiar*  $l$ ; *persona mea sit (=ipse sim)*  $A$ . φυλαττόντων]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; φυλασσόντων  $g_4$ . 13 προηγείσθε]  $g_1 g_2 g_4$ ; *praeconorate*  $L$ ; *honorate*  $l A$ ; αἰδεῖσθε (sic)  $g_3$ . This last is evidently a pure conjecture, and editors ought not to have been misled into reading αἰδεῖσθε or αἰνεῖσθε. The various reading αἰνεῖσθε, which Ussher gives (App. Ign. p. 102) as from the Medicus (i. e.  $G$ ), must be a mistake. This MS ends abruptly at the close of § 7; but

*Ador.* vi. p. 200 τὴν κτίσιν ἅπασαν οὐκ ἀνεπιστατήτοις κινήμασι φερομένην. For the construction with the genitive, 'without the guidance of the mind,' see Kühner *Gramm.* II. § 421 (p. 344 sq.). For the other reading ἀνεπιστατοί, 'careless, neglectful of', comp. Porphyry, *de Abst.* i. 9 ἀνεπίστατον τῆς διαφορᾶς.

I. πᾶσαν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. I Pet. ii. i.

5. ἐνδύσασθε κ.τ.λ.] From Rom. xiii. 14.

9. ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ κ.τ.λ.] Imitated from *Polyc.* 6.

13. προηγείσθε] The word has the same sense as in Rom. xii. 10.

14. τὰ τέκνα κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. vi. 4; the context of our Pseudo-Ignatius being also suggested by the context of St Paul.

15. ὡς ἱερείας] Tertull. *de Cult.*

15 νογθεσία Κυρίου. τὰς ἐν παρθενία τιμᾶτε ὡς ἱερείας  
Χριστοῦ, τὰς ἐν σέμνότητι χήρας ὡς θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ.  
οἱ κύριοι, μετὰ φειδοῦς τοῖς δούλοις ἐπιτάσσετε· οἱ δοῦ-  
λοι, μετὰ φόβου τοῖς κυρίοις ἐξυπηρετεῖτε. μηδεὶς ἐν ὑμῖν  
ἀργὸς ἔστω· μήτηρ γὰρ τῆς ἐνδείας ἢ ἀργία. ταῦτα οὐκ  
20 ἐπιτάττω ὡς ὢν τι, εἰ καὶ δέδεμαι· ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδελφὸς ὑπο-  
μνήσκω. εἴη Κύριος μεθ' ὑμῶν.

X. Ὁναίμην ὑμῶν τῶν προσευχῶν· προσεύχεσθε ἵνα  
Ἰησοῦ ἐπιτύχω. παρατίθεμαι ὑμῖν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκ-  
κλησίαν. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ  
25 Πολύκαρπος ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ᾧ καὶ παραθήσομαι  
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Συρίας. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐκκλησία  
Φιλιππησίων, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Φίλων  
ὁ διάκονος ὑμῶν, ᾧ καὶ ἐγὼ εὐχαριστῶ, σπουδαίως ὑπη-  
ρετοῦντί μοι ἐν πᾶσιν. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ἀγαθόπους ὁ διά-

Voss is not explicit on the subject (p. 116), and Ussher, while giving Voss's text, supposes himself to be giving the reading of the MS. At least I cannot account for the statement in any other way. Voss himself must have got *αἰνεῖσθε* (p. 80) by conjecture or by misprint from Ussher's *αἰδεῖσθε*; and Ussher's *αἰδεῖσθε* was founded on the reading of g<sub>3</sub>.

15 παρθενία] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; παρθενεία g<sub>1</sub>. 17 οἱ κύριοι...ἐξυπηρετεῖτε] txt LIA. The two clauses are transposed, οἱ δοῦλοι κ.τ.λ. and οἱ κύριοι κ.τ.λ., in g.

ἐπιτάσσετε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>LA; ὑποτάσσεσθε g<sub>4</sub>; *estote* [I]. 19 ἔστω] g<sub>1</sub>; *maneat* L; *stet* (*maneat*) A. ἀργία] ἀργεία g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

ταῦτα] g; add. *quidem* A; add. *enim* L; add. *autem* l. 20 ὑπομνήσκω] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ὑπομίμνησκω g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s (but the variation is likely to have been overlooked). See the note on Clem. Rom. 7.

23 Ἀντιοχείᾳ] ἀντιοχείαν g<sub>2</sub>. 24 τῆς Ἀσίας...ἡ ἐκκλησία] A; om. g<sub>1</sub> (by homœoteleuton). 29 Ἀγαθόπους] glA; om. L. Ussher says 'Desideratur hoc nomen in Græco Mediceo et in vetere Latino nostro interprete,' i. e. in G and L. But G is wanting here; and as Ἀγαθόπους stands in Voss's text, the explanation which I have given

*Fem.* ii. 12 'quae sacerdotes pudicitiae dicimini'.

16. θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ] See the note on Polyc. *Phil.* 4, where the expression occurs. The false Ignatius however may have borrowed it from *Apost. Const.* ii. 27, iii. 6.

18. μηδεὶς κ.τ.λ.] Ign. *Polyc.* 6 μή τις ὑμῶν δεσέρτωρ εὐρεθῇ, where G has the gloss ἀργός. The gloss must either have suggested or been sug-

gested by this passage in the Pseudo-Ignatius.

19. μήτηρ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* ii. 4 μήτηρ ἡ ἀργία λιμοῦ.

οὐκ ἐπιτάττω κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Philiph.* 13. Imitated from Ign. *Ephes.* 3; see the note there.

25. ὁ ἄνθρωπος κ.τ.λ.] An imitation of 1 Tim. vi. 11 (comp. 2 Tim. iii. 17), where Timothy is so called.

28. ὁ διάκονος ὑμῶν] See the notes

κονος ὁ ἐκ Συρίας, ὃς ἀκολουθεῖ μοι ἐν Χριστῷ. ἀσπά-  
 ρασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀγίῳ φιλήματι. ἀσπάζομαι πάντας καὶ  
 πάσας, τοὺς ἐν Χριστῷ. ἔρρωσθε σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ  
 πνεύματι [ἐνί], καὶ ἐμοῦ μὴ ἐπιλάβησθε. ὁ Κύριος μεθ'  
 ὑμῶν.

## 6.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΣΙΟΥΣ.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ ἡλεημένη  
 ἐν πίστει καὶ ὑπομονῇ καὶ ἀγάπῃ ἀνυποκρίτῳ, τῇ  
 οὔσῃ ἐν Φιλίπποις· ἔλεος, εἰρήνῃ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ  
 Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἐστὶν σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώ- 10  
 πων, μάλιστα πιστῶν.

I. Μεμνημένοι τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ  
 σπουδῆς, ἧς ἐνεδείξασθε εἰς ἡμᾶς, πρέπον ἡγησάμεθα

of Ussher's v.l. to προηγείσθε § 9 will not hold here. I can only conjecture that  
 in answer to some enquiry about the reading here Ussher got a reply, 'desideratur in  
 Mediceo,' meaning that the *passage* was wanting in this MS. With the omission in  
 L before him, he would interpret the ambiguous reply to mean that the *word* was  
 wanting. 1 ὁ ἐκ Συρίας, κ.τ.λ.] LA translate as if ὃς ἐκ Συρίας ἀκολουθεῖ κ.τ.λ.

3 τοὺς] glA; om. L. σώματι καὶ] glA; om. L. 4 ἐνί] g; om. lLA. ἐπι-  
 λάβησθε] ἐπιλάβασθε g<sub>3</sub>, a solecism.

Subscr. δ. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταρσῷ g<sub>1</sub>; τοῦ  
 ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ δ' πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταρσῷ g<sub>2</sub>. Nothing in g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

προς φιλιππησιους] τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς φιλιππησίους περὶ βαπτίσματος g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>  
 (with ε in the marg. of g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>); τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου  
 θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς φιλιππησίους. ε g<sub>3</sub>; *ad philippenses de baptismo*  
*scripta de endamno per ephranium* l (with vv. ll.); *ad philippos urbem* A.

on Ign. *Philad.* 11 for Philo and Ag-  
 athopus.

1. ἀσπάσασθε κ.τ.λ.] As in Rom.  
 xvi. 16, 1 Cor. xvi. 20, 2 Cor. xiii. 12;  
 comp. 1 Thess. v. 26.

προς φιλιππησιους] The addi-  
 tion περὶ βαπτίσματος, which is found  
 in the Greek and Latin copies, is not  
 adequately explained by the contents  
 of the epistle itself. Possibly it was

originally a marginal note calling at-  
 tention to the subject of § 8 βάπτισμα,  
 φωνὴ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ βαπτιζομένῳ, κ.τ.λ.  
 (comp. § 9 ἰδὼν πρῶτον ὡς κοινὸν ἄν-  
 θρωπον βαπτιζόμενον), and was trans-  
 ferred afterwards accidentally to the  
 heading.

10. ὃς ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim.  
 iv. 10.

16. ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ κ.τ.λ.] A combina-



γράψαι πρὸς τὴν φιλάδελφον ὑμῶν κατὰ Θεὸν ψυχικὴν  
 15 ἀγάπην, ὑπομιμνήσκειν ὑμᾶς τοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ ὑμῶν δρόμου,  
 ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες, σὺμψυχοι, τὸ ἐν φρονοῦντες,  
 τῷ αὐτῷ κανόνι τῆς πίστεως στοιχοῦντες, ὡς Παῦλος ὑμᾶς  
 ἐνουθέτει. εἰ γὰρ εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεός, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα· εἰς δὲ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς  
 20 [Χριστός], ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ τῶν ὅλων Κύριος,  
 δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα· ἐν δὲ καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ ἐνεργήσαν ἐν  
 Μωσῇ καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις· ἐν δὲ καὶ τὸ βάπ-  
 τισμα, τὸ εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου διδόμενον· μία [δὲ]  
 καὶ ἡ ἐκλεκτὴ ἐκκλησία· μία ὀφείλει εἶναι καὶ ἡ κατὰ  
 25 Χριστὸν πίστις. εἰς γὰρ Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα,  
 εἰς Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν  
 πάσιν.

II. Εἰς οὖν Θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, καὶ οὐ δύο οὐδὲ τρεῖς·  
 εἰς ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν πλὴν αὐτοῦ, ὁ μόνος  
 30 ἀληθινός· Κύριος γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Κυρίου εἰς ἐστὶν.  
 καὶ πάλιν· οὐχ εἰς Θεὸς ἔκτισεν ἡμᾶς; οὐχ εἰς πατὴρ

12 μεμνημένοι]  $g_1g_2g_3$ ; μεμνημένος  $g_4$ . A translates μεμνημένοι, ἡγησάμεθα, both by singulars. 18 εἰ γὰρ]  $gA$ ; om. l. 20 Χριστός]  $g_3lA$ ; om.  $g_1g_2g_4$ . ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ] *filius dei unigenitus* l; *unigenitus filius dei* A; om.  $g$ . ὁ τῶν ὅλων Κύριος]  $gl$ ; om. A. 23 τὸν]  $g_1g_2g_4$ ; om.  $g_3$ . διδόμενον]  $g_1g_3g_4$ ; διὰ διδομένον  $g_2$  (a repetition of similar letters ΔιδιδιΔ). δὲ]  $g_3$ ; om.  $g_1g_2g_4$ . A has *una est et electa ecclesia*, but it has translated δὲ καὶ in this way in the previous clauses. Moreover it makes the apodosis begin with *μία ὀφείλει κ.τ.λ.* In l the words are *una itaque etiam ecclesia esse debet et una fides quae est in christo*, which seems to point to the reading δὲ καὶ, but in which the apodosis is made to begin with *μία [δὲ] καὶ κ.τ.λ.* 24 ἡ ἐκλεκτὴ ἐκκλησία· μία ὀφείλει κ.τ.λ.]  $g_1g_2g_3A$ ; ἡ ἐκκλησία ὀφείλει κ.τ.λ.  $g_4$  (comp. l, as given in the last note). ὀφείλει] ὀφείλη  $g_2$ . 29 ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν] *qui erat et est* A; ὁ ὢν  $gl$ .

tion of 1 Cor. i. 10, Phil. ii. 2, iii. 15.

18. εἰ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Modified from 1 Cor. viii. 6.

23. εἰς τὸν θάνατον κ.τ.λ.] In accordance with the teaching of Rom. vi. 3.

25. εἰς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. iv. 5, 6.

29. ὁ ἦν κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Rev. i.

4, 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 5. I have restored this reading from the Armenian Version.

καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν κ.τ.λ.] Deut. iv. 35; comp. Is. xlv. 5 sq., etc.

μόνος ἀληθινός] See Joh. xvii. 3.

30. Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] From Deut. vi. 4.

31. οὐχ εἰς Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.] Mal. ii. 10, loosely quoted.

πάντων ἡμῶν; εἷς δὲ καὶ υἱός, λόγος Θεός. ὁ μονογενὴς γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ ὢν εἰς τοὺς κόλπους τοῦ πατρὸς. καὶ πάλιν· εἷς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ· τί ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ἢ τί ὄνομα τῷ γίῳ, ἵνα γνῶμεν; εἷς δὲ καὶ ὁ παράκλητος. ἐν γάρ, φησὶν, καὶ πνεῦμα, ἐπειδὴ ἐκλήθημεν ἐν 5 μὲν ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ἡμῶν. καὶ πάλιν· ἐν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· πάντα δὲ ταῦτα, τὰ χαρίσματα δηλονότι, ἐνεργεῖ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα. οὔτε οὖν τρεῖς πατέρες οὔτε τρεῖς υἱοὶ οὔτε τρεῖς παράκλητοι, ἀλλ' εἷς πατήρ καὶ εἷς υἱὸς καὶ εἷς παράκλητος. διὸ καὶ 10 [Κύριος] ἀποστέλλων τοὺς ἀποστόλους μαθητεῖσαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ γιῶ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· οὔτε εἰς ἓνα τριώνυμον οὔτε εἰς τρεῖς ἐνανθρωπήσαντας, ἀλλ' εἰς τρεῖς ὁμοτίμους.

15

III. Εἷς γὰρ ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας, οὔτε ὁ πατήρ οὔτε ὁ παράκλητος, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὁ υἱός· οὐ δοκήσει, οὐ φαντασία,

1 λόγος Θεός] *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>lA*; λόγος θεοῦ *g<sub>3</sub>*; comp. *Ps-Magn.* 6. 2 τοὺς κόλπους] *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>*; τὸν κόλπον *g<sub>4</sub>* (after *Joh. i. 18*); *sinu* *lA*. 4 τῷ γίῳ] *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>*; τῷ χρυσῷ *g<sub>4</sub>*; def. *A*. 5 καὶ πνεῦμα] *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>*; τὸ πνεῦμα *g<sub>4</sub>*; *spiritus* *l*; *spiritus sanctus* *A*. 8 ἐν] *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>A*; τὸ ἐν *g<sub>4</sub>*; *ipse unus* *l*. 10 καὶ tert.] *g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>lA*; om. *g<sub>1</sub>*. 11 Κύριος] *g<sub>1</sub>*; ὁ κύριος *g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>*; *dominus* *l*; *dominus noster* *A*; om. *g<sub>3</sub>*. 12 ἔθνη] *g<sub>2</sub>*. 14 εἰς τρεῖς ἐνανθρωπήσαντας, ἀλλ'] om. *l* and Reg. 1026 (see Cotelier) by homœoteleuton. The clause οὔτε εἰς τρεῖς ἐνανθρωπήσαντας is wanting also in *A*. For ὁμοτίμους Reg. 1026 has ὁμωνύμους. ἐνανθρωπήσαντας] ἐνανθρωπίσαντας *g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>*. 16 ἐνανθρωπήσας] ἐνανθρωπίσας *g<sub>3</sub>*. 17 μόνον] *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>*; μόνος *g<sub>4</sub>* (and so the edd.); *solus* *l*; dub. *A*. 18 ὁ λόγος γὰρ] *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>*; ὁ γὰρ λόγος *g<sub>4</sub>*; *verbum enim* *l*; *verbum* (om. γὰρ) *A* (connecting it with the previous words, ἀλλ' ἀληθεὶς ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο). 21 καὶ τέξεται]

1. ὁ μονογενὴς κ.τ.λ.] *Joh. i. 18*. On the possibility of a reading ὁ μονογενής, without either υἱὸς or Θεός, in this passage of the Gospel, see Hort's *Two Dissertations* p. 11 sq. So far as it goes, this passage of our Ignatian writer favours such a reading.

3. εἷς Κύριος] A reference to 1 Cor. viii. 6.

τί ὄνομα κ.τ.λ.] *Prov. xxx. 4* (xxiv.

27), but instead of τῷ γίῳ the best supported reading is τοῖς τέκνοις, while some copies have τῷ τέκνῳ. It is quoted as here by Theodoret on Heb. iii. 6 (*III. p. 563*, Schulze).

5. ἐν...πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.] *Ephes. iv. 4*, loosely quoted.

6. ἐν πνεύμα κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. xii. 13. The next passage, πάντα δὲ κ.τ.λ., is from the same context, 1 Cor. xii. 11.



ἀλλ' ἀληθεία· ὁ λόγος γὰρ σὰρξ ἐγένετο· ἡ γὰρ σοφία  
 ὤκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον. καὶ ἐγεννήθη ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ  
 20 Θεὸς λόγος μετὰ σώματος ἐκ τῆς παρθένου, ἄνευ ὁμιλίας  
 ἀνδρός· ἡ παρθένος γὰρ ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται καὶ τέζεται  
 γίον. ἀληθῶς οὖν ἐγεννήθη, ἀληθῶς ηὔξήθη, ἀληθῶς ἔφα-  
 γεν καὶ ἔπιεν, ἀληθῶς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη.  
 ὁ ταῦτα πιστεύσας, ὡς ἔχει, ὡς γεγέννηται, μακάριος· ὁ  
 25 ταῦτα μὴ πιστεύων ἐναγῆς οὐχ ἦττον τῶν τὸν Κύριον  
 σταυρωσάντων. ὁ γὰρ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου χαίρει,  
 ὅταν τις ἀρνήται τὸν σταυρόν· ὅλεθρον γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ γινώσ-  
 κει τὴν ὁμολογίαν τοῦ σταυροῦ. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν τὸ τρό-  
 παιον κατὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως· ὅπερ ὁρῶν φρίττει καὶ  
 30 ἀκούων φοβεῖται.

IV. Καὶ πρὶν μὲν γένηται ὁ σταυρός, ἔσπευδεν γενέσ-  
 θαι τοῦτο· καὶ ἐνήργει ἐν τοῖς γίοις τῆς ἀπειθείας, ἐνήρ-  
 γει ἐν Ἰούδα, ἐν Φαρισαίοις, ἐν Σαδδουκαίοις, ἐν πρεσβύταις,  
 ἐν νέοις, ἐν ἱερεῦσιν. μέλλοντος δὲ γίνεσθαι, θορυβεῖται

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>1A (*et peperit*); om. g<sub>3</sub> (apparently an error of the press).

ηὔξήθη] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>1A; om. g<sub>2</sub>.

24 ταῦτα] αὐτὰ g<sub>3</sub>.

22 ἀληθῶς

γεγέννηται] g<sub>1</sub>

(but the first *ν* is erased); *natus est* 1; γεγέννηται g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>5. In A ὡς ἔχει, ὡς γεγέν[ν]ηται, is rendered briefly, *quomodo et factum est*, so that the translator's reading is doubtful but was probably γεγέννηται.

25 μὴ πιστεύων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; μὴ πιστεύσας g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>, which is a conformation to the preceding clause. In 1A a present tense *credit* appears in both clauses.

26 τούτου] g; *in hoc* (τούτῳ) 1; om. A(?).

27 ἀρνήται] ἀρνέται g<sub>3</sub>. ἐαυτοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; αὐτοῦ g<sub>4</sub>.

30 φοβεῖται] φοβῆται g<sub>2</sub>. 32 τοῦτο] g (all the four MSS); *hoc* 1; *hujusmodi* (τοιούτο ?) A. There is no authority for the τούτον of the editors.

ἐνήργει] ἐνεργη g<sub>2</sub>; ἐνεργεῖν 1. 34 θορυβεῖται] θορυβῆται g<sub>2</sub>.

12. ἐνετείλατο] As recorded in Matt. xxviii. 19.

16. εἰς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] This passage, as far as ἔφαγεν καὶ ἔπιεν, is quoted in the *Antirrhetica* of Nicephorus; see *Spicil. Solesm.* i. p. 356, and Cotelier here.

18. ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.] John i. 14. The following words, ἡ σοφία κ.τ.λ., are from Prov. ix. 1, a favourite text in the Arian controversy: comp. *Ps-*

*Smyrn.* 2, *Apost. Const.* v. 20.

21. ἡ παρθένος κ.τ.λ.] Is. vii. 14, quoted in Matt. i. 23.

22. ἀληθῶς οὖν κ.τ.λ.] This passage is copied from Ign. *Trall.* 9; comp. *Smyrn.* i. It itself is reproduced substantially in an Arabic fragment printed later in this volume.

32. ἐνήργει κ.τ.λ.] The expression is taken from Ephes. ii. 2.



καὶ μετάμελον ἐμβάλλει τῷ προδότῃ, καὶ βρόχον αὐτῷ  
 δείκνυσιν καὶ ἀγχόνην διδάσκει· φοβεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ γύναιον,  
 ἐν ὀνείροις αὐτὸ καταταράπτων, καὶ παύειν πειράται τὰ  
 κατὰ τὸν σταυρόν, ὃ πάντα κάλων κινῶν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 κατασκευήν· οὐ μεταγινώσκων ἐπὶ [τῷ] τοσοῦτῳ κακῷ· ἡ 5  
 γὰρ ἂν οὐ πάντα ἦν πονηρός· ἀλλ' ἐπήσθετο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ  
 ἀπωλείας. ἀρχὴ γὰρ αὐτῷ καταδίκης ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σταυ-  
 ρός, ἀρχὴ θανάτου, ἀρχὴ ἀπωλείας· διὸ καὶ ἔν τισιν  
 ἐνεργεῖ ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸν σταυρόν, τὸ πάθος ἐπαισχύνεσθαι,  
 τὸν θάνατον δόκησιν καλεῖν, τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν 10  
 περικόπτειν, τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν διαβάλλειν ὡς μυσεράν·  
 Ἰουδαίοις συμμαχεῖ εἰς ἄρνησιν τοῦ σταυροῦ, Ἑλλησιν  
 εἰς συκοφαντίαν μαγείας, αἰρετικοῖς εἰς φαντασίαν· ποικί-  
 λος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῆς κακίας στρατηγός, κλεψίνους, ἄστατος,  
 ἑαυτῷ ἐναντίος καὶ ἄλλα μὲν προβαλλόμενος ἕτερα δὲ 15  
 δεικνύς· σοφὸς γάρ ἐστι τοῦ κακοποιῆσαι, τὸ δὲ καλὸν ὃ  
 τι ποτέ ἐστιν ἀγνοεῖ· ἀγνοίας [γὰρ] πεπλήρωται, δι' ἐκού-

1 ἐμβάλλει] ἐμβάλει g<sub>4</sub>. αὐτῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>2</sub>ΔA; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 3 αὐτὸ κατατα-  
 ράπτων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s; ἀποκαταράπτων g<sub>3</sub>; *perturbabat eam* A; *ipse* (αὐτὸς) *conturbans* l.  
 4 τὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s: τὸ g<sub>2</sub> (unless indeed Dressel is in error, and this is a v. l. for the  
 preceding τά, as Zahn suspects). κάλων] g<sub>4</sub>s; καλῶν g<sub>3</sub>; κάλον (so accentuated,  
 unless the accent escaped me) g<sub>1</sub>; καλόν g<sub>2</sub>. In g<sub>3</sub> the clause is read ὁ πάντα καλῶν  
 τε καὶ κικῶν (obviously a misprint for κινῶν), and in l it is rendered *omnia evocans et*  
*movens*. The particles were inserted from a misunderstanding of κάλων, as if καλῶν.  
 The rendering in A, *omnem corruptionem movebat*, is accounted for by the Syriac  
 ܢܠܒܬܐ, which means either 'a rope' or 'corruption,' as it is differently vocalized.  
 5 τῷ] g<sub>1</sub>; om. g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 5 ἡ] g<sub>4</sub>; ἡ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἡ (sic) g<sub>2</sub>. In l the words run  
*in tantum enim mala erant omnia*, so that κακῷ ἡ...ἂν appears to have been  
 omitted. The reading of Ussher (followed by Zahn and others) εἰ γὰρ ἂν οὐ πάντα  
 κ.τ.λ. must be rejected; for ἂν is not wanted with εἰ, and is wanted with ἡ.

2. τὸ γύναιον] Pilate's wife; see  
 Matt. xxvii. 19.

4. πάντα κάλων κινῶν] A nautical  
 metaphor, πάντα κάλων κινεῖν or ἐξιέ-  
 ναι or σείειν, 'to let out every reef,'  
 equivalent to the English 'to leave  
 no stone unturned.' The various  
 readings are due to later ignorance  
 of this proverb.

11. περικόπτειν] 'to mutilate,' i. e.  
 'to invalidate.'

μυσεράν] For this form see the  
 note on Clem. Rom. 14.

13. συκοφαντίαν μαγείας] 'the false  
 charge of magic,' brought against  
 Jesus; comp. § 5 πῶς δὲ καὶ μάγος  
 οὗτος κ.τ.λ.

16. σοφὸς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.*

σιον παράνοιαν. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν τοιοῦτος, ὃς μήτε  
πρὸ ποδῶν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον βλέπει;

20 V. Εἰ γὰρ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ Κύριος, ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ  
σώματος, τί περικόπτεις τὴν γέννησιν τῆς κοινῆς τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων φύσεως; τί δέ, ὡς παράδοξόν τι ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου  
γενόμενον, τὸ πάθος δόκησιν καλεῖς, καὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ  
25 θνητοῦ δόξαν νομίζεις; εἰ δὲ Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, τί παρά-  
νομον καλεῖς τὸν τῆς δόξης Κύριον, τὸν τῇ φύσει ἄτρεπ-  
τον; τί παράνομον λέγεις τὸν νομοθέτην, τὸν οὐκ ἀνθρω-  
πίαν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα; ὁ λόγος εἰς ἐγένετο, ὁ λόγος ἄν-  
θρωπος, οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ κατοικήσας. πῶς δὲ καὶ μάγος  
οὗτος, ὁ πάλαι μὲν πᾶσαν αἰσθητὴν καὶ νοητὴν φύσιν  
30 κατασκευάσας γνώμη πατρός, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνανθρωπήσει πλ-  
CAN ΝΟCΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΛΑΚΙΑΝ ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥCΑC;

VI. Πῶς δὲ οὐχ οὗτος Θεός, ὁ νεκροὺς ἀνιστῶν, χωλοὺς

6 ἐπήσθετο] g<sub>3</sub>; ἐπέσθαιτο g<sub>1</sub>; ἐπαισθαιτὸ (sic) g<sub>2</sub>; ἐπαισθανθεῖς g<sub>4</sub>. ἑαυτοῦ]  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; suam l; αὐτοῦ g<sub>4</sub>. 10 δόκησιν] δίκησιν g<sub>3</sub>; putant (δοκοῦσιν) l.  
11 μυσεράν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. The editors substitute μυσαράν, and so g<sub>4</sub>s. 13 μαγέας]  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; μαγίας g<sub>2</sub>. eis pri.] om. g<sub>4</sub>. 14 γάρ] g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;  
sed et A. 18 μήτε] So all the four MSS. The editors read μηδέ.  
19 τὸν] g<sub>3</sub>; τῶν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; al. A. In l the sentence runs *qui non sibi proponit*  
*suum sermonem*. λόγον] g<sub>3</sub>l; λόγων g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; al. A. 21 σώματος]  
txt. lA; add. μόνον g. 22 ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου γενόμενον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; γενόμενον ἐπ'  
ἀνθρώπου g<sub>4</sub>. 24 Θεὸς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ὁ θεὸς g<sub>4</sub>. 26 οὐκ] l; om. g. In  
A the whole clause τὸν οὐκ...ἔχοντα is wanting. ἀνθρωπίαν] ἀνθρωπίαν  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἀνθρωπίνην g<sub>4</sub>. 27 ὁ λόγος ἀνθρώπος] *verbum homo* l; *verbum*  
*homo-factum-est* A; καὶ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος g. 30 ἐνανθρωπήσει] ἐνανθρω-  
πίση g<sub>2</sub>. 32 Θεὸς] g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. The omission of ΘC would be easy  
after the termination -OC. In A the clause is paraphrased, *quomodo dicis merum*  
*hominem, o calumniator, illum qui mortuos etc.*

vi. 6 ὁ πονηρός, σοφὸς ὢν τοῦ κακο-  
ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ καλὸν ὃ τι ποτέ ἐστὶν  
ἀγνοῶν κ.τ.λ.

17. δι' ἐκούσιον κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.*  
viii. 2 ἀγνοία γὰρ εἰσι πεπιεσμένοι  
δι' ἐκούσιον μοχθηρίαν.

19. τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον] 'his own  
language,' for he contradicts himself,  
as the writer goes on to show.

20. ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος] For the

Christology of this Ignatian writer,  
and for the motive of the various  
readings in this chapter more espe-  
cially, see the note on *Ps-Philad.* 6.

25. τὸν τῆς δόξης Κύριον] Taken  
from 1 Cor. ii. 8; see also below § 9,  
and *Trall.* 12.

27. ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.] John. i. 14.

30. πᾶσαν νόσον κ.τ.λ.] Matt. iv.  
23, ix. 35, x. 1; comp. *Magn.* 11.



ἀρτίους ἀποστέλλων, λεπρούς καθαρίζων, τυφλοὺς ὀμματῶν, τὰ ὄντα ἢ αὖξων ἢ μεταβάλλων, ὡς τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς οἶνον, τὸν δὲ σὸν στρατὸν ῥήματι μόνον φυγαδεύων; τί δὲ κακίζεις τὴν φύσιν τῆς παρθένου, καὶ τὰ μόρια ἀποκαλεῖς αἰσχρά; πάλαι ταῦτα 5 πομπεύων, καὶ γυμνοῦσθαι κελεύων ἄρρενας μὲν εἰς ὄψιν θηλειῶν θηλείας δὲ εἰς ἀκόλαστον ἐπιθυμίαν ἀρρένων. νῦν αἰσχρά σοι ταῦτα νενόμισται, καὶ σεμνὸς εἶναι προσποιῇ σύ, τὸ τῆς πορνείας πνεῦμα, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τότε γίνεται αἰσχρόν τι, ὅταν παρανομία ῥυπανθῇ· ἁμαρτίας δὲ ἀπούσης οὐδὲν 10 τῶν γενομένων αἰσχρόν, οὐδὲν φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ πάντα καλὰ λίαν· καὶ σὺ μὴ βλέπων κακίζεις αὐτά;

VII. Πῶς δὲ πάλιν οὐκέτι σοι δοκεῖ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶναι ἐκ τῆς παρθένου, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, ὁ ὢν, ὁ παντοκράτωρ; τίς οὖν ὁ τοῦτον ἀποστείλας, εἰπέ· τίς ὁ 15 τούτου κυριεύων; γνώμη δὲ τίνος οὗτος ἐπειθάρχησεν; νόμων δὲ ποίων πληρωτῆς γέγονεν, ὁ μήτε γνώμη τινὸς

1 ἀποστέλλων]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; ἀποτελῶν  $g_4$ ; def. A. For ἀρτ. ἀποστ. 1 has *sanavit*.  
 2 καὶ]  $g_1 g_3 g_4$  1A; ἢ (sic)  $g_2$ . 4 φυγαδεύων] φυγαδεύειν  $g_3$ . μόνον]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ;  
 μόνω  $g_3 g_4$ ; *tantum* 1; om. A. 5 ἀποκαλεῖς]  $g_3 g_4 g_5$ ; ἀπολαλεῖς  $g_1 g_2$ . 6 πομ-  
 πεύων]  $g_1 g_2 g_4 g_5$  A(?); *praeseminans* 1; πομπεύειν  $g_3$ . 7 θηλειῶν θηλείας]  
 $g_1 g_3 g_4 g_5$ ; θηλιῶν θηλίας  $g_2$ . 8 προσποιῇ] προσποιεῖ  $g_2$ . 11 γενομέ-  
 νων]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; γυνομένων  $g_4$  (?); al. A. οὐδὲν]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$  1; οὐδὲ  $g_4$  A(?).  
 19 νομοθετεῖς]  $g_3 g_4 g_5$ ; νομοθέτης  $g_2$ ; νομοθετῆς  $g_1$ . γεγεννησθαι]  $g_2 g_4 g_5$ ;  
 γεγενῆσθαι  $g_1 g_3$ ; al. 1A. 21 λέληθάς] λέλυθάς  $g_2$ . 22 ὅτι διάλοξα]  
 ὅτε διὰ λοξὰ  $g_3$ ; ὅτι διὰ δόξῃ  $g_2$ ; διοδόξῃ (sic, the ὅτι being omitted)  $g_1$ . In  $g_4$  the  
 words ὅτι...βαίνεις are omitted and a blank space is left, the scribe apparently

5. ταῦτα πομπεύων κ.τ.λ.] See *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 7 οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖν ὑμᾶς ἡνάγκαζον θεατριζόντες, καὶ τὰς γυναικας ὑμῶν γυμνὰς ὡς ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ πομπεύοντες;

14. ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός] See *Tars.* 5; comp. *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 6. This was one of the charges brought against Marcellus, Euseb. *Ecccl. Theol.* ii. 4 εἰ δὲ οὖν ἐν καὶ ταῦτόν ἦν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ λόγος, ὡς δοκεῖ Μαρκελλῶ, ὁ ἐν τῇ ἀγία παρθένῳ γενό-

μενος...αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.

21. τοῦ παλιμβόλου] ‘changeableness, inconsistency, fickleness,’ being associated with the idea of ‘treachery,’ ‘deceit’; comp. *Æschines Fals. Leg.* 40 (p. 33) ὁ κέρκωψ ἢ τὸ καλοῦμενον παιπάλημα ἢ τὸ παλίμβολον ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥήματα, where, as here, τὸ παλίμβολον is used for ἡ παλιμβολία. On this word see Ruhnken *Timæus* s. v. It is sometimes wrongly written



μήτε ἐξουσία εἶκων; καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐξαιρῶν τῆς γεν-  
νήσεως τὸν ἀγέννητον νομοθετεῖς γεγεννηῆσθαι, καὶ σταυρῶ  
20 προσηλώσθαι τὸν ἀναρχον· τίνος συγχωρήσαντος, οὐκ ἔχω  
εἰπεῖν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ λέληθάς με τοῦ παλιμβόλου, οὐδ'  
ἄγνοῶ ὅτι διάλοξα καὶ δίδυμα βαίνεις· ἄγνοεῖς δὲ σὺ τίς  
ὁ γεννηθεῖς, ὁ πᾶν εἰδέναι προσποιούμενος.

VIII. Πολλὰ γάρ σε λανθάνει· ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας,  
25 ὁ παράδοξος τοκετός· ὅστις ὁ ἐν τῷ σώματι· ὁ ἡγούμενος  
ἀστήρ τῶν ἐν ἀνατολῇ, τῶν τὰ δῶρα κομιζόντων μάγων·  
ἄρχαγγέλου ἀσπασμὸς πρὸς παρθένον· παρθένου παρά-  
δοξος σύλληψις μεμνηστευμένης· παιδὸς προδρόμου κηρυ-  
κεία ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκ τῆς παρθένου, καὶ ἐν κοιλίᾳ σκίρτησις ἐκ  
30 τοῦ προθεωρουμένου· ἀγγέλων ὕμνοι ἐπὶ τῷ τεχθέντι· ποι-  
μένων εὐαγγέλια· Ἡρώδου φόβος ἐπὶ ἀφαιρέσει βασιλείας·  
νηπιοκτόνον πρόσταγμα· εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετανάστασις· ἐκεῖ-  
θεν ἐπὶ τὰ τῇδε ἐπάνοδος· σπάργανα παιδικά· ἀπογραφὴ

being unable to decipher or to interpret them. The whole sentence runs in I, *neque ignoro quoniam curve et lubrico incedis*; and in A, *et perversos quodammodo vel obliquos gressus (sc. tuos) habeo* (i. e. aestimo). Most editors read διὰ λοξά, in two words; but this must be wrong. See below.

βαίνεις] βαίνεις g<sub>2</sub>; βέν-  
νεις g<sub>1</sub>.

24 παρθενία] g<sub>4</sub>s; παρθενεία g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

26 κομιζόντων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>4</sub>s;

κομισάντων g<sub>3</sub>.

28 μεμνηστευμένης] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>[1]; πεπιστευμένη g<sub>3</sub>; def. A.

κηρυκεία] g<sub>4</sub>s; κηρυκία g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

31 εὐαγγέλια] So accentuated in g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; εὐαγγελία

g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>3</sub>.

Ἡρώδου] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>[A]; καὶ ἡρώδου g<sub>4</sub>.

32 νηπιοκτόνον] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;

νηπιοκτόνων g<sub>1</sub>; νηπιοκτόνων (sic) g<sub>3</sub>.

The editors read νηπιοκτόνων, but νηπιοκτόνον is far better. In I it is *praeceptio ad parvulorum necem*, and in A, *quia mandatum dedit necare pueros*. Both these renderings point to νηπιοκτόνον.

παλίμβουλον; comp. the vv. ll. παρα-  
βουλευσάμενος, παραβουλευσάμενος, in  
Phil. ii. 30.

22. διάλοξα] ‘crookedly.’ This com-  
pound is very rare, but the lexicons  
give an instance from Liban. *Or.*  
IV. p. 1071 *διαλόξοις στροφαῖς*, where  
it is used of an oblique glance of the  
eyes. For the use here comp. Ba-  
brius *Fab.* 109 *λοξὰ βαίνειν*, describ-  
ing the motion of a crab.

24. Πολλὰ γάρ κ.τ.λ.] See the  
note on Ign. *Ephes.* 19, on which

this passage is founded.

31. εὐαγγέλια] So it should pro-  
bably be accentuated, not εὐαγγελία  
with previous editors. The word  
εὐαγγελία however is found, though  
rarely, in Hellenistic Greek; e. g.  
2 Sam. xviii. 20, 27.

33. ἐπὶ τὰ τῇδε] The spurious Ig-  
natiuus forgets that he elsewhere  
(§ 15) supposes this letter to have  
been written after the saint has  
already reached the shores of Italy.  
Zahn suggests that perhaps this lan-

ἀνθρωπίνῃ· γαλακτοτροφία· ὄνομα πατρὸς οὐ σπείραντος·  
 φάτναι, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τόπον· οὐδεμία παρασκευὴ ἀνθρω-  
 πίνῃ· αὐξήσεως προκοπή· ἀνθρώπινα ῥήματα· πείνη, δίψη,  
 ὁδοιπορία, κόπος· θυσιῶν προσκομιδαί, ἐπειδὴ καὶ περιτομή·  
 βάπτισμα, φωνὴ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ βαπτιζομένῳ, ὅστις καὶ πόθεν· 5  
 μαρτυρία πνεύματος καὶ Θεοῦ ὑπεράνωθεν φωνή· Ἰωάννου  
 προφητεία σημαίνουσα πάθος διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἁμνοῦ προση-  
 γορίας· σημείων διαφόρων ἐνέργειαι· ἰάσεις ποικίλαι· ἐπι-  
 τίμησις δεσποτικὴ προστάττουσα θαλάττῃ καὶ ἀνέμοις·  
 πνεύματα πονηρὰ φυγαδεύόμενα· σεαυτὸν στρεβλούμενον 10  
 [καὶ] ἐκ τῆς τοῦ φαινομένου δυνάμεως αἰκιζόμενον, οὐκ  
 ἔχοντα ὃ τι ποιήσης.

IX. Ταῦθ' ὁρῶν ἱλιγγιάς· καὶ ὅτι παρθένος ἡ τεκοῦσα,  
 ἡγνόεις, ἀλλ' ἐξέπληττέν σε ἡ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὑμολογία, ἡ  
 τῶν μάγων προσκύνησις, ἡ τοῦ ἀστέρος ἐπιτολή. εἰς ἄγ- 15

2 φάτναι]  $g_1g_2sg_3$ ; φάτνη  $g_4$ . 3 πείνη]  $g_1$ ; πίνη  $g_3$ ; πείνα  $g_2sg_4s$ . δίψη]  
 $g_1g_2sg_3$ ; δίψα  $g_4s$ . 4 ὁδοιπορία, κόπος]  $g_1g_2sg_3l$ ; κόπος, ὁδοιπορία  $g_4$ ;  
*defatigatio in via* A (as if ὁδοιπορίας or -ία κόπος). ἐπειδὴ καὶ]  $g_1g_2sg_4$ ;  
 ἔπειτα καὶ  $g_3$ ; om. 1A. περιτομή]  $g_1g_2sg_3lA$ ; περιτομαί  $g_4$ . 6 Θεοῦ]  
 $g_2sg_4lA$ ; πατρὸς  $g_1g_3$ .

7 προφητεία] προφήτου  $g_1g_2sg_3g_4s$ . The edi-  
 tors read the passage μαρτυρία πνεύματος καὶ πατρὸς ὑπεράνωθεν. φωνὴ Ἰωάννου  
 προφήτου σημαίνουσα κ.τ.λ. I have restored προφητεία from 1A, and altered the  
 punctuation accordingly. In l it runs *testificatio spiritus et dei vox iohannis*  
*prophetia significans etc.* (where ὑπεράνωθεν is untranslated); in A *testificationem dei*  
*de hoc qui desuper erat, prophetiam iohannis agnum nominando etc.* (where ὑπερά-  
 νωθεν is translated as if it were ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄνωθεν). See the explanatory note.

9 θαλάττῃ]  $g_1g_2sg_3$ ; θαλάσση  $g_4$ . 10 σεαυτὸν] It would appear that some

guage may favour his conjecture (*I. v. A.* p. 141 sq.) that Acacius of Cæsarea was the author of these spurious epistles. It seems at first sight to betray a Palestinian authorship. On the other hand the language might perhaps be satisfied by a reference to Antioch the see of Ignatius.

3. αὐξήσεως προκοπή] A reference to Luke ii. 40 τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἡὔξανε, ii. 52 καὶ Ἰησοῦς προέκοπ-  
 τευ.

πείνη, δίψη] For the form πείνη

see Lobeck *Phryn.* 499, Steph. *Thes.* s.v. (ed. Hase et Dind.); for δίψη Æsch. *Choeph.* 743, where however editors emend in various ways.

5. φωνὴ Θεοῦ] This refers, I suppose, to the premonitory warning given to the Baptist, which is mentioned only in Joh. i. 33. The voice, which is mentioned by the other three Evangelists as following upon the descent of the Spirit, is intended in Θεοῦ ὑπεράνωθεν φωνὴ below.

17. πάθνη] A dialectic form of φάτνη, as κιθών and χιτών, κύθρα



νοϊαν σὺ παλινδρομεῖς διὰ τὰ εὐτελῆ· μικρὰ γάρ σοι δοκεῖ  
 σπάργανα, πάθνη, περιτομή, γαλακτοτροφία· ἀνάξιά σοι  
 ταῦτα κατὰ Θεοῦ κατεφαίνετο. πάλιν εἶδες ἄνθρωπον  
 τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἄγευστον μέιναντα τρο-  
 20 φῆς ἀνθρωπίνης, ἀγγέλους διακονοῦντας, οὓς καὶ ἔφριπτες,  
 ἰδὼν πρῶτον ὡς κοινὸν ἄνθρωπον βαπτιζόμενον, καὶ τὴν  
 αἰτίαν ἀγνοῶν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν νηστείαν πεινῶντι κατεθάρσεις  
 πάλιν, καὶ ἐπείραζες ὡς κοινὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀγνοῶν ὅστις  
 εἶη· ἔλεγες γάρ, εἰ γιὸς εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰπέ ἵνα οἱ λίθοι  
 25 οὔτοι ἄρτοι γένωνται· τὸ γὰρ εἰ γιὸς εἶ ἀγνοίας ἐστίν·  
 εἰ γὰρ ὄντως ἐγίνωσκες, ἠπίστω ὅτι δημιουργῶ καὶ τὸ μὴ  
 ὄν ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ ὄν μεταβαλεῖν ἐπ' ἴσης δυνατόν. καὶ  
 διὰ γαστρὸς πειράζεις τὸν τρέφοντα πάντας τοὺς τροφῆς  
 δεομένους, καὶ πειράζεις τὸν τῆς δόξης Κύριον, ἐπιλαθό-  
 30 μενος ἐκ κακονοίας ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ἄνθρω-  
 πος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος

word or words (e.g. εἶδες) had dropped out, since the accusative has no government : but, if so, the omission is prior to any existing authorities. 11 καὶ] g<sub>3</sub>[A];

om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

12 ποιήσης] ποιήσεις g<sub>3</sub>.

13 λιγγίᾱς] ἡ λιγγίᾱς g<sub>2</sub>.

17 πάθνη] πάθη g; *passiones* l. I have restored the reading πάθνη from A, which has *fraesepe*. For the form see below. 18 κατὰ] g (all the MSS). It is

untranslated in 1A, which have *indigna* (*non digna*) *deo*, but this is perhaps care-  
 lessness. κατεφαίνετο] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; καταφαίνεται g<sub>4</sub>; *videntur* l; *sunt* A.

εἶδες] ἴδες g<sub>2</sub>.

22 πεινῶντι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. Some editors read πεινῶντα, and so

g<sub>4</sub>s.

25 οὔτοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>A; om. g<sub>4</sub>; def. l.

ἀγνοίας] ἀγνοί (sic) g<sub>2</sub>.

26 ἠπίστω] ἐπίστω g<sub>2</sub>.

27 ὄν bis] ὦν g<sub>2</sub>.

μεταβαλεῖν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; μετα-

βάλλειν g<sub>3</sub>.

ἐπ' ἴσης] g<sub>4</sub>s; ἐφ' ἴσης g<sub>1</sub>; ἐφ' ἴσης g<sub>3</sub>; ἐφ' ἴσους g<sub>2</sub>.

28 πει-

ράξεις] πειράξης g<sub>2</sub>.

and χύτρα, πιθάκη and φιδάκη, ἐν-  
 τεῦθεν and ἐνεῦθεν, etc.; e.g. *Georhon*.  
 xv. 4. I τὰ στόμια τῶν παθνῶν: comp.  
 Moeris 212. 9 (ed. Bekker) φάτνη  
 Ἑλληνοί, πάθνη Ἑλλήνες. The com-  
 mon reading, πάθη, is out of place  
 here.

22. πεινῶντι] If any correction  
 were made, it should not be πεινῶντα,  
 which several editors (e.g. Ussher,  
 Dressel, and Zahn) adopt, but πει-  
 νῶντος (e.g. Diod. Sic. xv. 34, Strabo

xii. p. 573). The dative however is  
 amply justified by the analogous uses  
 of καταγελᾶν, κατατρέχειν, etc., with  
 this same case.

24. εἰ υἱὸς εἶ κ.τ.λ.] Quoted from  
 Matt. iv. 3. The subsequent quota-  
 tion also, οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ κ.τ.λ., is taken  
 from the same Gospel, Matt. iv. 4.  
 For the expression τὸν τῆς δόξης  
 Κύριον comp. I Cor. ii. 8; see also  
 above, § 5.



Θεοῦ. εἰ γὰρ ᾗδεις ὅτι υἱὸς Θεοῦ ᾗν, ἐγίνωσκες ὅτι ὁ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις καὶ ἰσαρίθμοις νυξὶν ἀνενδεές ποιήσας τὸ [φθαρτὸν] σῶμα καὶ εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἐδύνατο τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. διὰ τί οὖν πεινᾷ; ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἔλαβε σῶμα ὁμοιοπαθὲς ἀνθρώποις· διὰ μὲν τοῦ 5 πρώτου ἔδειξεν ὅτι Θεός, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου ὅτι καὶ ἄνθρωπος.

X. Σὺ οὖν, ὁ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς ὑψηλοτάτης δόξης ὡς ἀστραπή, τολμᾷς λέγειν τῷ Κυρίῳ· βάλε σεαυτὸν ἐντεῖθεν κάτω· ᾧ τὰ ὄντα λελόγισται ὡς μὴ ὄντα· καὶ εἰς κενοδοξίαν προκαλέσαι τὸν οὐκ ἐπιδεικτιῶντα; καὶ προσποιῇ τὴν γραφὴν ἀναγινώσκειν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἀγτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσί σε, τοῦ μὴ προσκόψαι πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σοῦ; καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσποιῇ ἀγνοεῖν, κλέπτων ἅ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν προπόλων 15

1 ᾗδεις] Anast. (see the lower note); ἐγίνωσκες g; *scires* l (having *cognoscere* for ἐγίνωσκες below). So also in A two different words are used, corresponding to *scio* and *cognosco* respectively. υἱὸς Θεοῦ] g; θεοῦ υἱὸς Anast. ᾗν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> Anast.; *erat* l; *est* A; εἰ g<sub>2</sub>.

2 ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις] g<sub>1</sub>; τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας Anast. [A]. ἰσαρίθμοις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; ἰσάριθμον g<sub>2</sub>; *quadraginta* l. The words καὶ ἰσαρίθμοις νυξὶν are wanting in A Anast.

3 φθαρτὸν] Anast.; *passibile* l; om. gA. τοῦτο] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>l; το (sic) g<sub>2</sub>; def. A.

4 οὖν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; οὐ g<sub>2</sub>; om. A; al. l. κατ' ἀλήθειαν] g; ἀληθῶς Anast.; dub. A; *vere* l. The reading κατ' ἀλήθειαν is necessary to explain the variation given in the next note.

5 ἔλαβε] g<sub>2</sub>; *sumpsit* A; ἀνέλαβε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> Anast.; *suscepit* l. As ἀνέλαβε is not a very suitable word, the *αν-* seems to be a repetition of the last syllable of ἀλήθειαν.

1. εἰ γὰρ ᾗδεις κ.τ.λ.] This passage, to the end of the chapter, is quoted by Anastasius (Mai *Vet. Script. Nov. Coll.* VII. I. p. 22; see Zahn p. 359). He cites it by inadvertence as ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Τάρσῳ.

8. ὡς ἀστραπή] From Luke x. 18.

9. βάλε σεαυτὸν] From Luke iv. 9; but the next quotation, τοῖς ἀγγέλοις κ.τ.λ., is nearer to Matt. iv. 6 than to Luke iv. 10 sq. The latter evangelist more nearly preserves the words of the LXX, Ps. xc (xci). 11, 12.

10. τὰ ὄντα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Rom. iv. 17, 1 Cor. i. 28.

11. ἐπιδεικτιῶντα] '*desirous of making a display*'; comp. e. g. Orig. c. *Cels.* iv. 6 καθάπερ οἱ νεόπλουτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδεικτιῶντες...οὐ γὰρ ἐπιδεικτιᾷ ὁ Θεός. Similarly φανητιῶν, *Mar. Ign.* 5.

15. κλέπτων] '*suppressing, concealing*'; for the next quotation, ἐπ' ἀσπίδα κ.τ.λ., follows immediately upon the previous one in Ps. xc (xci). 13.

20. οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κ.τ.λ.] *Deut.* vi.

προεφήτευσεν· ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσῃ, καὶ καταπατήσεις λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα.

XI. Εἰ τοίνυν σὺ πάτημα τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ Κυρίου, πῶς πειράζεις τὸν ἀπείραστον, ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ νομοθέτου  
 20 παρακελευομένου ὅτι οὐκ ἐκπείράσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου; ἀλλὰ καὶ τολμᾷς, ἐναγέστατε, τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔργα οἰκειοῦσθαι καὶ σοὶ παραδεδόσθαι λέγειν τὴν τούτων ἀρχήν· καὶ τὴν σὴν πτώσιν προτείνεις τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ διδόναι τὰ αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ ἐπαγγέλλῃ, ἐὰν πεσὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς προσκυνήσῃ σοι;  
 25 καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἔφριξας τοιαύτην φωνὴν κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότου προήκασθαι, ὃ πάντων πονηρῶν πνευμάτων πονηρότερον ἐκ κακονοίας πνεῦμα; διὰ γαστρὸς ἡττήθης καὶ διὰ κενοδοξίας ἡτιμάσθης· διὰ φιλοχρηματίας καὶ φιλαρχίας εἰς ἀσέβειαν ἐφέλκῃ. σὺ ὁ Βελίαρ, ὁ δράκων ὁ ἀποστάτης, ὁ σκο-  
 30 λιὸς ὁ φῖς, ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀποστάς, ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χωρισθείς, ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀλλοτριωθείς, ὁ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν

9 βάλε] βάλλε g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

10 ὄντα] *quae sunt* l; ἔνοντα g; A paraphrases the whole clause, *cui omne aliquid possibile est*. It seems necessary to read ὄντα for ἔνοντα.

11 προκαλέσαι] προκαλῆσαι g<sub>3</sub>; προκαλείσαι g; προκαλείσθαι g<sub>2</sub>; προσκαλῆ g<sub>4</sub>; *provocas* l; *vocas* A.

13 καὶ] g; *ut* lA.

14 προσ-

ποιῇ ἀγνοεῖν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἀγνοεῖν προσποιῇ g<sub>4</sub>.

15 αἰ] g<sub>3</sub>l; δ g<sub>4</sub>; *quae* or

*quod* A; οὐ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>.

προπόλων] *ministris* l; προπολλῶν g<sub>2</sub>; πρὸ πολλῶν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>;

πρὸ πολλοῦ g<sub>4</sub>; om. A.

16 καταπατήσεις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; καταπατήσης g<sub>2</sub>.

19 πειράζεις] πειράζης g<sub>2</sub>.

20 ὅτι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>; *quod* A.

22 λέ-

γειν] g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>[A].

24 προσκυνήσῃ] g<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s; προσκυνήσει g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

29 ἐφέλκῃ] ἐφέλκει g<sub>2</sub>; ἀφέλκῃ g<sub>3</sub>.

Βελίαρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>A; βελίας g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *incensor* l.

16, quoted Matt. iv. 7, Luke iv. 12.

23. τὴν σὴν πτώσιν κ.τ.λ.] ‘*enticest Him to fall like thyself*’; comp. Euseb. *Praef. Ev.* vii. 16 (p. 329) ὥδε πῶς τὴν πτώσιν αὐτοῦ...διηγούμενοι· πῶς ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ ἑωσφόρος κ.τ.λ. In the context Ps. xc. 13 is quoted, and there are several other coincidences with this passage of our Pseudo-Ignatius.

27. διὰ γαστρὸς] i.e. ‘by thy appeal to His appetites’; comp. § 9 πεινῶντι κατεθάρσεις. The other ex-

pressions, διὰ κενοδοξίας and διὰ φιλοχρηματίας κ.τ.λ., refer to the two remaining temptations.

29. ὁ δράκων ὁ ἀποστάτης] As *Ps-Philad.* 6. The expression is taken from Job xxvi. 13. The connexion which we find here, was the more readily suggested from the fact that the fathers commonly interpreted Βελίαρ by ἀποστάτης; see Ussher’s note.

ὁ σκολιὸς ὁ φῖς] An expression taken from Is. xxvii. 1.

ἀγγέλων ἐξωσθείς, ὁ τῶν νόμων τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑβριστής, ὁ τῶν νομίμων ἐχθρός, ὁ τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις ἐπαναστὰς καὶ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἀποστήσας καὶ αἰκίσας τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικήσαντάς σε, ὁ τῷ Ἀβελ ἐπαναστήσας τὸν ἀνθρωποκτόνον Κάϊν, ὁ τῷ Ἰώβ ἐπιστρατεύσας, λέγεις τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἐὰν πεσὼν 5 προσκυνήσῃς μοι; ὦ τῆς τόλμης, ὦ τῆς παραπληξίας· δοῦλος δραπέτης, δοῦλος μαστιγίας, ἀφηγιᾶς τοῦ καλοῦ δεσπότη; δεσπότη τηλικούτῳ, Θεῷ πάντων τῶν νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν, λέγεις, ἐὰν πεσὼν προσκυνήσῃς μοι;

XII. Ὁ δὲ Κύριος μακροθυμεῖ, καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν 10 ἀναιρεῖ τὸν ἀπὸ ἀγνοίας τοιαῦτα θρασυνόμενον, ἀλλὰ πρῶως ἀποκρίνεται, ὕπαγε Σατανᾶ. οὐκ εἶπεν, ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου· οὐ γὰρ ὑποστρέψαι οἷός τε· ἀλλ' ὕπαγε Σατανᾶ, ἐν οἷς ἐπελέξω, ὕπαγε ἐν οἷς ἡρεθίσθης ἐκ κακονοίας· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὅστις εἰμὶ γινώσκω, καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος ἀπέσταλμαι, καὶ ὄν 15 προσκυνεῖν ἐπίσταμαι. Κύριον γάρ, φησὶν, τὸν Θεόν σοῦ

1 ἀγγέλων]  $g_1 g_2 g_3 l A$ ; ἀποστόλων  $g_4$ . 2 πρωτοπλάστοις]  $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$ ; πρωτοπλάστοις  $g_2$ .

3 ἀποστήσας καὶ αἰκίσας] ἠκέσας  $g_1 g_2$ ; ἡ ἀπατήσαι (sic)  $g_3$ ; κινήσας  $g_4$ ; *avertisti* l. The rendering of the sentence in A is *fecisti eam* (i. e. *primam creaturam*) *praecepti-violatorem et cruciasti eos qui tibi nihil peccaverunt*. From this version, with the fragmentary help of the other authorities, I have attempted to restore the original text. Zahn had seen that *αἰκίσας* must form part of it. The omission of *ἀποστήσας* may be explained by the proximity of *ἐπαναστήσας*.

οὐδὲν]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; μηδὲν  $g_4$ .

4 σε]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3 [l] [A]$ ; om.  $g_4$ .

7 ἀφηγιᾶς]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3$ ; ἀφηγιᾶσας  $g_4$ ; *descivit* [A]; al. l. 8 τῶν]  $g_1 g_3$ ; om.  $g_2 g_4$ .

9 αἰσθητῶν] ἐσθητῶν  $g_2$ . 10 μακροθυμεῖ] μακροθυμῇ  $g_2$ . εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; *in praesenti* (εἰς τὸ παρόν) l; om.  $g_4$ ; def. A. Perhaps we should read *εἰς τὸ παρόν*.

11 ἀπὸ]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3$ ; ὑπὸ  $g_4$ . 13 τε]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3$ ; om.  $g_4$ . 14 ἡρεθίσθης]  $g_1 g_3$ ; ἡρεθίσθης  $g_2$ ; ἡρέσθης  $g_4$ ; *dilexisti* A; *tibi elegisti* l. The two versions seem to

9. ἐὰν πεσὼν κ.τ.λ.] Matt. iv. 9. It is somewhat different in Luke iv. 8.

12. ὕπαγε Σατανᾶ] Matt. iv. 10. In Luke iv. 10 it is an interpolation. The following quotation ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου is from Matt. xvi. 23. The idea of the passage is borrowed from Origen *in Matth. Tom. xii* (III. p. 540 Delarue), πρὸς μὲν τὸν Πέτρον εἶπεν Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου Σατανᾶ, πρὸς

δὲ τὸν διάβολον... Ὑπαγε Σατανᾶ, χωρὶς τῆς ὀπίσω μου προσθήκης, quoted by Zahn.

16. Κύριον κ.τ.λ.] Deut. vi. 13, as quoted in Matt. iv. 10.

21. ἐγὼ...ζῶ κ.τ.λ.] From John vi. 57.

23. οὐκ ὦν τι] Comp. *Tars.* 9. See the note on Ign. *Ephes.* 3.

24. ὡς ἴδια μέλη] *Apost. Const.* vi. 29 οἱ ἄνδρες, στέργετε τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυ-



προσκυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις. οἶδα τὸν ἕνα,  
ἐπίσταμαι τὸν μόνον, οὗ σὺ ἀποστάτης γέγονας. οὐκ εἰμι  
ἀντίθεος, ὁμολογῶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν· καὶ οὐ παραιτοῦμαι προσ-  
20 κυνεῖν ἐκείνῳ ὃν ἐπίσταμαι, τὸν τῆς ἐμῆς γεννήσεως αἰτι-  
ον...ἐγὼ γὰρ ζῶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα.

XIII. Ταῦτα, ἀδελφοί, ἀπὸ διαθέσεως τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
ἠναγκάσθην ἐπιστεῖλαι, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ παραινῶν, οὐκ ὦν  
τι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδελφός. ὑποτάσσεσθε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, τοῖς  
25 πρεσβυτέροις, τοῖς διακόνοις. ἀγαπάτε ἀλλήλους ἐν Κυρίῳ,  
ὡς Θεοῦ ἀγάλματα. ὁράτε, οἱ ἄνδρες, ὡς ἴδια μέλη τὰς  
γαμετὰς στέργετε· αἱ γυναῖκες, ὡς ἐν οὔσαι τῇ συναφείᾳ,  
στέργετε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας. εἴ τις ἀγνεύει ἢ ἐγκρατεύ-  
εται, μὴ ἐπαιρέσθω, ἵνα μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθόν. τὰς ἐορτὰς  
30 μὴ ἀτιμάζετε· τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν μὴ ἐξουθενεῖτε· μίμησιν  
γὰρ περιέχει τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου πολιτείας· καὶ τὴν τοῦ πά-

point to a reading ἡρέτισας.

16 φησίν] 1A; om. g.

19 καὶ οὐ...ὄν]

Zahn with 1A; om. g.

20 αἴτιον...ἐγὼ γὰρ ζῶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα] αἴτιον τὸν

πατέρα (alone, omitting all the other words) g; *auctorem et dominum atque [meae] perseverantiae custodem: ego enim [inquit] vivo propter patrem* l; *causam, hunc eundem ipsum scio dominum naturarum, et ego vivus sum propter patrem* A. It is clear from the comparison of these two translations, that several words have dropped out from the Greek, and that the quotation from Joh. vi. 57 formed part of these. The divergence being so great between the two, it is impossible to attempt to restore the first part; Zahn supplies καὶ κύριον καὶ ὑποστάσεως φύλακα.

23 οὐκ ὦν τι] g (all the four MSS); *non quod sim aliquid* A; *non quasi extraneus* l. The editors read οὐχ ὡς ὦν τι, quite unnecessarily.

τῆς συναφείας g<sub>2</sub>.

29 ἀπολέσῃ] ἀπολέσει g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>;

τὸν μισθόν] g; add.

αὐτοῦ Nikon (see the lower note); add *suam* [l][A].

31 καὶ] g<sub>3</sub>; *etiam*

l; μετὰ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. A has nothing corresponding to either word.

ναῖκας ὡς ἴδια μέλη; comp. Ephes. v. 28.

28. εἴ τις ἀγνεύει κ.τ.λ.] Suggested by Ign. *Polyc.* 5. Nikon *Serm.* 57 (see Cotelier here) quotes from this point onward to the end of the chapter.

29. τὰς ἐορτὰς κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* v. 13 τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἐορτῶν φυλάσσετε...φυλακτέα ἢ νηστεία τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, μνήμην περιέχουσα τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου πολιτείας τε καὶ νομοθεσίας; comp. *Apost.*

*Can.* 69 εἴ τις...τὴν ἀγίαν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἢ τετράδα ἢ παρασκευὴν οὐ νηστεύει κ.τ.λ.

31. τὴν τοῦ πάθους κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* v. 15 παρήγγειλεν οὖν ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν τὰς ἐξ ἡμέρας ταύτας [τῆς ἐβδομάδος τοῦ πάσχα]...τετράδα δὲ καὶ παρασκευὴν προσέταξεν ἡμῖν νηστεύειν κ.τ.λ., v. 20 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐβδόμαδα τῆς νηστείας πᾶσαν τετράδα καὶ πᾶσαν παρασκευὴν προστάσσομεν ὑμῖν νηστεύειν καὶ τὴν περισσεῖαν ὑμῶν τῆς

θους ἐβδομάδα μὴ παροράτε, τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν νηστεύοντες, πένησιν ἐπιχορηγοῦντες τὴν περισσεΐαν. εἴ τις κυριακὴν ἢ σάββατον νηστεύει, πλὴν ἐνὸς σαββάτου [τοῦ πάσχα], οὗτος χριστοκτόνος ἐστίν.

XIV. Αἱ προσευχαὶ ὑμῶν ἐκταθείησαν εἰς τὴν Ἀντι- 5  
οχείας ἐκκλησίαν, ὅθεν καὶ δέσμιος ἀπάγομαι εἰς Ῥώμην.  
ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἅγιον ἐπίσκοπον Πολύκαρπον· ἀσπάζομαι  
τὸν ἅγιον ἐπίσκοπον Βιτάλιον καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πρεσβυτέριον  
καὶ τοὺς συνδούλους μου τοὺς διακόνους· ὦν ἐγὼ ἀντίψυ-  
χον γενοίμην, ὅτι ὑποτάσσονται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς 10  
πρεσβυτέροις ἐν Κυρίῳ. εἴ τις μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐπιτελεῖ τὸ  
πάσχα ἢ τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἑορτῆς αὐτῶν δέχεται, κοινωνός  
ἐστι τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων τὸν Κύριον καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους  
αὐτοῦ.

XV. Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Φίλων καὶ Ἀγαθόπους οἱ διά- 15  
κονοι. ἀσπάζομαι τὸ σύστημα τῶν παρθένων, τὸ τάγμα

2 νηστεύοντες] g Nicon; νηστεύετε [I][A]. ἐπιχορηγοῦντες] g[I]; ἐπιχορη-  
γεῖτε Nicon (see Cotelier) [A]. 3 ἐνὸς σαββάτου τοῦ πάσχα] g<sub>3</sub>l; ἐνὸς σαββάτου  
(om. τοῦ πάσχα) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub> Nicon; ἐνὸς μόνου (om. σαββάτου τοῦ πάσχα) g<sub>2</sub>; def. A.  
Probably τοῦ πάσχα is a gloss. The reading of g<sub>2</sub> is probably taken from *Apost.*  
*Can.* 56. See the lower note. 4 χριστοκτόνος] χρηστοκτῆνος g<sub>2</sub>. 7 ἀσπά-  
ζομαι...Πολύκαρπον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l (comp. A); om. g<sub>3</sub>. 8 Βιτάλιον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s;  
βητάλιον g<sub>2</sub>; vitalem l; bitum A. 9 ἀντίψυχον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἀντίψυχος g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s.  
10 ὅτι ὑποτάσσονται]. quoniam obediunt A; ἔτι συντάσσομαι g; adhuc dico l.  
19 διὰ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; δι' g<sub>2</sub>. 20 Ῥήγιον] ῤήγιονα g<sub>2</sub>; ῤηγέονα g<sub>1</sub>; regionem l.  
For συντυχῶν περὶ ῤήγιον g<sub>4</sub> has ἐντυχῶν ἐν ῤήγιῳ, and g<sub>3</sub> συντυχῶν περιρηγείς (sic)

νηστείας πένησιν ἐπιχορηγεῖν, vii. 23  
ὑμεῖς δὲ... νηστεύσατε... τετράδα καὶ  
παρασκευὴν.

2. εἴ τις κυριακὴν κ.τ.λ.] *Apost.*  
*Const.* vii. 23 τὸ σάββατον μέντοι καὶ  
τὴν κυριακὴν ἑορτάζετε...ἐν δὲ μόνον  
σάββατον ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, τὸ τῆς τοῦ  
Κυρίου ταφῆς, ὅπερ νηστεύειν προσήκεν:  
comp. v. 15, 18, 20; *Apost. Can.* 66  
εἴ τις...κληρικὸς εὐρεθῇ τὴν κυριακὴν  
ἡμέραν νηστεύων ἢ τὸ σάββατον, πλὴν  
τοῦ ἐνὸς μόνου, καθαιρεῖσθω κ.τ.λ.

5. ἐκταθείησαν] See the note on  
Ign. *Magn.* 14.

8. Βιτάλιον] 'Vitalis' (comp.

Liban. *Eph.* 60), a very common  
Latin name. The termination fol-  
lows the ordinary rule where Latin  
names are transferred into Greek,  
e.g. Apollinaris, Ἀπολλινάριος. Pape  
is disposed to make it equivalent  
to Vitellius, but this seems to be  
wrong. Βιτάλιος here is obviously  
intended for the bishop of Philippi,  
and should probably be identified  
with the Bitos of *Hero* 8. The Ar-  
menian has 'Bitus' here also.

9. τοὺς συνδούλους] See the note  
on Ign. *Ephes.* 2.

10. ὅτι ὑποτάσσονται] The Arme-

τῶν χηρῶν ὧν καὶ ὀναίμην. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν λαὸν Κυρίου ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου. ἀπέστειλα ὑμῖν ταῦτά μου τὰ γράμματα διὰ Εὐφανίου τοῦ ἀναγνώστου, ἀνδρὸς θεοτιμῆ-  
 20 του καὶ πιστοτάτου, συντυχῶν περὶ Ῥήγιον, ἀναγομένου ἐν πλοίῳ. μέμνησθέ μου τῶν δεσμῶν, ἵνα τελειωθῶ ἐν Χριστῷ. ἔρρωσθε σαρκί, ψυχῇ, πνεύματι, τέλεια φρονούντες, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τοὺς ἐργάτας τῆς ἀνομίας, καὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἀληθείας φθορεῖς, ἐνδυναμούμενοι ἐν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ  
 25 Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

## 7.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΣ.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ, ἐν

τῶν δεσμῶν, omitting the intervening words ἀναγομένου ἐν πλοίῳ. μέμνησθέ μου, while A renders *cum quo locutus sum in tempore*. ἀναγομένου] g. The sense given by lA would require ἀναγόμενος, but this may be due to the looseness of the rendering. 21 τελειωθῶ] τελειωθῇ g<sub>2</sub>.

Subscr. ε. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς φιλιππησίους περὶ βαπτίσματος g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>. Nothing in g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

πρὸς φιλαδελφεῖς] g<sub>4</sub> (with 5 in the marg.); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς φιλαδελφεῖς g<sub>1</sub> (with 5 in the marg.) g<sub>2</sub>s; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς φιλαδελφίους 5 g<sub>3</sub>; *ad philadelphenses* [ex troia] l (with vv. ll.).

nian has preserved the right reading: comp. Ign. *Polyc.* 6 ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις, *Magn.* 2 τοῦ διακόνου Ζωτίωνος, οὗ ἐγὼ ὀναίμην ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ... καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ (comp. *Trall.* 13), from which passages the Pseudo-Ignatius has obviously borrowed. The common reading ἔτι συντάσσομαι makes no good sense.

II. εἴ τις μετὰ Ἰουδαίων κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Can.* 70 εἴ τις...νηστεύει μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ἢ ἐορτάζει μετ' αὐτῶν ἢ δέχεται αὐτῶν τὰ τῆς ἐορτῆς ξένια, οἶον

ἄζυμα ἢ τι τοιοῦτον, καθαιρείσθω. For decrees of councils, etc., on these points see Cotelier's note here, and Ussher's *Proleg.* c. 14.

12. τὰ σύμβολα] The unleavened bread, etc., which are so called by analogy, just as the eucharistic elements are the σύμβολα, 'the outward tokens,' of the Christian feast; see Suicer's *Thes.* s. v.

15. Φίλων κ.τ.λ.] See the note on Ign. *Philad.* II.

19. τοῦ ἀναγνώστου] See the note on *Antioch.* 12.

20. Ῥήγιον] See above p. 379.



ἀγάπη ἡλεημένη καὶ ἡδρασμένη ἐν ὁμοιοῖα Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγαλλομένη ἐν τῷ πάθει τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀδιακρίτως καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει αὐτοῦ, πεπληροφορημένη ἐν παντὶ ἐλέει· ἣν ἀσπάζομαι ἐν αἵματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἥτις ἐστὶν χαρὰ αἰώνιος καὶ παράμονος· μάλιστα ἐὰν ἐν ἐνὶ ὧσιν σὺν τῷ 5 ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις, ἀποδεδειγμένοις ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον βούλημα ἐστήριξεν αὐτοῦ βεβαίως τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομῇ πνευματικῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ· ἥ συγκλύσαντες οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ οὐκ 10 ἴσχυσαν αὐτὴν ἀνατρέψαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἰσχύσειάν ποτε τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐξασθενήσειαν δυνάμει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.

I. Θεασάμενος ὑμῶν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἔγνων ὅτι οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων ἡξιώθη τὴν διακονίαν τὴν εἰς τὸ 15 κοινὸν ἀνήκουσαν ἐγχειρισθῆναι, οὐδὲ κατὰ κενοδοξίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγάπῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν· οὗ καταπέπληγμαι τὴν ἐπιείκειαν, ὃς σιγῶν

2 τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν] II; add. ἰησοῦ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; add. ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 5 ἐὰν ἐν ἐνὶ ὧσιν] I; ἐν ἐνὶ ὧσιν (om. ἐὰν) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἐν ἐνὶ ὧσι g<sub>4</sub>; ἐν ἐνὶ οὔσι g<sub>3</sub>; *iis qui sunt in unum* (but *iis* is wanting in some important MSS) I. The editors, following Morel, have adopted ἐν ἐνὶ οὔσι (which is also the reading of g<sub>3</sub>), and Dressel has inserted an article τοῖς ἐν ἐνὶ οὔσι. But there can be no doubt, I think, that the correct emendation is to supply ἐὰν, as in the original Ignatius. The omission would be easy in such a combination of similar letters as ΔΕΑΝΕΝΕΝ.

6 τοῖς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 8 βούλημα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. Cureton reads θέλημα which stands in the genuine Ignatius. But since there is no authority for θέλημα here, it seems more probable that βούλημα was an arbitrary alteration of the interpolator, perhaps to get rid of the awkward repetition after θελήματι just before. ἐστήριξεν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἐστήρισεν g<sub>2</sub>. 9 οἰκοδομῇ πνευματικῇ] g<sub>3</sub>; οἰκοδομῇ πνεύματι g<sub>1</sub>; οἰκοδο πνι (with μῇ in the marg.) g<sub>2</sub>. Bryennios has omitted to record the variation of g<sub>4</sub> from inadvertence. 10 συγκλύσαντες] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; συγκλήσαντες g<sub>2</sub>s. In I it is *quam flumina inundantia et*

10. οἱ ἄνεμοι κ.τ.λ.] A reference to Matt. vii. 25.

11. τὰ πνευματικὰ κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. vi. 12.

21. ἄμεμπτος κ.τ.λ.] Luke i. 5 ἱερεὺς τις ὀνόματι Ζαχαρίας... καὶ ἡ γυνὴ.....'Ελισάβετ' ἦσαν δὲ δίκαιοι

ἀμφότεροι.....ἄμεμπτοι: comp. *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* 3 (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1) συνεξισοῦσθαι τῇ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ζαχαρίου μαρτυρίᾳ· πεπόρευτο γοῦν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιομασί τοῦ Κυρίου ἄμεμπτος.

27. μολυσμὸς κ.τ.λ.] Quoted from

πλέον δύναται τῶν λαλούντων· συνήρροσται γὰρ ταῖς ἐντο-  
 20 λαῖς Κυρίου καὶ τοῖς δικαιώμασιν, ὡς χορδαὶ τῇ κιθάρα, καὶ  
 ἔστιν ἄμεμπτος οὐχ ἦττον Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἱερέως. διὸ μακα-  
 ρίζει μου ἢ ψυχὴν τὴν εἰς Θεὸν αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ἐπιγνοὺς  
 ἐνάρετον καὶ τελείαν οὖσαν, τὸ ἀκίνητον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀόρ-  
 γητον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιεικείᾳ Θεοῦ ζῶντος.

25 II. Ὡς τέκνα οὖν φωτὸς ἀληθείας, φεύγετε τὸν μερισμὸν  
 τῆς ἐνότητος καὶ τὰς κακοδιδασκαλίας τῶν αἵρεσιωτῶν, ἐξ  
 ὧν μολγσμός ἐξηλθεν εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. ὅπου δὲ ὁ ποι-  
 μὴν ἔστιν, ἐκεῖ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε· πολλοὶ γὰρ λύκοι  
 κωδίοις ἡμφιεσμένοι ἡδονῇ κακῇ αἰχμαλωτίζουν τοὺς θεο-  
 30 δρόμους· ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐνότητι ὑμῶν οὐχ ἔξουσιν τόπον.

III. Ἀπέχεσθε οὖν τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν, ἄστινας Ἰησοῦς  
 Χριστὸς οὐ γεωργεῖ, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀνθρωποκτόνος θῆρ, διὰ τὸ μὴ  
 εἶναι αὐτοὺς φυτεῖαν πατρὸς ἀλλὰ σπέρμα τοῦ πονηροῦ.  
 οὐχ ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν μερισμὸν εὐρῶν ταῦτα γράφω, ἀλλὰ προασ-  
 35 φαλίζομαι ὑμᾶς ὡς τέκνα Θεοῦ· ὅσοι γὰρ Χριστοῦ εἰσιν,  
 οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσὶν· ὅσοι δ' ἂν ἐκκλίνωσιν αὐτοῦ,

*flantes venti non valuerunt subvertere.* The ed. princ. printed the word *συγκλήσαν-  
 tes*, and it has been followed apparently by all editors before Zahn, though Ussher  
 in his notes pronounces *συγκλῦσαντες* more correct. There is no meaning in *συγ-  
 κλήσαντες*.

18 *καταπέπληγμα*] *καταπέπλειγμα* g<sub>2</sub>. *ἐπιείκειαν*] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>;  
*ἐπιείκιαν* g<sub>2</sub>. 19 *πλέον*] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>3</sub>; *πλείον* g<sub>4</sub>. *τῶν λαλούντων*]  
 with I\*; *a loquente* l; *τῶν πλέον λαλούντων* g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>3</sub>; *τῶν πλείω λαλούντων* g<sub>4</sub>.  
 22 *εἰς*] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>3</sub> with I; *πρὸς* g<sub>4</sub>. 26 *ἐνότητος*] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>; *unitatis* l; *ἐνότητος*  
 g<sub>3</sub>; *νεότητος* g<sub>4</sub>. *τὰς κακοδιδασκαλίας*] with I; *τῆς κακοδιδασκαλίας* g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;  
*τὴν κακοδιδασκαλίαν* g<sub>3</sub>; *malam doctrinam* l (but some MSS *malae doctrinae*, which  
 is doubtless the prior reading).

28 *πρόβατα*] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>l with I; *πρόβατον* g<sub>2</sub>.  
 33 *αὐτοὺς*] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; dub. l. Morel tacitly printed *αὐτὰς*, and he has  
 been followed apparently by all subsequent editors before Zahn. There is no  
 authority for this reading.

34 *εὐρῶν*] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *εῦρων* (so Dressel) g<sub>2</sub>; *inuie-  
 niens* l; *εῦρον* g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>. The editors read *εῦρον* after Morel. It is true that *εῦρον*  
 stands in I, but there is no *ταῦτα γράφω* in his text, and the structure of the  
 sentence is thus different.

Jer. xxiii. 15; comp. *Apost. Const.*  
 vi. 5 *ἐκ γὰρ τῆς κακίας τῶν αἵρεσιωτῶν  
 ἐξῆλθε μόλυσμα ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν,  
 ὡς φησιν Ἱερემίας ὁ προφήτης.*

28. *λύκοι κωδίοις κ.τ.λ.*] *Matt. vii.*  
 15; comp. *Apost. Const.* vi. 13.

33. *φυτεῖαν κ.τ.λ.*] For *φυτεῖαν*  
*πατρὸς* see the note on p. 256; for  
*σπέρμα τοῦ πονηροῦ* comp. *Matt. xiii.*  
 39 ὁ δὲ ἐχθρὸς ὁ σπείρας αὐτὰ ἔστιν ὁ  
 διάβολος.

καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἀσπάσωνται μετὰ τῶν κατηραμένων, οὗτοι  
 σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκκοπήσονται· οὐ γάρ εἰσιν γεώργιον Χριστοῦ  
 ἀλλ' ἐχθροῦ σπορά· οὐ ῥυσθείητε πάντοτε εὐχαῖς τοῦ προ-  
 καθεζομένου ὑμῶν ποιμένος, τοῦ πιστοτάτου καὶ πραοτάτου.  
 παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὅσοι ἂν μετανοήσαντες ἔλθω- 5  
 σιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, προσδέχεσθε αὐτοὺς μετὰ  
 πάσης πραότητος, ἵνα διὰ τῆς χρηστότητος καὶ τῆς ἀνεξικα-  
 κίας ἀνανήψαντες ἐκ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου παγίδος, ἄξιοι Ἰησοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ γενόμενοι, σωτηρίας αἰωνίου τύχωσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ  
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ἀδελφοί, μὴ πλανᾶσθε· εἴ τις σχίζοντι ἀπὸ τῆς 10  
 ἀληθείας ἀκολουθεῖ, βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσει· καὶ  
 εἴ τις οὐκ ἀφίσταται τοῦ ψευδολόγου κήρυκος, εἰς γέενναν  
 κατακριθήσεται· οὔτε γὰρ εὐσεβῶν ἀφίστασθαι χρή, οὔτε δὲ  
 δυσσεβέσιν συγκεῖσθαι δεῖ· εἴ τις ἐν ἀλλοτρία γνώμῃ περι-  
 πατεῖ, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν Χριστοῦ, οὔτε τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ κοι- 15  
 νωνός· ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀλώπηξ, φθορεὺς ἀμπελῶνος Χριστοῦ· τῷ  
 τοιούτῳ μὴ συναναμίγνυσθε, ἵνα μὴ συναπόλησθε αὐτῷ, καὶ  
 πατήρ ἡ, καὶ υἱός, καὶ ἀδελφός, καὶ οἰκεῖος· οὐ φείσεται  
 γάρ σου, φησὶν, ὁ ὀφθαλμός ἐπ' αὐτῷ. τοὺς μισοῦντας οὖν  
 τὸν Θεὸν μισεῖν χρή καὶ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτοῦ 20  
 ἐκτετηκέναι· οὐ μὴν καὶ τύπτειν αὐτοὺς ἢ διώκειν, καθὼς τὰ

1 ἀσπάσωνται]  $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$ ; ἀσπάζωνται  $g_2 s$ . The reading ἀσπάζωνται appears in  
 Cureton and Dressel; whether earlier, I do not know. 4 πραοτάτου] πρα-  
 τάτου  $g_1$ . 6 προσδέχεσθε]  $g_1 g_4 s$ ; *suscipite* 1; προσδέξεσθε  $g_3$ ; προσδέχεσθαι  
 $g_2$ . 10 τοῦ Χριστοῦ]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ !; ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ  $g_4$ . 12 γέενναν] γέεναν  $g_4$ .  
 13 δέ]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; om.  $g_4$  [1]. 14 συγκεῖσθαι δεῖ]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; *appropinquare oportet* 1;  
 ἀκολουθεῖν (om. δεῖ)  $g_4$ . 16 ἀλώπηξ] ἀλώπιξ  $g_2$ . 19 ἐπ']  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ !; ἐν  $g_4$ .  
 20 καὶ ὑμᾶς]  $g_1$ ; om. Theod-Stud. 21 ἐκτετηκέναι] Theod-Stud.; ἐκτετήκεσθαι  
 $g_1 g_3$ ; ἐκτετίκεσθαι  $g_2$ ; ἐκτήκεσθαι  $g_4 s$ . τύπτειν αὐτοὺς ἢ διώκειν]  $g$ ; *persequi*  
*eos aut percutere* 1; δὲ διώκειν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἢ τύπτειν Theod-Stud. καθὼς]  $g$ ;  
 καθάπερ Theod-Stud. 22 τὸν Κύριον καὶ Θεόν]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; κύριον τὸν θεόν  $g_4$ ; *deum*

2. γεώργιον Χριστοῦ] Comp. 1 Cor. iii. 9.

8. ἀνανήψαντες ἐκ τῆς κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Tim. ii. 26; comp. 1 Tim. iii. 7, [vi. 9].

16. ἀλώπηξ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* v. 13 φθορεῖς ἀλωπέκων μερίδες καὶ

χαμαιζήλων ἀμπέλων ἀφανισταί, vi. 1 οἱ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ διαφθείροντες ὡς ἀλώπεκες πικροὶ ἀμπελῶνας. The idea is derived from Cant. ii. 15.

18. οὐ φείσεται κ.τ.λ.] Deut. xiii.

8. The context of this passage (ver. 6) has suggested the preceding words



ἔθνη τὰ μὴ εἰδότα τὸν Κύριον καὶ Θεόν· ἀλλ' ἐχθροὺς μὲν  
 ἡγείσθαι καὶ χωρίζεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, νουθετεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 ἐπὶ μετάνοιαν παρακαλεῖν, ἐὰν ἄρα ἀκούσωσιν, ἐὰν ἄρα  
 25 ἐνδῶσιν. φιλάνθρωπος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ πάντας  
 ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας  
 ἔλθεῖν· διὸ τὸν ἥλιον ἀγτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ  
 ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ βρέχει [τὸν ὑετὸν] ἐπὶ δίκαιοις καὶ ἀδίκοις·  
 οὗ τῆς χρηστότητος θέλων καὶ ἡμᾶς εἶναι μιμητὰς ὁ Κύριος  
 30 λέγει, γίνεσθε τέλειοι, καθὼς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος  
 τέλειός ἐστιν.

IV. Ἐγὼ πέποιθα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο  
 φρονήσετε· διὸ καὶ θαρρῶν γράφω τῇ ἀξιοθέῳ ἀγάπῃ ὑμῶν,  
 παρακαλῶν ὑμᾶς μιᾷ πίστει καὶ ἐνὶ κηρύγματι καὶ μιᾷ εὐχα-  
 35 ριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι· μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ  
 καὶ ἐν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκχυθέν· εἰς γὰρ ἄρτος  
 τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐθρύφθη; καὶ ἐν ποτήριον τοῖς ὅλοις διενεμήθη·  
 ἐν θυσιαστήριον πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ εἰς ἐπίσκοπος ἅμα  
 τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις τοῖς συνδούλοις μου·  
 40 ἐπεὶ περ καὶ εἰς ἀγέννητος, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ· καὶ εἰς μονο-  
 γενὴς υἱός, Θεὸς λόγος· καὶ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ εἰς ὁ παράκλητος,  
 τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας· ἐν δὲ καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα, καὶ ἡ

1; τὸν θεὸν Theod-Stud. 23 δὲ]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3$ ;  $te g_4$ ; *et l.* 28 τὸν ὑετὸν]  $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$ ;  
 om.  $g_2$  (with Matt. v. 45). 1 has simply *pluit*. 29 ἡμᾶς]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; *nos l*;  
 ἡμῶν  $g_4$ . Ussher wrote ὑμᾶς by an error (which he corrects in his *Emendata*) and  
 was followed by Voss and later editors before Dressel, who restored ἡμᾶς, without  
 however tracing the error to its source. 35 χρῆσθαι]  $g_1 g_2 s g_4 s$ ; *χρησθε g\_3*; *ut*  
*instetis utentes l.* 36 ἐκχυθέν· εἰς] These words are displaced in  $g_3$  and stand  
 after ἡ σὰρξ just above. γάρ]  $g_1 g_2 g_3 g_4$ ; *etiam l.* Morel silently substituted  
 καὶ for γάρ and was followed apparently by all subsequent editors before Zahn.  
 38 ἅμα]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; *simul cum l*; *σὺν g\_4*.

of our Pseudo-Ignatius, καὶ πατὴρ ἡ  
 κ.τ.λ.

19. τοὺς μισοῦντας οὖν κ.τ.λ.] A-  
 dapted from Ps. cxxxviii (cxxxix).  
 21; comp. *Apost. Const.* vi. 18.

21. καθὼς κ.τ.λ.] 1 Thess. iv. 5.

22. ἐχθροὺς κ.τ.λ.] Modified from

2 Thess. iii. 15.

25. πάντας κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. ii. 4.

27. τὸν ἥλιον κ.τ.λ.] Matt. v. 45;  
 comp. *Apost. Const.* i. 2, ii. 14.

30. γίνεσθε κ.τ.λ.] Matt. v. 48.

41. ὁ παράκλητος, τὸ πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.]  
 John xv. 26; comp. xiv. 17, xvi. 13.

πίστις μία, καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ἓν, καὶ μία ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἣν ιδρύσαντο οἱ ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἰκείοις ἰδρῶσι καὶ πόνοις. καὶ ὑμᾶς οὖν χρή, ὡς λαὸν περιούσιον καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον, ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ πάντα ἐν Χριστῷ ἐπιτελεῖν. αἱ γυναῖκες, τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὑποτάγητε ἐν φόβῳ Θεοῦ· αἱ παρθένοι, τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ, οὐ βδελυσσόμεναι γάμον ἀλλὰ τοῦ κρείσσονος ἐφίεμεναι, οὐκ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ συναφείας ἀλλ' ἕνεκα τῆς τῶν νόμων μελέτης. τὰ τέκνα, πειθαρχεῖτε τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑμῶν, καὶ στέργετε αὐτοὺς ὡς συνεργοὺς Θεοῦ εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν γέννησιν. οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑποτάγητε τοῖς κυρίοις ἐν Θεῷ, ἵνα Χριστοῦ ἀπελεύθεροι γένησθε. οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπάτε τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν, ὡς ὁμοδόλους Θεῷ, ὡς οἰκεῖον σῶμα, ὡς κοινωνοὺς βίου καὶ συνεργοὺς τεκνογονίας. αἱ παρθένοι, μόνον τὸν Χριστὸν πρὸ ὀφθαλ-

1 ἡ ἐκκλησία] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἐκκλησία (om. ἡ) g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 2 ἅγιοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>4</sub>.  
 3 τοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 4 χρή] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἐχρή g<sub>3</sub>; oportet l. 8 διαβολῇ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; διαβολῆς g<sub>2</sub>. τῶν νόμων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; legis l. The ed. princ. printed τῶν νόμον, which Morel altered silently into τοῦ νόμου. This last has been read by all subsequent editors. The text has been similarly tampered with in *Ps-Magn.* 9 μελέτη νόμων. 10 Θεοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 13 καὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; ὡς g<sub>4</sub>. 15 ψυχᾶς] Zahn; animabus l; εὐχαῖς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; εὐχαῖς ἀγιοσύνης g<sub>4</sub>. 16 ἀγιοσύνης] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἀγιοσύνης g<sub>3</sub>; sanctitatis l; ἀγάπης g<sub>4</sub>. 19 Εὐδοίου] Εὐωδίου g<sub>2</sub>. 20 οὐ ψέγων...τούτων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; οὐ ψέγω δέ.....ῶν g<sub>3</sub>; non detraho

4. λαὸν περιούσιον] From Tit. ii. 14; see *Fresh Revision of the New Testament* p. 236 sq. The other expression ἔθνος ἅγιον is from a parallel passage, 1 Pet. ii. 9.

8. ἕνεκα τῆς κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'that they may have time for the study of God's laws'; comp. *Magn.* 9 μελέτη νόμων χαίρων. It will appear from the passages there quoted (*Apost. Const.* ii. 36, vi. 23, vii. 23, 36), in the note on *σαββατιζέτω κ.τ.λ.*, that the term is not confined to the moral and ceremonial precepts of 'the law' properly so called, but refers chiefly to God's laws as manifested in creation and providence.

11. Χριστοῦ ἀπελεύθεροι] Comp.

1 Cor. vii. 22.

13. ὡς οἰκεῖον σῶμα] See *Philipp.* 13 ὡς ἴδια μέλη, with the note.

16. ὡς Ἡλία κ.τ.λ.] In the Pseudo-Clement *de Virgin.* i. 6, John the Baptist, John the beloved disciple, S. Paul, Barnabas, Timotheus, Elias, and Elisæus, are mentioned as instances of virginity. Jerome discusses the instances of the two Johns, of Joshua, of Elias and Elisæus, *ad Jovin.* i. 21, 25, 36 (*Op.* II. pp. 270, 275, 295), and that of Jeremiah, *Dial. c. Pelag.* 28 (*Op.* II. p. 777). The argument from silence seems to have been the foundation of the belief in many of the examples. The virginity of Titus however is in-



15 μὼν ἔχετε, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, φωτιζόμεναι  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος. ὀναίμην ὑμῶν τῆς ἀγιοσύνης, ὡς Ἡλία,  
 ὡς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, ὡς Μελχισεδέκ, ὡς Ἐλισσαίου, ὡς  
 Ἰερεμίου, ὡς τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου, ὡς τοῦ ἡγαπημένου  
 μαθητοῦ, ὡς Τιμοθέου, ὡς Τίτου, ὡς Εὐδοίου, ὡς Κλήμεντος,  
 20 τῶν ἐν ἀγνείᾳ ἐξεληθόντων τὸν βίον. οὐ ψέγων τοὺς λοιποὺς  
 μακαρίους, ὅτι γάμοις προσωμίλησαν, τούτων ἐμνήσθην  
 ἄρτι· εὐχομαι γὰρ ἄξιος Θεοῦ εὑρεθεῖς πρὸς τοῖς ἰχνεσιν  
 αὐτῶν εὑρεθῆναι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ὡς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ  
 καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὡς Ἰωσήφ καὶ Ἡσαΐου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προφη-  
 25 τῶν, ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων  
 τῶν γάμοις προσομιλησάντων· οὐχ ὑπὸ προθυμίας τῆς περὶ  
 τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐννοίας ἑαυτῶν τοῦ γένους ἔσχον ἐκεί-  
 νους. οἱ πατέρες, ἐκτρέφετε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας ἐν παιδείᾳ

*autem...quorum* l. 21 μακαρίους] *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>*; τοὺς μακαρίους *g<sub>4</sub>*. προσωμίλη-  
 σαν] *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>*; προσομίλησαν *g<sub>2</sub>*; ὠμίλησαν *g<sub>4</sub>*. 24 ὡς Ἰωσήφ] *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>*; *sicut ioseph* l;  
 καὶ ὡς Ἰωσήφ *g<sub>4</sub>*; καὶ Ἰωσήφ *g<sub>3</sub>*. Ἡσαΐου] *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>*; Ἰσαΐου *g<sub>2</sub>* (but ?); Ἰσαΐου *g<sub>4</sub>*;  
*isaïas* (the printed text, but *esaias* some mss) l. Ἰσαΐου was printed by Morel, and  
 apparently all later editors have followed him in this abnormal spelling. 26 οὐχ  
 ὑπὸ προθυμίας τῆς περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐννοίας ἑαυτῶν τοῦ γένους ἔσχον ἐκείνους]  
 οὐχ ὑπὸ προθυμίας δὲ τῆς κ.τ.λ. *g<sub>3</sub>*; *qui non libidinis causa sed posteritatis subrogandae*  
*gratia conjuges habuerunt* l; ἀλλ' ὑπὸ προθυμίας τῆς περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπ' ἐννοίας  
 αὐτοὺς ἔσχον ἐκείνους *g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>*.

ferred by S. Jerome on Tit. ii. 7 (*Op.* vii. p. 720) from the expression 'in incorruptione' there used of him; that of Timotheus by Theophylact on 1 Tim. iv. 12 from the expression ἐν ἀγνείᾳ applied to this disciple. Jerome however (l. c.) is disposed to infer the opposite of Timothy. The virginity of Euodius appears not to be noticed elsewhere, and was probably a venture of our Ignatian writer. The tradition with respect to Clement seems to be due to the forged *Epistles to Virgins* written in his name; see Epiphanius. *Hær.* xxx. 15 (p. 139), Hieron. *adv. Jovin.* i. 12 (*Op.* ii. p. 257).

25. καὶ Παύλου] This representation of S. Paul as a married man is

founded on misinterpretations of 1 Cor. ix. 5, Phil. iv. 3; comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 6 (p. 535), Orig. *in Rom.* i § 1 (iv. p. 461). The words *et Paulus* are omitted in some Latin copies; see Ussher *Proleg.* c. xvii.

καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κ.τ.λ.] Justified by 1 Cor. ix. 5 ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι. The only other Apostle, of whom it is distinctly mentioned on good authority, is Philip (Papias in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39; see *Colossians* p. 45 sq.).

27. ἐκείνους] i. e. τοὺς γάμους. It does not seem necessary to substitute *γυναικας*, as the editors generally have done.

28. οἱ πατέρες κ.τ.λ.] From *Ephes.* vi. 4; comp. also *Tars.* 9.



καὶ νοϋθεσία Κυρίου· καὶ διδάσκετε αὐτοὺς τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα καὶ τέχνας, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀργία χαίρειν· καλῶς δέ, φησὶν, ἐκτρέφει πατήρ δίκαιος, ἐπὶ γίῳ σϋνετῷ εὐφρανθήσεται ἡ καρδιά αὐτοῦ. οἱ κύριοι, εὐμενῶς τοῖς οἰκέταις προσέχετε, ὡς ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωβ ἐδίδασκεν· μία γὰρ φύσις, καὶ ἐν 5 τὸ γένος τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος· ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ οὔτε δοῦλος οὔτε ἐλεῦθερος. οἱ ἄρχοντες πειθαρχεῖτωσαν τῷ Καίσαρι· οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν· οἱ διάκονοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις· ἀρχιερεῦσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι· καὶ οἱ διάκονοι καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς κλήρος ἅμα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς 10 ἄρχουσι καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ· ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῷ Χριστῷ, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί· καὶ οὕτως ἡ ἐνότης διὰ πάντων σώζεται. ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ αἱ χῆραι μὴ ῥεμβοί, μὴ λίχνοι, μὴ περιτροχάδες, ἀλλ' ὡς Ἰουδὶθ ἡ σεμνοτάτη, ὡς ἡ Ἄννα ἡ σωφρονεστάτη. ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος διατάσ- 15 σομαι· τίς γάρ εἰμι ἐγώ; ἢ τίς ὁ οἶκος τοῦ πατρὸς μου; ἵνα ἰσοτίμου ἐαυτὸν ἐκείνων εἴπω, ἀλλ' ὡς συστρατιώτης ὑμῶν, ὑποφωνητοῦ τάξιν ἐπέχων.

V. Ἀδελφοί μου, λίαν ἐκκέχυμαι ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὑπεραγαλλόμενος ἀσφαλίζομαι ὑμᾶς· οὐκ ἐγὼ δέ, ἀλλὰ δι' 20 ἐμοῦ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, ἐν ᾧ δεδεμένος φοβοῦμαι μᾶλλον.

2 ἀργία] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἀργεία g<sub>2</sub>. 3 πατήρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l (with Prov. xxiii. 24); om.

g<sub>3</sub>. 7 πειθαρχεῖτωσαν] πειθαρχήτωσαν g<sub>2</sub>. 9 ἀρχιερεῦσιν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ut

(v.l. et) sacerdotibus l. In g<sub>1</sub> the sentence is rightly punctuated after πρεσβυτέροις, so as to connect ἀρχιερεῦσιν with what follows. Owing to wrong punctuation l inserts ut (or et) to make sense. Zahn, following l, reads ὡς ἱερεῖσιν. 13 ῥεμβοί]

So all the mss. 14 μὴ λίχνοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; μηδὲ λίχνοι g<sub>4</sub>; μὴ λίχναι g<sub>3</sub>; neque

gulosae [l]. Ἰουδὶθ] ἰδίθ g<sub>4</sub>. 17 ἐαυτὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἐμαυτὸν g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s.

18 ἐπέχων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; continens l; ἔχων g<sub>4</sub>. 23 ἀπαρτίσει] ἀπαρτήσει g<sub>2</sub>.

2. τέχνας] According to a precept of the Jewish rabbis, which enjoined that every boy should be taught a trade; see Farrar's *Life of Christ* I. p. 82, *St Paul* I. p. 23.

καλῶς κ.τ.λ.] Quoted from Prov. xxiii. 24, but not accurately.

5. Ἰωβ ἐδίδασκεν] In Job xxxi. 13 sq.

6. οὔτε δοῦλος κ.τ.λ.] Gal. iii. 28,

Col. iii. 11.

13. αἱ χῆραι κ.τ.λ.] *Ap. Const.* iii. 6 ἡ χήρα μὴ περιτροχὰς ἢ ῥεμβομένη κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οἰκίας κ.τ.λ. For ῥεμβὸς comp. *Antioch.* II.

14. ὡς ἡ Ἄννα κ.τ.λ.] Anna is given as an instance of a virtuous widow in *Ap. Const.* iii. 1, and Judith in *Ap. Const.* iii. 7.

16. τίς κ.τ.λ.] Quoted, but not

ἐτι γάρ εἰμι ἀναπάρτιστος, ἀλλ' ἡ προσευχή ὑμῶν εἰς Θεόν  
 με ἀπαρτίσει, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθην ἐπιτύχω, προσφυγὼν τῷ  
 εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις  
 25 ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας. καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας δὲ ἀγαπῶ,  
 ὡς Χριστὸν καταγγείλαντας, ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ πνεύματος μετα-  
 σχόντας, οὗ καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι. ὡς γὰρ οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται  
 καὶ οἱ ψευδαπόστολοι ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἴλκυσαν πονηρὸν καὶ  
 ἀπατηλὸν καὶ λαοπλάνον πνεῦμα, οὕτω καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ  
 30 οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἀγαθὸν καὶ  
 ἡγεμονικόν, ἀληθές τε καὶ διδασκαλικόν, ἔλαβον παρὰ  
 Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εὐθὺς πνεῦμα· εἷς γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς  
 παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης· εἷς ὁ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀν-  
 θρώπων, εἷς τε δημιουργίαν νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν, καὶ πρό-  
 35 νοιαν πρόσφορον καὶ κατάλληλον· εἷς δὲ καὶ ὁ παράκλητος,  
 ὁ ἐνεργήσας ἐν Μωσῇ καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις. πάν-  
 τες οὖν οἱ ἅγιοι ἐν Χριστῷ ἐσώθησαν, ἐλπίσαντες εἰς αὐτὸν  
 καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναμείναντες· καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας ἔτυχον,  
 ὄντες ἀξιαγάπητοι καὶ ἀξιοθαύμαστοι ἅγιοι, ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ  
 40 Χριστοῦ μεμαρτυρημένοι ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλπίδος.

VI. Ἐάν τις Θεὸν νόμου καὶ προφητῶν κηρύττῃ ἕνα,  
 Χριστὸν δὲ ἀρνεῖται υἱὸν εἶναι Θεοῦ, ψεύστης ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ

24 σαρκί] σαρή g<sub>4</sub>.

25 πρεσβυτερίῳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; πρεσβυτέρῳ g<sub>4</sub>; *preshyterium*

(but with v. l. *preshyteros*) l.

31 τε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; et [l]; om. g<sub>4</sub>.

ἐλαβον

παρὰ Θεοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *acceperunt* l; om. (altogether) g<sub>4</sub>.

32 εὐθὺς πνεῦμα]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; om. g<sub>3</sub>; *spiritum* l (but omitting *spiritum* in the previous part of the sentence).

36 Μωσῇ] μωσεῖ g<sub>1</sub>.

39 ἀξιαγάπητοι] ἀξιοαγάπητοι g<sub>4</sub>.

καὶ ἀξιοθαύμαστοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; et *digni laude* l; θαύμαστοι g<sub>3</sub>.

Ἰησοῦ

Χριστοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *christo jesu* l; χριστοῦ g<sub>4</sub>.

41 κηρύττῃ] g<sub>4</sub>; κηρύττει

g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; κηρύττειν g<sub>1</sub>.

42 ἀρνεῖται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἀρνῆται g<sub>4</sub>.

verbatim, from 2 Sam. vii. 18.

18. ὑποφωνητοῦ] Judith xvi. 14  
 ἐξῆρχεν Ἰουδιθ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν ταύ-  
 την ἐν παντὶ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ὑπεφώνει  
 πᾶς ὁ λαὸς κ.τ.λ. Hence ὑποφωνητής  
 is properly 'succentor'; comp. ὑπο-  
 φήτης. Here it signifies 'a humble  
 follower,' rather than 'an applauder'  
 or 'an encourager,' as it is some-

times taken.

31. ἡγεμονικόν] The epithet is  
 taken from Ps. l (li). 10. The epithet  
 εὐθὺς also, which occurs below, is  
 from the same psalm, ver. 11.

32. εἷς κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. ii. 5;  
 comp. *Tars.* 4.

42. ψεύστης ἐστίν κ.τ.λ.] A refer-  
 ence to John viii. 44.

ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ὁ διάβολος· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος τῆς κάτω  
 περιτομῆς, ψευδοῖονδαῖος. εἴαν τις ὁμολογῇ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν  
 Κύριον, ἀρνείται δὲ τὸν Θεὸν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν,  
 οὐκ εἶναι λέγων τὸν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ποιητὴν πατέρα τοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐχ ἔστηκεν, ὡς καὶ ὁ 5  
 πατήρ αὐτοῦ ὁ διάβολος· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος Σίμωνος τοῦ  
 μάγου, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, μαθητής. εἴαν τις λέγῃ  
 μὲν ἓνα Θεόν, ὁμολογεῖ δὲ καὶ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ψιλὸν δὲ  
 ἄνθρωπον εἶναι νομίζῃ τὸν Κύριον, οὐχὶ Θεὸν μονογενῆ καὶ  
 σοφίαν καὶ λόγον Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος αὐτὸν 10  
 εἶναι νομίζῃ, ὁ τοιοῦτος ὅφεις ἐστίν, ἀπάτην καὶ πλάνην  
 κηρύττων ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ ἀνθρώπων· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος πένης  
 τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς ἐπὶ κλην Ἐβίων. εἴαν τις ταῦτα μὲν ὁμο-  
 λογῇ, φθορὰν δὲ καὶ μολυσμὸν καλεῖ τὴν νόμιμον μίξιν καὶ  
 τὴν τῶν παιδῶν γένεσιν, ἥ τινα τῶν βρωμάτων βδελυκτά, 15  
 ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔνοικον ἔχει τὸν δράκοντα τὸν ἀποστάτην. εἴαν

2 ὁμολογῇ]  $g_1^s g_2^s g_4^s$ ; ὁμολογεῖ  $g_3$ . 3 ἀρνείται]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; ἀρνήται  $g_4^s$ . 7 τοῦ  
 ἁγίου πνεύματος]  $g_1 g_2 g_3^1$ ; τοῦ χριστοῦ  $g_4$ . λέγῃ]  $g_1^s g_4^s$ ; λέγει  $g_2 g_3$ . 8 ὁμο-  
 λογεῖ]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; ὁμολογῇ  $g_4^s$ . 9 νομίζῃ]  $g_1 g_2 g_4^s$ ; νομίζει  $g_3$ . 10 αὐτὸν]  
 txt  $g_1 g_2 g_3 g_4^1$  (but some MSS add. *solum*). The editors have added *μόνον* after  
 Morel. 11 νομίζῃ]  $g_1 g_3 g_4^s$ ; νομίζει  $g_2$ . 12 κηρύττων]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; κηρύττη  
 $g_4$ . 13 ἐπὶ κλην Ἐβίων] Morel; ἐπὶ κλην βίων  $g_1 g_2 g_4$ ; ἐπικαλεῖται Ἐβίων  
 $g_3$ ; *vocatur et adinventor ipsius erroris ebion* 1. ὁμολογῇ]  $g_1 g_4^s$ ; ὁμολογεῖ  
 $g_2 g_3$ . 14 καλεῖ]  $g_1 g_3$ ; καλῇ  $g_2^s g_4^s$ . 15 γένεσιν]  $g_1 g_2^s g_3$ ; γέννη-  
 σιν  $g_4$ . 17 ὁμολογῇ]  $g_1^s g_2^s g_4^s$ ; ὁμολογεῖ  $g_3$ . 18 ἐπαινῇ]  $g_1^s g_2^s g_4^s$ ; ἐπαινεῖ

6. Σίμωνος τοῦ μάγου] Who was regarded as the parent of all the heresies; Iren. i. 23. 2, ii. præf. 1, iii. præf. 1.

7. εἴαν τις λέγῃ κ.τ.λ.] For the heresies here enumerated comp. *Apost. Const.* vi. 26 (comp. c. 10), which has many resemblances to this passage of our Pseudo-Ignatius.

10. ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος] The theory of our author is that the Divine Logos took the place of the human soul in Christ (Θεὸς λόγος ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ σώματι κατέκει...ὡς ψυχὴ ἐν σώματι κ.τ.λ.); and hence he re-

gards it as a heresy to maintain that our Lord 'consisted of soul and body.' Not understanding this, Morel added *μόνον*, after *σώματος*, and he has been followed herein by many later editors. So also in *Philiph.* 5, after *ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος* the Greek MSS (like the editors here) add *μόνον*; while lower down, *τὸν οὐκ ἀνθρωπιάν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα*, the Greek MSS omit *οὐκ*, and the Armenian Version leaves out the whole sentence. Our author's view is quite different from Apollinarianism, which recognized the *tripartite* division of



τις πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ὁμολογῇ καὶ τὴν  
 κτίσιν ἐπαινῇ, δόκησιν δὲ λέγει τὴν ἐνσωμάτωσιν καὶ τὸ  
 πάθος ἐπαισχύνεται, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἡρνηται τὴν πίστιν οὐχ  
 20 ἦττον τῶν χριστοφόνων Ἰουδαίων. εἰάν τις ταῦτα μὲν ὁμο-  
 λογῇ, καὶ ὅτι Θεὸς λόγος ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ σώματι κατώκει, ὧν  
 ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος, ὡς ψυχὴ ἐν σώματι, διὰ τὸ ἔνοικον εἶναι  
 Θεὸν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἀνθρωπείαν ψυχὴν, λέγει δὲ τὰς παρανόμους  
 25 οἷος ὁ ψευδώνυμος Νικολαίτης· οὗτος οὔτε φιλόθεος οὔτε  
 φιλόχριστος εἶναι δύναται, ἀλλὰ φθορεὺς τῆς οἰκείας σαρκὸς  
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κενὸς καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 ἀλλότριος. οἱ τοιοῦτοι πάντες στηλαί εἰσι καὶ τάφοι νε-  
 κρῶν, ἐφ' οἷς γέγραπται μόνον ὀνόματα νεκρῶν ἀνθρώπων.  
 30 φεύγετε οὖν τὰς κακοτεχνίας καὶ ἐνέδρας τοῦ πνεύματος  
 τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς γίοις τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, μὴ  
 ποτε οἱ θλιβέντες ἐξασθενήσητε ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ· ἀλλὰ πάντες  
 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ καὶ ψυχῇ θελούσῃ,

83. λέγει] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; λέγη g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>ς. ἐνσωμάτωσιν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; ἐνσώματον g<sub>4</sub>.  
 19 ἐπαισχύνεται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἐπαισχύννηται g<sub>2</sub>ςg<sub>4</sub>ς. 20 ὁμολογῇ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>ςg<sub>4</sub>; ὁμολογεί g<sub>3</sub>.  
 22 αὐτῷ] g<sub>4</sub>ς; ἐαυτῷ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; al. l. ὡς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ὥσπερ καὶ g<sub>3</sub>; *sicut et* l.  
 23 ἀνθρωπείαν] ἀνθρωπῖαν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. λέγει] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; λέγη g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>ς. 24 τί-  
 θεται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; τιθῆται g<sub>4</sub>. 26 οἰκείας] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>ς; οἰκίας g<sub>2</sub>. 27 διὰ  
 τοῦτο] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 32 θλιβέντες] θλίβοντες g<sub>4</sub>. ἐξασθενήσητε]  
 g<sub>4</sub>ς; ἐξασθενήσετε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. The aorist imperative, ἐξασθενήσατε, suggested by Zahn  
 would be a solecism with μὴ.

the human being and substituted the Divine Logos, not for the ψυχὴ, but for the νοῦς. For the Christology of our Ignatian writer, and for this point especially, see Zahn on *Philipp.* 5, and *I. v. A.* p. 138 sq. In his language here he copies *Apost. Const.* vi. 26 ἀσεβοῦσι, ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον εἶναι φανταζόμενοι τὸν Χριστόν, ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος αὐτὸν εἶναι νομίζοντες.

13. ὡς ἐπὶ κλην] 'according to his surname'; comp. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 27 τοῦ Ἑβριωνάων ὀνόματος τὴν τῆς διανοίας πτωχείαν αὐτῶν ὑποφαίνοντος, ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπὶ κλην ὁ πτωχὸς παρ'

Ἑβραίοις ὀνομάζεται, *Eccl. Theol.* i. 14 (p. 75). This account of the name יְהוֹנָן was derived by Eusebius from Origen; see the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 1.

22. ὡς ψυχῇ] The substitution of ὥσπερ καὶ for ὡς was prompted by the like motive which suggested the insertion of μόνον above.

25. ὁ ψευδώνυμος Νικολαίτης] *Apost. Const.* vi. 8 οἱ νῦν ψευδώνυμοι Νικολαῖται: see the note on *Trall.* II.

30. τοῦ πνεύματος κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Ephes. ii. 2.

σύνψυχοι, τὸ ἐν φρονοῦντες, πάντοτε τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δοξάζοντες, ἐν τε ἀνέσει καὶ κινδύνοις, καὶ ἐν λύπαις καὶ ἐν χαρμοναῖς. εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι εὐσυνείδητός εἰμι ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχει τις καυχῆσασθαι οὔτε λάθρα οὔτε φανερώς, ὅτι ἐβάρησά τινα ἢ ἐν μικρῷ ἢ 5 ἐν μεγάλῳ. καὶ πᾶσιν ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησα εὐχομαι, ἵνα μὴ εἰς μαρτυρίαν αὐτὸ κτήσωνται.

VII. Εἰ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα με ἠθέλησάν τινες πλανῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμά μου οὐ πλανᾶται· παρὰ γὰρ Θεοῦ αὐτὸ εἴληφα· οἶδε γὰρ πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει, καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ 10 ἐλέγχει. ἐκραύγασα μεταξὺ ὧν, ἐλάλουν μεγάλη φωνῇ· οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ· Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις. εἰ δὲ ὑποπτεύοντές με ὡς προμαθόντα τὸν μερισμὸν τινων λέγειν ταῦτα· μάρτυς μοι δι' ὃν δέδεμαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ στόματος ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔγνων· τὸ δὲ 15 πνεῦμα ἐκήρυξέ μοι, λέγον τάδε· Χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε· τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ τηρεῖτε· τὴν ἑνωσιν ἀγαπάτε, τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε· μιμηταὶ γίνεσθε Παύλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

VIII. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἴδιον ἐποιοῦν, ὡς ἄνθρωπος εἰς 20 ἑνωσιν κατηρτισμένος· ἐπιλέγων καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ διάστασις

2 ἀνέσει] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l; αἰνέσει g<sub>4</sub>; om. g<sub>2</sub>. 3 εὐχαριστῶ] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sl; εὐχαριστῶς g<sub>2</sub>; εὐχαριστῶς g<sub>1</sub>. 8 με] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sl with I; μὲν g<sub>2</sub>. 11 ἐκραύγασα] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; add γὰρ g<sub>3</sub>l. ὧν] I\*; ὧν g<sub>1</sub> (but it punctuates after the word) g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub> (but as no variation is noticed, it probably punctuates as g<sub>1</sub>); οὗς (sic) g<sub>3</sub> (punctuating after μεταξὺ); eos quibus (either ὧν or οὗς) l. 12 τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l (with v.l. *presbyteris*); τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις g<sub>4</sub>. 13 οἱ δὲ ὑποπτεύοντες] I\*; *hi vero despexerunt* l; εἰ δὲ ὑποπτεύετε g. The interpolator seems to have left the broken sentence which he found in the text of the genuine Ignatius: see above, p. 267. 16 λέγον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; λέγων g<sub>2</sub> (comp. I\*). 23 ἀφίησιν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἀφιᾷ g<sub>2</sub>. 24 συνεδρίαν] g<sub>1</sub> (altered from *συνεδριαν*) g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; συνεδρίαν g<sub>2</sub>; *concessum* l; συνέδριον I. 25 ἡμῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sl; ὑμῶν I.

I. σύμψυχοι κ.τ.λ.] *Phil.* ii. 2; comp. *Philipp.* i.

34. πρόκειται] ‘are preferable to.’ The word is used in a different sense in the original Ignatius; see the note

above, p. 273.

35. σκληρόν τὸ κ.τ.λ.] From Acts xxvi. 14. In Acts ix. 5 the words are an interpolation.

38. καὶ οἱ τοῦ λόγου διάκονοι] The

γνώμης καὶ ὀργῇ καὶ μῖσος, ἐκεῖ Θεὸς οὐ κατοικεῖ. πᾶσιν  
οὖν τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν ἀφήσιν ὁ Θεός, ἐὰν συνδράμωσιν εἰς  
ἐνότητα Χριστοῦ καὶ συνεδρεῖαν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. πιστεύω  
25 τῇ χάριτι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι λύσει ἀφ' ἡμῶν πάντα σύν-  
δεσμον ἀδικίας· παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν κατ' ἐριθείαν  
πράσσετε, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χριστομαθίαν· ἤκουσα γάρ τινων  
λεγόντων, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις εὔρω τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,  
οὐ πιστεύω· τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις ἐγὼ λέγω, ὅτι ἐμοὶ ἀρχεῖά  
30 ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, οὗ παρακοῦσαι πρόδηλος ὁλεθρος.  
ἄθικτόν μοι ἐστὶν ἀρχεῖον ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ  
ἡ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ περὶ τούτων· ἐν οἷς θέλω ἐν  
τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν δίκαιωθῆναι. ὁ ἀπιστῶν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ  
πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ ἀπιστεῖ· οὐ γὰρ πρόκειται τὰ ἀρχεῖα τοῦ πνεύ-  
35 ματος. σκληρὸν τὸ πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν, σκληρὸν τὸ  
Χριστῷ ἀπιστεῖν, σκληρὸν τὸ ἀθετεῖν τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν ἀπο-  
στόλων.

IX. Καλοὶ μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ τοῦ λόγου διάκονοι·  
κρείσσων δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων,  
40 ὃς μόνος πεπίστευται τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. καλαὶ αἱ λει-  
τουργικαὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεις. ἅγιος ὁ παράκλητος, καὶ ἅγιος

There is no authority for ὑμῶν in the interpolator's text.

26 ἐριθείαν] g<sub>4</sub>s;

ἐριθίαν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

27 πράσσετε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s with I; πράττετε g<sub>3</sub>.

χριστομαθίαν]

g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> I; χριστομάθειαν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *christi dimicationem* (χριστομαχίαν) l.

28 τοῦ

εὐαγγελίου] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; τὸ εὐαγγέλιον g<sub>3</sub>l; ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ I.

31 ἄθικτον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; τὰ

ἄθικτα I (the construction being different); ἀθικτὸν g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; om. l (unless indeed it is represented by *et irremissibilis* (ἄθικτος?) attached to the previous sentence).

34 πρόκειται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>, and so I (but with a different meaning and connexion);

προκρίνεται g<sub>3</sub>; *praejudicatur* [l].

35 τὸ Χριστῷ] Morel, and so g<sub>4</sub>s; τῷ

χριστῷ (τῷ χριστῷ) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

38 ἱερεῖς] ἱρεῖς g<sub>2</sub>.

39 κρείσσων] g<sub>4</sub>s; κρείττων

g<sub>3</sub>; *melior* l; κρείσσω g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; κρείσσον I\*.

40 λειτουργικαὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; λειτουρ-

γelaὶ καὶ g<sub>2</sub>, and so app. l, which translates *etiam officia virtutis dei*, and seems therefore to read δυνάμειωσ also.

41 ἅγιος pri.] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; add. δὲ g<sub>3</sub>; add.

*quoque* [l].

interpolator has entirely misunderstood the meaning of the genuine Ignatius, who intended the Levitical priesthood by the *ἱερεῖς* and Christ by the *ἀρχιερεὺς* (see the note on the

passage). Misapplying the words to the presbyters and bishops, he finds it necessary to insert a mention of the deacons also.



ὁ λόγος, ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς υἱός, δι' οὗ ὁ πατὴρ τὰ πάντα πεποίη-  
 κεν καὶ τῶν ὅλων προνοεῖ· οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα  
 ἄγουσα ὁδός, ἡ πέτρα, ὁ φραγμός, ἡ κλείς, ὁ ποιμήν, τὸ  
 ἱερεῖον, ἡ θύρα τῆς γνώσεως, δι' ἧς εἰσῆλθον Ἀβραὰμ καὶ  
 Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, Μωσῆς καὶ ὁ σύμπας τῶν προφητῶν 5  
 χορός, καὶ οἱ στύλοι τοῦ κόσμου οἱ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ ἡ νύμφη  
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὑπὲρ ἧς, φέρνης λόγῳ, ἐξέχεεν τὸ οἰκεῖον αἷμα,  
 ἵνα αὐτὴν ἐξαγοράσῃ. πάντα ταῦτα εἰς ἐνότητά τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ  
 μόνου ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ. ἐξαίρετον δέ τι ἔχει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον,  
 τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ πάθος, 10  
 αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνάστασιν. ἃ γὰρ οἱ προφήται κατήγγειλαν,  
 λέγοντες, ἕως ἄν ἔλθῃ ᾧ ἀπόκειται, καὶ αὐτός προσδοκία  
 ἐθνῶν, ταῦτα ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ πεπλήρωται· πορευθέντες  
 μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα  
 τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ γιου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. πάντα 15  
 οὖν ὁμοῦ καλά, ὁ νόμος, οἱ προφῆται, οἱ ἀπόστολοι, τὸ πᾶν  
 συνάθροισμα τὸ δι' αὐτῶν πιστεύσαν· μόνον ἐὰν ἀγαπῶμεν  
 ἀλλήλους.

X. Ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα  
 ἃ ἔχετε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀπηγγέλη μοι εἰρηνεύειν τὴν 20  
 ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, πρέπον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν,  
 ὡς ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ, χειροτονῆσαι ἐπίσκοπον εἰς τὸ πρεσβεῦ-

2 τῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>. 3 κλείς] κλῖς g<sub>1</sub>. 11 κατήγγειλαν] I; κατήγ-  
 γειλον g<sub>2</sub>; κατήγγεilon g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; κατήγγελλον g<sub>3</sub>. 12 ᾧ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l; ὃ g<sub>2</sub>. In Gen.  
 xlix. 10 (LXX) it is ἕως ἐὰν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν.  
 20 Χριστῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub> with I; τῷ χριστῷ g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; domino 1. ἀπηγγέλη] I;  
 ἀπηγγέλει g<sub>4</sub>; ἀπηγγέλλη g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἀπηγγέλλει g<sub>2</sub>. 22 ἐκκλησίᾳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l I;  
 ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ g<sub>4</sub>. 25 καὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>3</sub>l. 27 οὐ πᾶσιν ἀδύνατον]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; οὐ πᾶσαν ἀδύνατον g<sub>2</sub>; οὐ πᾶσιν (ἀδύνατον γὰρ) g<sub>3</sub>; quod non est omnibus

1. δι' οὗ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii.  
 25 Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σου, δι' οὗ καὶ  
 τὰ πάντα ἐποίησας καὶ τῶν ὅλων προ-  
 νοεῖς.

3. ὁ φραγμός, ἡ κλείς] 'The fence'  
 of the Church, 'the key' of Heaven.  
 For φραγμός see Is. v. 5, lviii. 12;

for κλείς, Is. xxii. 22.

12. ἕως ἄν ἔλθῃ κ.τ.λ.] Gen. xlix.  
 10, where the LXX has ἕως ἄν ἔλθῃ  
 τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ. Some copies  
 however have, as here, ᾧ ἀπόκειται  
 for τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ; see Field  
*Orig. Hexapl.* I. p. 70. It is so

σαι ἐκεῖ Θεοῦ πρεσβεῖαν εἰς τὸ συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενομένοις, καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ. μακάριος  
 25 ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς κατηξιώθη τῆς τοιαύτης διακονίας· καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ σπουδάσαντες ἐν Χριστῷ δοξασθήσεσθε. θέλουσιν δὲ ὑμῖν οὐ πᾶσιν ἀδύνατον, ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ αἰεὶ αἱ ἔγγιστα ἐκκλησίαι ἔπεμψαν ἐπισκόπους, αἱ δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους.

30 XI. Περὶ δὲ Φίλωνος τοῦ διακόνου, ἀνδρὸς ἀπὸ Κιλικίας μεμαρτυρημένου, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἐν λόγῳ ὑπηρετεῖ μοι, ἅμα Γαῖῳ καὶ Ἀγαθόποδι, ἀνδρὶ ἐκλεκτῷ, ὃς ἀπὸ Συρίας μοι ἀκολουθεῖ, ἀποταξάμενοι τῷ βίῳ, οἱ καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν ὑμῖν· καὶ τῷ Θεῷ εὐχαριστῶ περὶ ὑμῶν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐδέξασθε αὐτούς· προσ-  
 35 δέξεται καὶ ὑμᾶς ὁ Κύριος. οἱ δὲ ἀτιμάσαντες αὐτοὺς λυτρωθείησαν ἐν τῇ χάριτι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μὴ βουλομένου τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν. ἀσπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐν Τρωάδι· ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν διὰ Βούργου πεμφθέντος ἅμα ἀπὸ Ἐφεσίων καὶ  
 40 Σμυρναίων εἰς λόγον τιμῆς· οὗς ἀμείβεται ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, εἰς ὃν ἐλπίζουσιν σαρκί, ψυχῇ, πνεύματι, πίστει, ἀγάπῃ, ὁμονοίᾳ. ἔρρωσθε ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν, ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι.

*impossible* 1; οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδύνατον I. Perhaps we should read παντάπασιν (the conj. of P. Young) for πᾶσιν. 30 δὲ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s l with I; καὶ g<sub>3</sub>. Κιλικίας]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l I; κοιτίας g<sub>3</sub>.

31 ὑπηρετεῖ] ὑπηρετῇ g<sub>2</sub>.

Γαῖῳ] g<sub>3</sub>l;

γανῖα g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; γαῖῳ I\*: see above, p. 279.

33 ἀποταξάμενοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>l;

ἀποταξάμενος g<sub>4</sub>.

37 τὸν] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s (comp. Ezek. xxxiii. 11 οὐ βούλομαι τὸν

θάνατον); εἰς τὸν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>.

40 ἀμείβεται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> (comp. τιμήσει in I);

ἀμείψαιτο g<sub>4</sub>; redimat l.

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς φιλαδελφεῖς g<sub>1</sub> (adding the number 5) g<sub>2</sub>. Nothing in g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

quoted also *Apost. Const.* vi. 11, 23. Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 120 (p. 348 sq.), mentions both readings, giving the preference to φ ἀπόκειται: and so he himself quotes it elsewhere, *Apol.* i. 32 (p. 73), 54 (p. 89).

13. πορεύθεντες μαθητεύσατε] From

Matt. xxviii. 19.

31. Γαῖῳ καὶ Ἀγαθόποδι] For the insertion of the conjunction see the note on p. 280 sq.

36. μὴ βουλομένου κ.τ.λ.] Loosely quoted from Ezek. xxxiii. 11.

## 8.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΥΣ.

**Ι**ΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ πατρὸς ὑψίστου καὶ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡλεημένη ἐν παντὶ χαρίσματι, πεπληρωμένη ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, ἀνυστερήτῳ οὔσῃ παντὸς χαρίσματος, θεοπρεπε- 5  
στάτη καὶ ἀγιοφόρῳ, τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Σμύρνῃ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐν ἀμώμῳ πνεύματι καὶ λόγῳ Θεοῦ πλείστα χαίρειν.

I. Δοξάζω τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸν δι' αὐτοῦ οὕτως ὑμᾶς σοφίσαντα· ἐνόησα γὰρ ὑμᾶς κατηρτισμένους ἐν ἀκινήτῳ πίστει, ὥσπερ καθηλωμένους 10  
ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι καὶ ἐδρασμένους ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πεπληροφορημένους ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱόν, τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, τὸν Θεὸν λόγον, τὸν μονογενῆ υἱόν· ὄντα δὲ ἐκ γένους Δαυεὶδ 15  
κατὰ σάρκα, ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, βεβαπτισμένον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, ἵνα πληρωθῇ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· πολιτευσάμενον ὁσίως ἄνευ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκὶ ἀληθῶς· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν, ἀπὸ τοῦ θεομακα- 20  
ρίστου αὐτοῦ πάθους, ἵνα ᾄρῃ εὐχρισθῶμεν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας

προς σμυρναίους] g<sub>4</sub> (with ζ in the marg.); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς σμυρναίους g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς σμυρναίους. ζ. g<sub>3</sub>.

4 πεπληρωμένη] So all the four mss with I; but many edd. πεπληροφορημένη after Morel. 6 τῇς] repeated in g<sub>2</sub>. 9 αὐτοῦ] g; *seizsum*

(αὐτοῦ) l. 11 Κυρίου] txt l with I\*; add. ἡμῶν g. Χριστοῦ] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s

l I; om. g<sub>1</sub>. 12 ἐδρασμένους] g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; ἐδρασμένους g<sub>1</sub>; ἡδρασμένους g<sub>4</sub>s with I.

14. τὸν πρωτότοκον] Col. i. 15; vii. 37, 41; see *Ps-Magn.* 11, with the note.

17. πληρωθῇ κ.τ.λ.] A reference to 21. ἄρῃ σύσσημον] See above, p. 292.

πολιτευσάμενον κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* 30. εἰπόντος] The passages which



διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ πιστοὺς αὐτοῦ, εἴτε ἐν Ἰουδαίοις εἴτε ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ.

25 II. Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἔπαθεν δι' ἡμᾶς· καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν καὶ οὐ δοκήσει, ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστη· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ τινὲς τῶν ἀπίστων ἐπαισχυνόμενοι τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πλάσιν καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν θάνατον λέγουσιν, ὅτι δοκήσει καὶ οὐκ ἀληθείᾳ ἀνείληφε τὸ ἐκ τῆς παρθένου σῶμα καὶ τὸ  
30 δοκεῖν πέπονθεν, ἐπιλαθόμενοι τοῦ εἰπόντος, ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ, λῦσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐγερῶ αὐτόν, καὶ, ἐὰν ὑψωθῶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, πάντας ἐλκύσω πρὸς ἐμαυτόν. οὐκοῦν ὁ λόγος ἐν σαρκὶ ὤκησεν· ἡ σοφία γὰρ ἐαυτῇ ὠκοδόμησεν οἶκον. ὁ λόγος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ναὸν  
35 λυθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν χριστομάχων Ἰουδαίων ἀνέστησεν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὁ λόγος, ὑψωθείσης αὐτοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς κατὰ τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ χαλκοῦν ὄφιν, πάντας εἵλκυσεν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰς σωτηρίαν αἰώνιον.

III. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐν τῷ γεννᾶσθαι καὶ σταυροῦσθαι  
40 γινώσκω αὐτὸν ἐν σώματι γεγονέναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα. καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἄσώματον· πνεῦμα γὰρ σὰρκα καὶ ὀστά οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμὲ θεωρεῖτε  
45 ἔχοντα· καὶ τῷ Θωμᾷ λέγει· φέρε τὸν δάκτυλόν σου [ὧδε]

See the note on *Smyrn.* 13 (p. 325).

13 πεπληροφορημένους]  $g_1 g_4^s$  with I; πεπληροφορουμένους  $g_2$ ; πεπληρωφορημένους  $g_3$ .

14 τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱόν]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$ ; τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ  $g_4$ .

15 Δαυεῖδ]  $\delta\alpha\delta$   $g_1$ .

17 πολι-

τευσάμενον]  $g_3$ ; πολιτευσάμενος  $g_1 g_2$ ; πολιτευσάμενον  $g_4$ .

19 καθηλωμένον]

I; καθηλωμένον  $g_3$ ; καθηλωμένου  $g_1 g_2 g_4$ .

29 τὸ δοκεῖν]  $g_2$  with I\* ; τῷ

(τῷ) δοκεῖν  $g_1 g_3 g_4^s$ .

36 σαρκὸς]  $g_3$  adds ὑπὸ τῶν χριστομάχων Ἰουδαίων

here also.

45 ὧδε]  $g_1 g_3$  with Joh. xx. 27; om.  $g_2 g_4$  1.

follow are from John i. 14 (ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.), John ii. 19 (λύσατε κ.τ.λ.), John xii. 32 (ἐὰν ὑψωθῶ κ.τ.λ.).

33. ἡ σοφία κ.τ.λ.] Prov. ix. 1, quoted also *Philipp.* 3.

42. λάβετε κ.τ.λ.] For this uncan-

onical quotation found in the genuine Ignatius see above, p. 294 sq. The interpolator here connects it with Luke xxiv. 39 πνεῦμα σάρκα κ.τ.λ., John xx. 27 φέρε τὸν δάκτυλον κ.τ.λ., and John xx. 18 ὁ Κύριος κ.τ.λ.

εἰς τὸν τύπον τῶν ἡλῶν καὶ φέρε τὴν χεῖρά σου καὶ βάλε εἰς  
τὴν πλευράν μου. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπίστευσαν ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη ὁ  
Χριστός. διὸ καὶ Θωμᾶς φησὶν αὐτῷ, ὁ Κύριός μου καὶ ὁ  
Θεός μου. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ θανάτου κατεφρόνησαν· μικρὸν  
γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὕβρεων καὶ πληγῶν. οὐ μὴν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ 5  
τὸ ἐπιδείξαι ἑαυτὸν αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀληθῶς ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐγ-  
γερται, καὶ συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν ἄχρις ἡμερῶν ὧν  
τεσσαράκοντα· καὶ οὕτως σὺν τῇ σαρκὶ βλεπόντων αὐτῶν  
ἀνελήφθη πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα αὐτόν, σὺν αὐτῇ πάλιν  
ἐρχόμενος μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως. φασὶν γὰρ τὰ λόγια, 10  
οὔτως ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς ἀφ' ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν  
οὔτως ἐλεῖσεται, ὃν τρόπον ἐθεάσασθε αὐτὸν πορευόμενον  
εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. εἰ δὲ ἄνευ σώματος φασὶν ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ  
συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος, πῶς αὐτὸν καὶ ὄψονται οἱ ἐκκентή-  
σαντες καὶ ἐπιγινόντες κύψονται ἐφ' ἐαυτοῖς; ἀσωμάτων 15  
γὰρ οὔτε εἶδος οὔτε χαρακτήρ ἐστὶν ἢ σχῆμα ζῶον μορφὴν  
ἔχοντος διὰ τὸ ἀπλοῦν τῆς φύσεως.

IV. Ταῦτα δὲ παραινῶ ὑμῖν, ἀγαπητοί, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ  
ὑμεῖς οὕτως ἔχετε· προφυλάσσω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῶν  
ἀνθρωπομόρφων, οὓς οὐ μόνον ἀποστρέφεσθαι χρὴ ἀλλὰ 20  
καὶ φεύγειν· μόνον δὲ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἐάν πως

1 βάλε]  $g_1sg_2sg_4s$ ; βάλλε  $g_3$ . 2 ἐπίστευσαν]  $g_3g_4s$  I with I; ἐπίστευσεν  
 $g_1g_2$ . 6 τὸ δοκεῖν]  $g_2$ ; τῷ (or τῷ) δοκεῖν  $g_1g_3g_4s$ . 8 οὕτως]  $g_3$ ; οὕτω

$g_1sg_2sg_4s$ . 11 ὁ Ἰησοῦς]  $g_1g_3g_4s$  with Acts i. 11; Ἰησοῦς (om. ὁ)  $g_2$ .

14 ὄψονται] ὄψωνται  $g_2$ . 15 ἐπιγινόντες]  $g_1g_3$ ; ἐπιγινώντες (sic)  $g_2$ ; *cognos-*  
*centes* I; ἐπιγινώσκονται καὶ  $g_4$ . 16 σχῆμα] *τμήμα*  $g_1g_2g_4$ ; *σήμα*  $g_3$ . The

paraphrase of I, *effigies... aliqua animalis formae... in qua fixura clavorum vel lanceae*  
*foramen appareat*, seems to be a combination of *τμήμα* and *σχῆμα*. 20 οὓς]

$g_1g_2g_3g_4$  with I. There is therefore no authority for *a* which the edd. commonly  
read after Morel, unless indeed *quas* of I (agreeing with *bestiis*) can be so regarded.

21 προσεύχεσθε]  $g_4s$  I (comp. I\*); προσεύχεσθαι  $g_1g_2g_3$ . 22 τὸ δοκεῖν]  $g_2$  with

I\*; τῷ (τῷ) δοκεῖν  $g_1g_3g_4s$ . 23 τὸ δοκεῖν pri.] τῷ (τῷ) δοκεῖν  $g_1g_2s$  (but?)

8. βλεπόντων αὐτῶν] From Acts  
i. 9; the quotation which follows,  
οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς κ.τ.λ., being taken  
from the same context, i. 11.

13. εἰ δὲ ἄνευ κ.τ.λ.] See *Ps-*  
*Magu.* 6, with the note.

14. ὄψονται κ.τ.λ.] From Zach.  
xii. 10, not however as translated in  
the LXX, but substantially as quoted  
in Joh. xix. 37, Rev. i. 7.

16. σχῆμα] I have ventured on  
this conjecture (which is partially

μετανοήσωσιν. εἰ γὰρ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐν σώματι γέγονεν ὁ Κύριος  
καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ γὰρ τὸ δοκεῖν δέδεμαι. τί δὲ καὶ  
ἐμαυτὸν ἔκδοτον δέδωκα τῷ θανάτῳ, πρὸς πῦρ, πρὸς μάχαι-  
25 ραν, πρὸς θηρία; ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι πάντα ὑπο-  
μένω διὰ Χριστὸν εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ, αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυνα-  
μοῦντος· οὐ γάρ μοι τοσοῦτον σθένος.

V. Ὅν τινες ἀγνοοῦντες ἠρνήσαντο, καὶ συνηγοροῦσι  
τῷ ψεύδει μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· οὓς οὐκ ἔπεισαν αἱ προφη-  
30 τεῖαι οὐδ' ὁ νόμος ὁ Μωσέως, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέχρι νῦν τὸ εὐαγγέ-  
λιον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα παθήματα· καὶ  
γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦσι. τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖ, εἰ ἐμὲ  
ἐπαινεῖ τις τὸν δὲ Κύριόν μου βλασφημεῖ, μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν  
σαρκοφόρον Θεόν; ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ λέγων τελείως αὐτὸν  
35 ἀπῆρνηται, ὡν νεκροφόρος. τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, ὄντα  
ἄπιστα, νῦν οὐκ ἔδοξέ μοι ἐγγράψαι· μηδὲ γένοιτό με αὐτῶν  
μνημονεύειν, μέχρις οὗ μετανοήσωσιν.

VI. Μηδεὶς πλανάσθω, εἰ μὴ πιστεύσῃ Χριστὸν  
Ἰησοῦν ἐν σαρκὶ πεπολιτεῦσθαι καὶ ὁμολογήσῃ τὸν σταυ-  
40 ρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸ αἷμα ὃ ἐξέχεεν ὑπὲρ τῆς  
τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίας· ὅτι ζωῆς αἰωνίου οὐ τεύξεται, καὶ

g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. τὸ δοκεῖν sec.] I\*; τῷ (τῷ) δοκεῖν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s (but?) g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. 24 ἔκ-  
δοτον...θανάτῳ] ἐκδέδωκα τῷ Δο (sic) θανατῷ g<sub>2</sub>. 25 τὸ δοκεῖν] g<sub>2</sub>; τῷ (τῷ)  
δοκεῖν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. 28 συνηγοροῦσι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *consentiant* l; συνηγόρου  
g<sub>4</sub>. 31 τῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; τὰ g<sub>3</sub>. παθήματα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> l with I;  
μαθήματα g<sub>4</sub>; see the note on Clem. Rom. 2. 36 μοι] g<sub>4</sub> with I; με  
g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>3</sub>. 37 μετανοήσωσιν] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s with I; μετανοήσουσιν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>. 38 πισ-  
τεύσῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; πιστεύσει g<sub>2</sub>. 39 πεπολιτεῦσθαι] πεπολιτεύθαι g<sub>4</sub>. ὁμο-  
λογήσῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ὁμολογήσει g<sub>2</sub>. 41 ὅτι] g; om. l. The emendation  
οὐ τῆς (for ὅτι), adopted in the common editions and retained even by Zahn, is  
due to Morel: see the next note. οὐ] I; om. g. The οὐ would easily be  
omitted after the preceding αἰωνίου; comp. Clem. Rom. 39 (Syr.). I have there-  
fore adopted this mode of correcting the text in preference to the reading of  
Morel, which involves a solecism in the position of the article.

supported by the Latin Version and  
by g<sub>3</sub>), because *τμήμα* 'a portion,'  
'a section,' can hardly stand. If re-  
tained, it must mean 'an incision,'  
and refer to the piercing of the side,

etc., as the Latin translator para-  
phrases it; but such a connexion is  
very awkward. For the combination  
of *σχῆμα* and *μορφή* see the passages  
quoted *Philippians* p. 127, 129 (ed. 4).



βασιλεὺς ἡ καὶ ἱερεὺς, καὶ ἄρχων καὶ ἰδιώτης, καὶ δεσ-  
 πότης ἡ δοῦλος, [καὶ ἀνὴρ] ἡ γυνή. ὁ χωρῶν χωρεῖτω,  
 ὁ ἀκογῶν ἀκογέτω. τόπος καὶ ἀξίωμα καὶ πλοῦτος μη-  
 δένα φνσιούτω· ἀδοξία καὶ πενία μηδένα ταπεινούτω· τὸ  
 γὰρ ὅλον ἐστὶν πίστις ἡ εἰς Θεὸν καὶ ἡ εἰς Χριστὸν 5  
 ἐλπίς, ἡ τῶν προσδοκωμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσις, ἀγάπη τε  
 περὶ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸ ὁμόφυλον· ἀγαπήσεις γὰρ Κύριον τὸν  
 Θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς  
 σεαυτὸν· καὶ ὁ Κύριος φησὶν, αἷτη ἐστὶν ἡ αἰώνιος ζωὴ, τὸ  
 γινώσκειν τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεόν, καὶ ὃν ἀπέστειλεν 10  
 Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· καὶ, ἐντολὴν καινὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγα-  
 πάτε ἀλλήλους· ἐν ταύταις ταῖς δυνάμεισι ἐντολαῖς ὁλος ὁ νόμος  
 καὶ οἱ προφῆται κρέμανται. καταμάθετε οὖν τοὺς ἑτεροδοξ-  
 οῦντας, πῶς νομοθετοῦσιν ἄγνωστον εἶναι τὸν πατέρα τοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ, πῶς ἄπιστον ἔχθραν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἔχουσιν. ἀγάπης 15  
 αὐτοῖς οὐ μέλει, τῶν προσδοκωμένων ἀλογοῦσι, τὰ παρόντα  
 ὡς ἐστώτα λογίζονται, τὰς ἐντολὰς παρορῶσιν, χῆραν  
 καὶ ὀρφανὸν περιορῶσιν, θλιβόμενον διαπτύουσιν, δεδεμένον  
 γελῶσιν.

VII. Τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπαισχύνονται, τὸ πάθος χλευάζουσι, 20

2 καὶ ἀνὴρ] Morel; seu vir l; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. 4 πενία] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; πένεια g<sub>2</sub>.

7 ἀγαπήσεις] ἀγαπήσης g<sub>2</sub>. 8 καρδίας σου] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s l; add. καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς

διανοίας σου g<sub>2</sub>. 12 ὁλος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s l; om. g<sub>2</sub>. 16 τὰ παρόντα ὡς ἐστώτα

λογίζονται] g (except that g<sub>3</sub> has ἐνεστώτα for ἐστώτα). But l translates the whole sentence ἀγάπης...λογίζονται, *dilectionem enim futurorum negligunt, praesentia dissimulant, quae ventura sunt tanquam praesentia* (v. l. *nunc instantia*) *esse putant et tanquam somnium et phantasiam existimant*. This suggests (after allowance made for faulty punctuation, etc.,) that some words have fallen out from the latter part of the Greek text, and that it should be read τὰ παρόντα [κλέπτουσιν, τὰ μέλλοντα] ὡς ἐνεστώτα λογίζονται [καὶ φαντάζονται], and the omissions might be explained by homœoteleuton. The Greek however, as it stands, makes better sense and may be substantially correct. Perhaps however the word φαντάζονται

2. ὁ χωρῶν] The two clauses are loosely quoted, the first from Matt. xix. 12, the second from Matt. xiii. 43, etc.

7. ἀγαπήσεις κ.τ.λ.] See Luke x. 27; comp. Matt. xxii. 37 sq., Mark xii. 30, 31. See *Ps-Ephes.* 14.

9. φησὶν] The passages which follow are taken from John xvii. 3 αὕτη ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ., John xiii. 34 ἐντολὴν κ.τ.λ., Matt. xxii. 40 ἐν ταύταις κ.τ.λ.

21. ἀρχεκάκου] Comp. *Ps-Trall.* 10, with the note.

23. τοῦ τὸν Ἀβεὺλ κ.τ.λ.] *Philipp.*

τὴν ἀνάστασιν κωμωδοῦσιν· ἔγγονοί εἰσι τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου  
 πνεύματος, τοῦ τὸν Ἀδὰμ διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ἐντολῆς ἐξώ-  
 σαντος, τοῦ τὸν Ἀβελ διὰ τοῦ Κάϊν ἀποκτείναντος, τοῦ τῷ  
 Ἰὼβ ἐπιστρατεύσαντος, τοῦ κατηγοροῦντος Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ἰω-  
 25 σεδέκ, τοῦ ἐΞΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ CINIACΘΗΝΑΙ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν  
 πίστιν, τοῦ τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν πλῆθος ἐπεγείραντος τῷ Κυρίῳ, τοῦ  
 καὶ Νῆν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς γίοις τῆς ἀπειθείας· ὧν ῥύσεται  
 ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ δεηθεὶς μὴ ἐκλείπειν τὴν  
 πίστιν τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὐχ ὥς μὴ αὐταρκῶν φυλάξαι αὐτὴν  
 30 ἀλλ' ὥς χαίρων τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπεροχῇ. πρέπον οὖν ἐστὶν  
 ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ μήτε κατ' ἰδίαν περὶ αὐτῶν  
 λαλεῖν μήτε κοινῇ, προσέχειν δὲ νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις καὶ τοῖς  
 εὐαγγελισαμένοις ὑμῖν τὸν σωτήριον λόγον.

VIII. Τὰς δὲ δυσωνύμους αἱρέσεις καὶ τοὺς τὰ σχίσματα  
 35 ποιοῦντας φεύγετε, ὡς ἀρχὴν κακῶν. πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ  
 ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς τῷ πατρί· καὶ τῷ πρεσ-  
 βυτερίῳ δὲ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέψετε,  
 ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολὴν διακονοῦντας. μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τι  
 πρᾶσσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐκείνη βεβαία

should be substituted for λογίζονται, as suggested by l. 18 θλιβόμενον]  
 g<sub>1</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g; *tribulatum* l; θλιβομένων g<sub>2</sub>. διαπτύουσιν] g<sub>1</sub>; διαπτύουσι  
 g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g. δεδεμένον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g l; δεδεμένων g<sub>2</sub>. 21 κωμωδοῦσιν] κομο-  
 δοῦσιν g<sub>2</sub>. 22 ἐξώσαντος] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g; ἐξεώσαντος g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; comp. *Mart. Ant.* 6  
 (with the note, p. 485). 24 τοῦ κατηγοροῦντος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>g; τοῦ καταργή-  
 σαντος g<sub>3</sub>; *qui...resistere temptavit* l. τοῦ] g<sub>4</sub>; τοῦ τῷ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; om. g<sub>3</sub>. There  
 is no authority for υἱοῦ which the editors have adopted after Morel, though l has  
*filio*. The τῷ seems to be a duplication of the first syllable of ἰωσεδεκ.  
 26 τοῦ τὸ] τοῦτο g<sub>2</sub>. 28 ἡμᾶς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>g l; ὑμᾶς g<sub>3</sub>. Dressel omits the  
 word by accident, but corrects his error in the Addenda. 30 πρέπον]  
 πρέπων g<sub>2</sub>. 31 περὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with l; μετ' g<sub>3</sub>; *cum* l. 33 ὑμῖν]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g l; ἡμῖν g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 36 ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *jesus christus* l; ὁ χριστὸς  
 g<sub>4</sub>.

II ὁ τῷ Ἀβελ ἐπαναστήσας τὸν ἀνθρω-  
 ποκτόνον Κάϊν, ὁ τῷ Ἰὼβ ἐπιστρατεύ-  
 σας.

τοῦ τῷ Ἰὼβ κ.τ.λ.] See *Apost. Const.* vi. 5, where Satan is mentioned  
 as attacking Job, Joshua the son of  
 Josedek, and 'us' the Apostles.

25. ἐξαίτησαμένου κ.τ.λ.] Luke xxii.  
 32 ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐξητήσατο ὑμᾶς τοῦ σι-  
 νιάσαι κ.τ.λ. Just below there is a  
 reference to the next verse, ἐγὼ δὲ  
 ἐδεήθην περὶ σοῦ κ.τ.λ.

26. τοῦ ... νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος κ.τ.λ.]  
*Ephes.* ii. 2; comp. *Philipp.* 4.

εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὔσα, ἣ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ· ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλήθος ἔστω· ὥσπερ ὅπου ὁ Χριστός, πᾶσα ἡ οὐράνιος στρατιὰ παρέστηκεν ὡς ἀρχιστρατήγῳ τῆς δυνάμεως Κυρίου καὶ διανομεῖ πάσης νοητῆς φύσεως. οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε 5 βαπτίζειν οὔτε προσφέρειν οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν οὔτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν· ἀλλ' ὁ ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ κατ' εὐαρέστησιν Θεοῦ, ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ᾗ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν, ὅς' ἂν πράσσετε.

IX. Εὐλογόν ἐστι λοιπὸν ἀνανῆψαι ἡμᾶς, ὥς ἔτι καιρὸν ἔχομεν εἰς Θεὸν μετανοεῖν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ ᾧ οὔκ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐξομο- 10 λογούμενος· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ πρό προσώπου αὐτοῦ. τίμα, φησὶν, γιέ, τὸν Θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα· ἐγὼ δὲ φημί, Τίμα μὲν τὸν Θεὸν ὡς αἷτιον τῶν ὅλων καὶ Κύριον, ἐπίσκοπον δὲ ὡς ἀρχιερέα Θεοῦ εἰκόνα φοροῦντα, κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄρχειν, Θεοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερατεύειν, Χριστοῦ· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον 15 τιμᾶν χρὴ καὶ βασιλέα. οὔτε γὰρ Θεοῦ τις κρείττων ἢ παραπλήσιος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὔσιν, οὔτε δὲ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπισκόπου τι μείζον ἱερωμένου Θεῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς σωτηρίας, οὔτε βασιλέως τις παραπλήσιος ἐν ἄρχουσιν εἰρήνην καὶ εὐνομίαν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις πρυτανεύοντος. ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκο- 20

1 εὐχαριστία]  $g_1g_3g_4s$ ; εὐχαριστεῖα  $g_2$ .

τρέψει  $g_2g_3$ .

ἔστω]  $g_1g_2sg_4s$  with I; *congregetur* I; ἔσται  $g_3$ .

$g_1g_2g_3$  I; ἐκείσε πᾶσα  $g_4$ .

νομῇ  $g_3$ .

6 θυσίαν] οὐσίαν  $g_2$ .

$g_1g_3$ .

8 ἀσφαλὲς] ἀσφαλῆς  $g_2$ .

ὅς' ἂν] ὁ δ' ἂν  $g_1g_2$  (written however ὁδ' ἂν)  $g_4$ ; ὁ τ' ἂν  $g_3$ . The sentence in I runs *ergo omnia quaecunque agitis et facitis, jam rationabilia sunt, ut corrigamus nos in deo, cum tempus habemus poenitendi*. In I the words are ὁ πράσσετε (πράσσεται), being attached to the previous sentence (see above p. 314). It seems impossible with the MSS to connect

πράσσετε with the next sentence on account of the first persons, ἡμᾶς, ἔχομεν; and

4. ἀρχιστρατήγῳ] So Christ is called by Justin Martyr *Dial.* 34 (p. 251), 61 (p. 284), from an application of Josh. v. 13, 14, 15, to Him, *ib.* 62 (p. 286).

7. δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν] See the note above, p. 312.

10. ἐν...τῷ ᾧ κ.τ.λ.] Loosely

quoted from Ps. vi. 6. Of the passages which follow, ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος κ.τ.λ. (quoted in the same way in *Apost. Const.* ii. 14) is a loose quotation from Is. lxii. 11; and τίμα κ.τ.λ. is cited, likewise loosely, from Prov. xxiv. 21.

22. εἰ γὰρ ὁ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.*



πον ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τιμηθήσεται, ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ ἀτιμάζων αὐτὸν  
 ὑπὸ Θεοῦ κολασθήσεται. εἰ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπεγει-  
 ρόμενος κολάσεως ἄξιος δικαίως γενήσεται, ὥς γε παραλύων  
 τὴν κοινὴν εὐνομίαν, πόσῳ δοκεῖτε χείρονος ἀξιοθήσεται  
 25 τιμωρίας ὁ ἄνευ ἐπισκόπου τι ποιεῖν προαιρούμενος καὶ τὴν  
 ὁμόνοιαν διασπῶν καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν συγχέων; ἱερωσύνη γάρ  
 ἐστὶν τὸ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀναβεβηκός· ἥς ὁ  
 καταμανεὶς οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀτιμάζει ἀλλὰ Θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν  
 Ἰησοῦν τὸν πρωτότοκον καὶ μόνον τῇ φύσει τοῦ πατρὸς  
 30 ἀρχιερέα. πάντα οὖν ὑμῖν μετ' εὐταξίας ἐπιτελείσθω ἐν  
 Χριστῷ. οἱ λαϊκοὶ τοῖς διακόνοις ὑποτασσέσθωσαν· οἱ διά-  
 κονοὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις· οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ· ὁ  
 ἐπίσκοπος τῷ Χριστῷ, ὡς αὐτὸς τῷ πατρί. καθά με ἀνεπαύ-  
 σατε, ἀδελφοί, καὶ ὑμᾶς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός. ἀπόντα με καὶ  
 35 παρόντα ἡγαπήσατε· ἀμείψεται ὑμᾶς ὁ Θεός, δι' ὃν ταῦτα εἰς  
 τὸν δέσμιον αὐτοῦ ἐνεδείξασθε· εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ εἰμι ἱκανός,  
 ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς προθυμίας ὑμῶν μέγα· ὁ τιμῶν γὰρ προφήτην  
 εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου μισθὸν προφήτου λήψεται· δηλονότι  
 καὶ ὁ τιμῶν δέσμιον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτύρων λήψεται  
 40 μισθόν.

I have therefore substituted ὅς' ἂν for ὁ δ' ἂν. πράσσετε] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> [1] with I  
 (which however omits ἂν); πράσσητε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. 9 εὐλογόν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>3</sub> [1] with  
 I; ἀλογόν g<sub>4</sub>. ἡμᾶς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s 1 with I\*; ὑμᾶς g<sub>3</sub>. 10 ἔχομεν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s  
 1 with I; ἔχοντας g<sub>3</sub>. ἄδη] ἄδη g<sub>1</sub>. 17 ἐν sec.] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> 1; om. g<sub>4</sub>.  
 ἐπισκόπου τι μείζον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; τι μείζον ἐπισκόπου g<sub>4</sub>. 19 τις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> 1;  
 om. g<sub>4</sub>. 22 βασιλεῦσιν ἐπεγειρόμενος] g<sub>1</sub>; *contra regem insurgens* 1; βασι-  
 λεῦσιν ἐπαγειρόμενος g<sub>3</sub>; βασιλεῦσι μὴ ἐπεγειρόμενος g<sub>2</sub> (see Dressel's Addenda) g<sub>4</sub>.  
 With this last reading ἐπεγειρόμενος must mean 'rising to do honour to.' 23 κο-  
 λάσεως] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> 1; καὶ κολάσεως g<sub>4</sub>. ἄξιος δικαίως] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἀξίως καὶ δικαίως  
 g<sub>2</sub>; *dignus* 1. 24 χείρονος] χείρωνος g<sub>2</sub>. 27 πάντων] πᾶν τῶν g<sub>2</sub>,  
 and so apparently 1 *summa omnium bonorum*. 33 καθά με] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; κα-  
 θάμε (sic) g<sub>2</sub>; καθό με g<sub>3</sub>. 35 παρόντα] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s 1; add. με g<sub>2</sub>.

vi. 2 εἰ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπεγειρό-  
 μένος κολάσεως ἄξιος, καὶ υἱὸς ἢ καὶ  
 φίλος, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ ἱερεῦσιν ἐπανισ-  
 τάμενος· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἱερωσύνη βασιλείας  
 ἀμείνων κ.τ.λ.

24. πόσῳ δοκεῖτε κ.τ.λ.] From Heb.  
 x. 29.

29. τῇ φύσει κ.τ.λ.] See *Ps-Magn.*  
 4, with the note.

37. ὁ τιμῶν κ.τ.λ.] Matt. x. 41,  
 loosely quoted.

39. μαρτύρων λήψεται κ.τ.λ.] For  
 this belief see *Apost. Const.* v. 1,  
 where it is stated at length.

X. Φίλωνα καὶ Γάϊον καὶ Ἀγαθόποδα, οἱ ἐπηκολούθησαν μοι εἰς λόγον Θεοῦ διάκονοι Χριστοῦ ὄντες, καλῶς ἐποιήσατε ὑποδεξάμενοι ὡς διακόνους Χριστοῦ· οἱ καὶ σφόδρα εὐχαριστοῦσιν τῷ Κυρίῳ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀνεπαύσατε κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. οὐδὲν ὑμῖν παραλογισθήσεται 5 ὦν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατε· δῶν ὑμῖν ὁ Κύριος εὔρεϊν ἔλεος παρὰ Κυρίου ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμά μου, καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου ἃ οὐχ ὑπερηφανήσατε οὐδὲ ἐπὶσχύνθητε· διὸ οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαισχυνθήσεται ἡ τελεία ἐλπίς, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός.

10

XI. Αἱ προσευχαὶ ὑμῶν ἤγγισαν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εἰρηνεύεται· ὅθεν δεδεμένος πάντας ἀσπάζομαι, οὐκ ὦν ἄξιος ἐκείθεν εἶναι, ἔσχατος αὐτῶν ὢν· κατὰ θέλημα κατηξιώθην, οὐκ ἐκ συνειδήσεως ἐμῆς ἀλλ' ἐκ χάριτος Θεοῦ· ἣν εὐχομαι τελείαν μοι δοθῆναι, ἵνα ἐν ταῖς προσευ- 15 χαῖς ὑμῶν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ὅπως οὖν ὑμῶν τὸ ἔργον τέλειον γένηται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πρέπει εἰς Θεοῦ τιμὴν χειροτονῆσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑμῶν θεοπρεσβύτην εἰς τὸ γενόμενον ἐν Συρίᾳ συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς, ὅτι εἰρηνεύουσι καὶ ἀπέλαβον τὸ ἴδιον μέγεθος καὶ ἀπεκατεστάθη αὐτοῖς τὸ ἴδιον 20 σωματίον. ὃ ἐφάνη μοι ἄξιον, τοῦτο ἐστίν· ὥστε πέμψαι τινὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων μετ' ἐπιστολῆς, ἵνα συνδοξάσῃ τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν αὐτοῖς γενομένην εὐδίαν, καὶ ὅτι λιμένος εὐόρμου τετύχῃκα Χριστοῦ διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν. τέλειοι ὄντες,

7 τὸ πνεῦμά μου] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> l; τὸ πνεῦμα μα (sic) μου g<sub>4</sub>. Add. καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα μου g<sub>4</sub>; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> l.

8 ὑπερηφανήσατε] I\* ; ὑπερηφανεύσατε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

9 ἐπὶσχύνθητε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s ; ἐπαισχύνθητε g<sub>2</sub> ; see the note on p. 316 sq.

12 εἰρηνεύεται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s ; εἰρηνεύετε g<sub>2</sub> ; *pacifici estis* l.

13 εἶναι] l with I ; om.

g. ὦν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s<sub>3</sub> with I ; om. g<sub>4</sub> l.

κατὰ] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> ; add. δὲ g<sub>3</sub> l ; see

above, p. 318.

14 θέλημα] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I ; add. τοῦ Θεοῦ g<sub>3</sub> l ; see

the note on *Ephes.* 20 (p. 85).

16 ὑμῶν τὸ ἔργον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> (comp. I) ;

τὸ ἔργον ὑμῶν g<sub>4</sub>.

20 ἀπεκατεστάθη] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s with I ; ἀποκατεστάθη

g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s.

22 συνδοξάσῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s ; συνδοξάσει g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

23 εὐδίαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s ;

εὐδεῖαν g<sub>2</sub>.

25 ἔτοιμος ὁ Θεός] ἔτοιμους g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub> ; ἔτοιμος g<sub>4</sub> ; ἔτοιμός ἐστιν (sic)

ὁ θεός g<sub>3</sub> ; θεός ἔτοιμος I ; *deus paratus est* l. The reading adopted will account for

the two variations, ἔτοιμους and ἔτοιμός ἐστιν ὁ θεός. The repetition of similar letters explains the corruptions. The insertion of καὶ in the interpolator shows that

6. δῶν...ὁ Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Tim. i. 18, quoted also *Hero* 9.



25 τέλεια καὶ φρονεῖτε· θέλουσι γὰρ ὑμῖν εὖ πράττειν, καὶ ἔτοιμος ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸ παρασχεῖν.

XII. Ἀσπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν τῶν ἐν Τρωάδι· ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν διὰ Βούργου, ὃν ἀπεστείλατε μετ' ἐμοῦ ἅμα Ἐφεσίοις τοῖς συναδέλφοις ὑμῶν· ὃς κατὰ  
30 πάντα με ἀνέπαιυσεν. καὶ ὅφελον πάντες αὐτὸν ἐμιμοῦντο, ὄντα ἐξεμπλᾶριον Θεοῦ διακονίας. ἀμείψεται αὐτὸν ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου κατὰ πάντα. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀξιόθεον ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν Πολύκαρπον καὶ τὸ θεοπρεπὲς πρεσβυτέριον καὶ τοὺς χριστοφύρους διακόνους τοὺς συνδούλους μου, καὶ  
35 τοὺς κατὰ ἄνδρα καὶ κοινῇ πάντας, ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ αἵματι, πάθει τε καὶ ἀναστάσει σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ, [ἐν] ἐνότητι Θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν. χάρις ὑμῖν, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, ὑπομονή, διὰ παντὸς ἐν Χριστῷ.

40 XIII. Ἀσπάζομαι τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου σὺν γυναιξίν καὶ τέκνοις, καὶ ἀειπαρθένους καὶ τὰς χήρας. ἔρρωσθέ μοι ἐν δυνάμει πατρός. ἀσπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς Φίλων ὁ συνδιάκονος, ὁ ὢν σὺν ἐμοί. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν οἶκον Γαυίας, ἣν εὐχομαι ἡδρᾶσθαι πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευμα-  
45 τικῇ. ἀσπάζομαι Ἀλκην, τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα, καὶ Δάφνον τὸν ἀσύγκριτον καὶ Εὐτεκνον καὶ πάντας κατ' ὄνομα. ἔρρωσθε ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, πεπληρωμένοι πνεύματος ἀγίου καὶ σοφίας θείας καὶ ἱεράς.

he tampered with the original text of Ignatius here.

27 ὑμῶν]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3$  l I;

ἡμῶν  $g_4$ .

29 συναδέλφοις]  $g_1 g_2 g_4$ ; ἀδελφοῖς  $g_3$  with I; *fratribus* l. The word however appears to be accentuated *συναδελφοῖς* in  $g_1 g_2 g_4$ , and this excites suspicion.

34 χριστοφύρους] *χρηστοφόρους*  $g_2$ . τοὺς συνδούλους μου]  $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$  l with I; om.  $g_2$ .

35 κατὰ ἄνδρα]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3$ ; κατ' ἄνδρα  $g_4$  I. καὶ κοινῇ] l with I; κοινῇ (om. καὶ)  $g$  Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3$ ; *ιησοῦ* χριστοῦ  $g_4$  l with I.

36 τῇ σαρκὶ] l with I; *τῆς σαρκὸς*  $g$ . 37 ἐν] I; *in* [l]; om.  $g$ .

41 ἀειπαρθένους] *virgines* l; τὰς παρθένους I; ἀειπαρθένους  $g_1 g_2$  (for Dressel's ἀειπαρθένους, though uncorrected in the Addenda, is an obvious misprint)  $g_3 g_4$ .

42 πατρός] I (but with a v.l. πνεύματος); *dei patris* l; πνεύματος  $g$ : see above p. 324. 44 καὶ ἀγάπη σαρκικῇ τε]  $g_1 g_2 g_3$  with I; *et dilectione carnali* l; σαρκικῇ ἀγάπῃ  $g_4$ .

45 Ἀλκην]  $g_2 s$ ; ἀλκην  $g_1 g_3 g_4$ . Subscr. τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς σμυρναίους (σμυρνεύους  $g_2$ )  $g_1 g_2$ , to which  $g_1$  adds the number ζ. No subscription in  $g_3 g_4$ .



## 9.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΝ.

**Ι**ΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀντιοχείας, ὁ καὶ μάρτυς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Πολυκάρπῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων, μᾶλλον ἐπισκοπημένῳ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, πλείστα χαίρειν.

5

I. Ἀποδεχόμενος τὴν ἐν Θεῷ σου γνώμην ἡδρασμένην ὥς ἐπὶ πέτραν ἀκίνητον, ὑπερδοξάζω καταξιωθεὶς τοῦ προσώπου σου τοῦ ἀμώμου, οὗ ὀναίμην ἐν Θεῷ. παρακαλῶ σε ἐν χάριτι ἢ ἐνδέδυσαι προσθεῖναι τῷ δρόμῳ σου, καὶ πάντας παρακαλεῖν ἵνα σώζωνται. ἐκδίκει σου τὸν τόπον 10 ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ. τῆς ἐνώσεως φρόντιζε, ἥς οὐδὲν ἄμεινον. πάντας βάσταζε, ὥς καὶ σε ὁ Κύριος· πάντων ἀνέχου ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ ποιεῖς. προσευχαῖς σχόλαζε ἀδιαλείπτοις. αἰτοῦ σύνεσιν πλείονα ἥς ἔχεις. γρηγόρει ἀκοίμητον πνεῦμα κεκτημένος. τοῖς κατὰ 15 ἄνδρα κατὰ ὁμοήθειαν λάλει Θεοῦ. πάντων τὰς νόσους βάσταζε, ὥς τέλειος ἀθλητής, ὥς καὶ ὁ Κύριος πάντων· αὐτὸς γάρ, φησί, τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν καὶ τὰς νόσους ἡμῶν ἐβάστασεν. ὅπου πλείων κόπος, πολὺ κέρδος.

II. Καλοὺς μαθητὰς ἐὰν φιλήῃς, χάρις σοι οὐκ ἔστιν· 20

προς πολυκαρπον] πρὸς πολύκαρπον ἐπίσκοπον σμύρνης (with η in the marg.) g<sub>4</sub>; τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολή πρὸς πολύκαρπον ἐπίσκοπον σμύρνης g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub> (numbered η in g<sub>1</sub>); τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολή πρὸς πολύκαρπον ἐπίσκοπον σμύρνης. ἡ. g<sub>3</sub>.

4 ἐπισκοπημένῳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἐπεσκοπημένῳ g<sub>2</sub>s. Ἰησοῦ] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> I; præf. κυρίου g<sub>2</sub>; def. l: see p. 331. 9 προσθεῖναι] g<sub>4</sub>s; προσθῆναι g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 10 σώ-

ζωνται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; σώζονται g<sub>2</sub>. 14 ἀδιαλείπτοις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>3</sub> I; ἀδιαλείπτως g<sub>4</sub> l: see above, p. 334. 16 ὁμοήθειαν] g; adiutorium (βοήθειαν) l: see above, p. 335. 17 ὁ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>4</sub>s; om. g<sub>3</sub>. 19 ἡμῶν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s l;

ὑμῶν g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub> (with Matt. viii. 17). πλείων] πλείον (sic) g<sub>2</sub>. πολὺ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> with I; πλείων g<sub>4</sub>; maius [I]. 21 πρᾶϋτητι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>4</sub>s; πρᾶότητι

17. αὐτὸς...τὰς ἀσθενείας κ.τ.λ.] Is. liii. 4, not as it stands in the LXX, but as quoted in Matt. viii. 17.

μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς λοιμοτέρους ἐν πραύτητι ὑπότασσε. οὐ πᾶν  
 τραῦμα τῇ αὐτῇ ἐμπλάστρῳ θεραπεύεται· τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς  
 ἐμβροχαῖς παῦε. φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς ὁ ὄφεις ἐν πᾶσιν, καὶ  
 ἀκέραιος εἰσαεὶ ὡς ἡ περιστέρα. διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ  
 25 σώματος εἶ, σαρκικὸς καὶ πνευματικὸς, ἵνα τὰ φαινόμενά  
 σοι εἰς πρόσωπον ἐπανορθώσης, τὰ δὲ ἀόρατα αἰτεῖ ἵνα  
 σοι φανερωθῇ· ἵνα μηδὲν σοι λείπη, καὶ παντὸς χαρίσ-  
 ματος περισσεύης. ὁ καιρὸς ἀπαιτεῖ σε εὐχέσθαι· ὥσπερ  
 γὰρ κυβερνήτῃ ἄνεμος συμβάλλεται, καὶ ὡς νηὶ χειμα-  
 30 ζομένη λιμένες εὐθετοὶ εἰς σωτηρίαν, οὕτω καὶ σοὶ τὸ ἐπι-  
 τυχεῖν Θεοῦ. νῆφε ὡς Θεοῦ ἀθλητῆς· οὐ τὸ θέλημα ἀφ-  
 θαρσία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος· περὶ ἧς καὶ σὺ πέπεισαι. κατὰ  
 πάντα σοῦ ἀντίψυχος ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου ἃ ἠγάπησας.

III. Οἱ δοκοῦντες ἀξιοπίστοι εἶναι καὶ ἑτεροδιδασκα-  
 35 λοῦντες μὴ σε καταπλησίστωσαν· στήθι δὲ ἐδραῖος ὡς  
 ἄκμων τυπτόμενος. μεγάλου ἐστὶν ἀθλητοῦ δέρεσθαι καὶ  
 νικᾶν· μάλιστα δὲ ἔνεκεν Θεοῦ πάντα ὑπομένειν ἡμᾶς δεῖ,  
 ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἀναμείνῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν. πλείον  
 πρόσθες τῇ σπουδῇ οὐ εἶ· συντονώτερον δράμε. τοὺς και-  
 40 ροὺς καταμάνθανε· ὡς ἐνταῦθα εἶ, νίκησον· ὧδε γάρ ἐστιν  
 τὸ στάδιον, ἐκεῖ δὲ οἱ στέφανοι. προσδόκα Χριστὸν τὸν  
 υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ· τὸν ἄχρονον ἐν χρόνῳ· τὸν ἀόρατον τῇ  
 φύσει, ὅρατὸν ἐν σαρκί· τὸν ἀψηλάφητον καὶ ἀναφῇ ὡς  
 ἀσώματον, δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπτὸν καὶ ψηλαφητὸν ἐν σώματι·

g<sub>3</sub>. 22 τῇ αὐτῇ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub> I; τῷ αὐτῷ g<sub>3</sub>: see p. 337. ἐμπλάστρῳ]  
 ἐμπλάτρῳ g<sub>2</sub>. θεραπεύεται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub> I I; θεραπεύετε g<sub>4</sub>. 23 ἐμ-  
 βροχαῖς] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *embroche* (or *embrochae*) l; ἐν βροχαῖς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>. φρόνιμος] φρόνημος  
 g<sub>2</sub>. γίνου] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub> I; γενοῦ g<sub>4</sub>. ὁ ὄφεις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub> (see p. 338); ὄφεις (om. ὁ)  
 g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> (but g<sub>4</sub> transposes, ἐν πᾶσιν ὁ ὄφεις). 24 ἀκέραιος] ἀκαίρεος g<sub>2</sub>. εἰσαεὶ]  
 g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> (see p. 338); αἰεὶ g<sub>4</sub>; om. [I]. 26 ἐπανορθώσης] ἐπανορθώση g<sub>1</sub>;  
 ἐπανορθῶσαι g<sub>1</sub>; ἐπανορθοῦσαι g<sub>4</sub>; ἐπανορθοῦσαι (sic) g<sub>2</sub>; *corrīgus* l; κολακείης  
 I. αἰτεῖ] g<sub>4</sub> I; *pete* l; αἰτῇ g<sub>1</sub>; αἰτῆς g<sub>2</sub>s; αἰτήσῃ g<sub>3</sub>. 27 φανερω-  
 θείῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; φανερωθῇ g<sub>4</sub> with I. 30 τὸ ἐπιτυχεῖν] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; [p<sup>ae</sup>f. ἡ  
 εὐχὴ πρὸς g<sub>3</sub>. These words are omitted in l, in which however the whole context is  
 confused. 33 ἀντίψυχος] So all the four MSS, but I has ἀντίψυ-  
 χον. 35 καταπλησίστωσαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub> I; καταπληττέτωσαν g<sub>4</sub>. 36 δέ-  
 ρεσθαι] δέρρεσθαι g<sub>4</sub>. 37 ἔνεκεν] ἔνεκε g<sub>2</sub>. ἡμᾶς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub> I I; ὑμᾶς g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

τὸν ἀπαθῆ ὡς Θεόν, δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ παθητὸν ὡς ἄνθρωπον· τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα.

IV. Αἱ χῆραι μὴ ἀμελείσθωσαν· μετὰ τὸν Κύριον σὺ αὐτῶν φροντιστῆς ἔσο. μηδὲν ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης σου γινέσθω, μηδὲ σὺ ἄνευ Θεοῦ γνώμης τι πράσσει· ὅπερ οὐδὲ 5 πράττεις. εὐστάθει. πυκνότερον συναγωγαὶ γινέσθωσαν· ἐξ ὀνόματος πάντας ζήτηι. δούλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφάνει· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ φυσιοῦσθωσαν, ἀλλ' εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πλείονα δουλενέτωσαν, ἵνα κρείττονος ἐλευθερίας τύχωσιν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ. μὴ ἐράτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινου ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, 10 ἵνα μὴ δούλοι εὐρεθῶσιν ἐπιθυμίας.

V. Τὰς κακοτεχνίας φεῦγε, μᾶλλον δὲ περὶ τούτων ὁμιλίαν ποιοῦ. ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μου προστάλει ἀγαπᾶν τὸν Κύριον, καὶ τοῖς συμβίοις ἀρκεῖσθαι σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι. ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου παράγγελλε ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ 15 Χριστοῦ ἀγαπᾶν τὰς συμβίους ὡς ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. εἴ τις δύναται ἐν ἀγνείᾳ μένειν εἰς τιμὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐν ἀκαυχησίᾳ μενέτω· ἐὰν καυχῆσθαι, ἀπώλετο· καὶ ἐὰν γνωσθῇ πλὴν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἔφθαρται. πρέπει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμοῦσαις μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπι- 20 σκόπου τὴν ἔνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾗ κατὰ Κύριον καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν. πάντα εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ γινέσθω.

1 ὡς ἄνθρωπον] 1 breaks off at these words.

2 τρόπον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> I;

δρόμον g<sub>4</sub>.

4 γινέσθω] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> I; γενέσθω g<sub>2</sub>g.

5 ὅπερ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> I;

ὥσπερ g<sub>4</sub>.

6 πράττεις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>, though the other form πράσσει ap-

pears just above. As I has πράσσεις here, this must have been an arbitrary alteration of the interpolator, who forgot at the same time to alter the πράσσει and thus produced an incongruous result. πυκνότερον] ποικνότερον g<sub>2</sub>.

7 πάντας

ζήτηι] πάντα ἐζητει g<sub>2</sub> (apparently; see Dressel).

9 πλείονα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;

πλέον I (see p. 345); def. g<sub>3</sub>. The editors read πλείον here without any authority.

10 ἀπὸ pri.] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;

παρὰ g<sub>3</sub>. ἐράτωσαν] g<sub>2</sub> I; αἰρέτω-

σαν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;

αἰρέσθωσαν g<sub>3</sub>. The editors have commonly acquiesced in αἰρέτωσαν, but have not explained what they understood by it. It is an obvious corruption of ἐράτωσαν, and has been further corrected into αἰρέσθωσαν. This last is intended, I suppose, for αἰρεῖσθωσαν, which would at least be intelligible.

κοι-

νου] κυρίου g<sub>3</sub>, which stands quite alone in this reading.

11 εὐρεθῶσιν]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; ἐλευθερωθῶσιν g<sub>2</sub>.

12 φεῦγε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> I; φεύγετε g<sub>4</sub>.

13 ποιοῦ] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> I; μὴ ποιοῦ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>: see p. 347.

20 γαμοῦσαις] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;



VI. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῖν.  
 ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτερίῳ,  
 25 διακόνοις· μετ' αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέρος γένοιτο ἔχειν παρὰ Θεῷ.  
 συγκοπιᾶτε ἀλλήλοις, συναθλείτε, συντρέχετε, συμπάσχετε,  
 συγκοιμᾶσθε, συνεγείρεσθε, ὡς Θεοῦ οἰκονόμοι καὶ πάρεδροι  
 καὶ ὑπηρέται. ἀρέσκετε ᾧ στρατεύεσθε, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὰ  
 ὀψώνια κομίσεσθε. μήτις ὑμῶν δεσέρτωρ εὔρεθῇ. τὸ βάπ-  
 30 τισμα ὑμῶν μενέτω ὡς ὄπλα, ἡ πίστις ὡς περικεφαλαία, ἡ  
 ἀγάπη ὡς δόρυ, ἡ ὑπομονὴ ὡς πανοπλία· τὰ δεπόσιτα ὑμῶν  
 τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν, ἵνα τὰ ἄκκεπτα ὑμῶν ἄξια Θεοῦ κομίσησθε.  
 μακροθυμεῖτε οὖν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐν πραΰτητι, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς  
 μεθ' ὑμῶν. ὀναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός.

35 VII. Ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας  
 εἰρηνεύει, ὡς ἐδηλώθη μοι, διὰ τῆς προσευχῆς ὑμῶν, καὶ γὰρ  
 εὐθυμότερος ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀμεριμνίᾳ Θεοῦ, ἐάν περ διὰ τοῦ  
 παθεῖν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω, εἰς τὸ εὔρεθῆναί με ἐν τῇ αἰτήσει  
 ὑμῶν μαθητήν. πρέπει, Πολύκαρπε θεομακαριστότατε, συμ-  
 40 βούλιον ἀγαγεῖν θεοπρεπέστατον, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι, εἴ τινα  
 ἀγαπητὸν λίαν ἔχετε καὶ ἄοκνον, ὃς δυνήσεται θεόδρομος  
 καλεῖσθαι· τοῦτον καταξιώσαι πορευθῆναι εἰς Συρίαν, ἵνα  
 πορευθεὶς εἰς Συρίαν δοξάσῃ ὑμῶν τὴν ἄοκνον ἀγάπην εἰς

γαμύδσαις (sic)  $g_1$ : see the note p. 350.

22 τιμὴν Θεοῦ]  $g_1g_2sg_3$  I; θεοῦ

τιμὴν  $g_4$ .

24 ἐπισκόπῳ... διακόνοις]  $g_1g_2g_3$  (comp. I); τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῷ πρεσ-

βυτερίῳ τοῖς διακόνοις  $g_4$ .

25 ἔχειν]  $g_1g_3g_4s$ ; ἔχειν (sic)  $g_2$ . Perhaps  $σχεῖν$

may be the right reading, as in I.

Θεῷ]  $g_2$ ; Θεοῦ  $g_1g_3g_4s$ . The dative comes

nearer to the reading of I, ἐν Θεῷ.

29 ὀψώνια] ὀψώνια  $g_2$ . κομίσεσθε]

$g_1g_3g_4s$ ; κομίσησθε  $g_2$ .

δεσέρτωρ] δεσέλτωρ  $g_2g_4$ ; δεσελτωρ (without accent)

$g_1$ . For δεσέρτωρ εὔρεθῇ  $g_3$  substitutes διασαλευθῇ, just as it gets rid of all the other Latin words in the context. It may however have read so owing to the obliteration of some letters δαισ[αι]λ[τωρ]ευθῇ. The reading of  $g_1$  is falsely given in the editio princeps as δεσελτωρευθῇ.

30 μενέτω] μάλιντω

$g_2$ . 31 δεπόσιτα] πολεμικά  $g_3$ .

32 ἄκκεπτα]  $g_1$  I; ἄσκεπτα  $g_2$ ;

a  $g_4$  (leaving a blank and not finishing the word); ἄθλα  $g_3$ .

33 μακρο-

θυμεῖτε]  $g_1g_3g_4s$ ; μακροθυμήτε  $g_2$ .

πραΰτητι]  $g_1g_2sg_4s$ ; πραότητι  $g_3$ .

37 εὐ-

θυμότερος] εὐθυμώτερος  $g_2$ .

38 αἰτήσει]  $g_1g_2g_3g_4s$ . There is no authority for

ἀναστάσει in this recension: see p. 355 sq.

39 θεομακαριστότατε] θεομα-

καριστώτατε  $g_1$ .

41 λίαν ἔχετε]  $g_1g_2g_3$  I; ἔχετε λίαν  $g_4$ .

43 δοξάσῃ]

$g_1g_3g_4s$ ; δοξάσει  $g_2$ .

δόξαν Θεοῦ. ὁ χριστιανὸς ἐξουσίαν ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ Θεῷ σχολάζει. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Θεοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ ὑμῶν, ὅταν αὐτὸ ἀπαρτίσητε. πιστεύω γὰρ τῇ χάριτι, ὅτι ἔτοιμοί ἐστε εἰς εὐποιίαν Θεῷ ἀνήκουσαν. εἰδὼς ὑμῶν τὸ σύντομον τῆς ἀληθείας δι' ὀλίγων ὑμᾶς γραμμάτων παρεκάλεσα. 5

VIII. Ἐπεὶ οὖν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ἡδυνήθην γράψαι διὰ τὸ ἐξαίφνης πλεῖν με ἀπὸ Τρωάδος εἰς Νεάπολιν, ὡς τὸ θέλημα προστάσσει, γράψεις ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς Θεοῦ γνώμην κεκτημένος, εἰς τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι—οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι πεζοὺς πέμψαι, οἱ δέ, ἐπιστολὰς 10 διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ πεμπομένων, ἵνα δοξασθῇτε ἐν αἰωνίῳ ἔργῳ—ὡς ἄξιός ὢν. Ἀσπάζομαι πάντας ἐξ ὀνόματος, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἐπιτρόπου σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων· ἀσπάζομαι Ἀτταλον τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου· ἀσπάζομαι τὸν μέλλοντα καταξιούσθαι εἰς Συρίαν πορεύεσθαι· ἔσται ἡ χάρις 15 μετ' αὐτοῦ διὰ παντός, καὶ τοῦ πέμποντος αὐτὸν Πολυκάρπου. ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς διὰ παντός ἐν Θεῷ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ εὐχομαι, ἐν ᾧ διαμείνητε ἐν ἐνότητι Θεοῦ καὶ ἐπισκοπῇ. ἀσπάζομαι Ἀλκην, τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα. ἀμήν· ἡ χάρις. ἐρρωσθε ἐν Κυρίῳ. 20

3 αὐτὸ ἀπαρτίσητε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> I; αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσητε g<sub>3</sub>. 4 σύντομον] So g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. The word in I is σύντονον, and this is perhaps the right reading here also, but it is without authority in this recension. 5 ὑμᾶς γραμμάτων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> I; ὑμῶν πραγμάτων g<sub>2</sub>.

8 τὸ θέλημα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; τὸ θεοῦ θέλημα g<sub>3</sub>. γράψεις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; add. συ g<sub>3</sub>. 9 κεκτημένος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; κεκτημέναις g<sub>3</sub>.

15 ἡ χάρις] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> I; add. του θεοῦ g<sub>4</sub>. 16 αὐτὸν] αὐτὸν αὐτὸν g<sub>2</sub>. 18 διαμείνητε] I; διαμεινέτε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; διαμείνατε g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

ἐπισκοπῇ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. There is no authority for reading ἐπισκόπων in this recension, though it is found in several editions. 19 Ἀλκην] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἀλκὴν g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

ἀμήν· ἡ χάρις] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἡ χάρις μεθ' ἡμῶν· ἀμήν g<sub>3</sub>.

Subscr. τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς πολύκαρπον ἐπίσκοπον σμύρνης g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>. In g<sub>1</sub> the number η is added. Nothing in g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

19. ἀμήν· ἡ χάρις] For this unusual mode of expression and for the incident connected with it see the note on *Ps-Ephes.* 21.

## 10.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΣ.

ἸΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησία ἡλημένη ὑπὸ Θεοῦ,  
ἐκλελεγμένη ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ, παροικούσῃ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ  
πρώτῃ Χριστοῦ ἐπωνυμίαν λαβούσῃ, τῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ἐν  
25 Θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ χαίρειν.

Ι. Ἐλαφρά μοι καὶ κοῦφα τὰ δεσμὰ ὁ Κύριος πεποί-  
ηκεν, μαθόντι εἰρηνεύειν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ὁμονοίᾳ σαρκικῇ  
τε καὶ πνευματικῇ διάγειν. παρακαλῶ οὔν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ὁ  
δέσμιος ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἀξίως περιπατῆσαι τῆς κλήσεως ἧς ἐκ-  
30 ἈΛΗΘΗΤΕ· φυλαττόμενοι τὰς εἰσχωμασάσας αἰρέσεις τοῦ  
πονηροῦ ἐπ' ἀπάτῃ καὶ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν πειθομένων αὐτῷ·  
προσέχειν δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων διδαχῇ, καὶ νόμῳ καὶ  
προφῆταις πιστεύειν· πᾶσαν Ἰουδαϊκὴν καὶ Ἑλληνικὴν

ΠΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΣ] g<sub>4</sub> (with θ in the marg.); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἀντιοχεῖς  
(with θ in the marg.) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως  
ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἀντιοχεῖς. θ. g<sub>3</sub>; *ad antiochiā in urbem* A. For L see p.  
635.

23 ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *a christo* L; διὰ χριστοῦ g<sub>3</sub>. [A] translates by the  
same preposition as in ὑπὸ θεοῦ (transposing the clauses, ἐκλελεγμένη ὑπὸ χριστοῦ,  
ἡλημένη ὑπὸ θεοῦ). In l the text runs *misericordiam a christo consecutae*,  
omitting θεοῦ, ἐκλελεγμένη ὑπὸ (or διὰ). It seems probable therefore that l also  
had ὑπὸ, since the repetition of the same word would account for the omis-  
sion.

27 μαθόντι] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; μαθόντα g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *discenti* L; *cum didicissem* l; *quando didici* A.

30 εἰσχωμασάσας] εἰσκομασάσας g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; εἰσκομισάσας g<sub>3</sub>; εἰσχωμά-  
σας g<sub>4</sub>; *inductis* (εἰσκομισθείσας) L; *introeuntibus* l. In A the whole sentence  
φυλαττόμενοι...τοῦ πονηροῦ is translated *ut custodiamur ab iniquis et malis haere-*  
*ticiis*.

31 ἐπ' ἀπάτῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ g<sub>4</sub>. ἀπωλείᾳ] ἀπολείᾳ g<sub>1</sub>.

33 Ἰουδαϊκὴν καὶ Ἑλληνικὴν] g<sub>1</sub> A; *gentilem et judaicum* L.

24. πρώτῃ Χριστοῦ κ.τ.λ.] See *Ps-Magn.* 10, with the note.

26. Ἐλαφρά μοι κ.τ.λ.] Borrowed  
from the commencement of a letter  
written by Alexander of Jerusalem  
early in the third century to the  
Antiochenes and preserved in Euseb.  
*H. E.* vi. 11 Ἐλαφρά μοι καὶ κοῦφα

τὰ δεσμὰ ὁ Κύριος ἐποίησε κατὰ τὸν  
καιρὸν τῆς εἰρκτῆς κ.τ.λ.

28. παρακαλῶ κ.τ.λ.] From *Ephes.*  
iv. 1.

30. εἰσχωμασάσας] As in *Tar.* 2;  
comp. Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* ii. 12 (p. 241).  
See also Suicer *Thes.* s. v.



ἀπορρίψαι πλάνην· καὶ μήτε πλήθος θεῶν ἐπεισάγειν μήτε τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρνεῖσθαι προφάσει τοῦ ἐνὸς Θεοῦ.

II. Μωσῆς τε γὰρ ὁ πιστὸς θεράπων τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰπών, Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς σοῦ Κύριος εἰς ἕστιν· καὶ τὸν ἕνα καὶ μόνον κηρύξας Θεόν, ὡμολόγησεν εὐθέως καὶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν 5 λέγων, Κύριος ἔβρεξεν ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα παρὰ Κυρίου πῦρ καὶ θεῖον· καὶ πάλιν, [καὶ] εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν· καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν· καὶ ἐξῆς, ἐν εἰκόνι Θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον. καὶ ὅτι γενήσεται 10 ἄνθρωπος, φησὶν· προφήτην ἡμῖν ἀναστήσει Κύριος ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐμέ.

III. Οἱ δὲ προφῆται, εἰπόντες ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐγὼ Θεός πρῶτος, καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ πλὴν ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν Θεός, περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων λέγουσιν. καὶ 15 περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, γίός, φησὶν, ἐδόθη ἡμῖν, οἷ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἄνωθεν, καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μεγάλης βοῦλῆς ἄγγελος, θαυμαστός, σύμβουλος, Θεὸς ἰσχυρός, ἐξουσιαστής. καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως αὐτοῦ, ἰδοὺ ἡ

3 τε] g; om. L[C][A].  
καὶ] g (all the four mss).

7 καὶ εἶπεν] *et dixit* L1; *quod dixit* A; εἶπεν (om. 8 ἡμετέραν] *txt* gA; add. *et secundum similitudinem* L; add. *et similitudinem nostram* l; from Gen. i. 26 καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν.

9 καὶ ἐξῆς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s; καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς g<sub>3</sub>; *et paulo post* l; *et deinceps quoniam* L; def. A.

10 ἐποίησα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *fecit* L; *fecit* l; def. g<sub>3</sub>A. The edd. generally give ἐποίησε in the Greek, and *fecit* in L. This is quite wrong. The passage quoted is Gen. ix. 6, not Gen. v. i.

16 φησὶν] g (all the four mss); *ait* L; *idem...dicit* [A]; *rursum prophetae proclamaverunt dicentes* l. The editors read *φασιν*, without any authority.

17 ἡ ἀρχὴ ἄνωθεν] *initium est desuper* l; *principium desuper* L; *imperium suum super humeros suos* A; ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἄνωθεν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. Thus A substitutes ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ for ἄνωθεν from Is. ix. 6, while the mss of g combine both forms.

19 ἐξουσιαστής] *txt* gL; add. *princeps facis* lA.

20 ἐν γαστρὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub> L1; om. g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. A has only one word *conci-piet* for ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται.

22 ἀμνὸς] *txt* g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> L1 A; add. *ἄμωμος* g<sub>4</sub>.

4. Κύριος ὁ Θεός κ.τ.λ.] Deut. vi. 4, quoted also Mark xii. 29; but *σον* is here substituted for ἡμῶν.

6. λέγων] The passages which follow are taken from Gen. xix. 24 Κύριος ἔβρεξεν κ.τ.λ., Gen. i. 26, 27 καὶ εἶπεν

κ.τ.λ., Gen. ix. 6 ἐν εἰκόνι κ.τ.λ., Deut. xviii. 15 *προφήτην* κ.τ.λ., in which last passage the form is influenced by the quotations in Acts iii. 22, vii. 37.

13. εἰπόντες] The passages which follow are taken from Is. xlv. 6 ἐγὼ

20 παρθένος [ἐν γαστρὶ] λήψεται καὶ τέξεται γίόν, καὶ καλέσουσι  
τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανοὴλ. καὶ περὶ τοῦ πάθους, ὡς πρό-  
βατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος  
αὐτὸν ἄφωνος· καὶ, ἐγὼ ὡς ἀρνίον ἄκακον ἀρόμενον τοῦ  
θύεσθαι.

25 IV. Οἱ τε εὐαγγελισταί, εἰπόντες τὸν ἕνα πατέρα μόνον  
ἀληθινὸν Θεόν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν οὐ παρέλιπον,  
ἀλλ' ἔγραψαν· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν  
Θεὸν καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος· οὔτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν·  
πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν.  
30 καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως· ὁ λόγος, φησί, εὐχρηστέως  
καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν· καὶ, Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
γίου Δαυεὶδ, γίου Ἀβραάμ· οἱ δὲ ἀπόστολοι, εἰπόντες ὅτι  
Θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν, εἶπον οἱ αὐτοὶ ὅτι εἷς καὶ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ  
ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τὴν ἐνσωμάτωσιν καὶ τὸ πάθος οὐκ ἐπησ-  
35 χύνθησαν· τί γὰρ φησιν; ἄνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ὁ  
δοῦς ἐαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς.

V. Πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ἕνα καταγγέλλει Θεὸν ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει  
τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεότητος γίός ἐστιν διαβόλος καὶ ἐχθρὸς

23 καὶ, ἐγὼ] καὶ γὰρ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; καὶ (om. ἐγὼ) g<sub>3</sub>; *et ego* L; *et iterum de se ipso referens dicit, ego autem* l; def. A. In Jerem. xi. 19 it is ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἀρνίον κ.τ.λ. (but some MSS omit δέ). ὡς] ὡς ὡς g<sub>2</sub>.

26 παρέλιπον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; παρέλειπαν g<sub>2</sub>.

29 οὐδὲ ἓν] txt Ll; add. ὁ γέγονεν (γέγονε) g (all four MSS) A. An argument for omitting ὁ γέγονεν here is the fact that in early writers these words were commonly connected not with the preceding, but with the following sentence.

31 γενέ-  
σεως] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; γενέσεως g<sub>4</sub>; γεννήσεως g<sub>2</sub>; *generationis* LlA.

32 Δαυεὶδ] δαὶδ g<sub>1</sub>.

33 ὅτι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s LlA; ὅ (sic) g<sub>2</sub>. εἷς] glA; om. L.

35 τί γὰρ φησιν] g; *quid enim ait* L; *sed potius fiducialiter subjunxerunt dicentes* l;

*veluti quando dicunt* A.

36 ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς] with Joh. vi. 51;

*pro seculi vita* l; *pro mundi vita* L; ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας g (all

four MSS); *pro mundo* A.

37 ἕνα] LlA; add καὶ μόνον g.

38 θεότητος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> LlA; δυνάμεως g<sub>4</sub>.

υἱὸς ἐστὶν διαβόλου] *filius est diaboli* L;

*hi filii veri sunt satanae* A; διάβολος g; see the lower note.

Θεὸς πρῶτος κ.τ.λ., from Is. ix. 6 υἱὸς  
ἐδόθη κ.τ.λ., from Is. vii. 14 ἰδοὺ ἡ  
παρθένος κ.τ.λ., from Is. liii. 7 ὡς  
πρόβατον κ.τ.λ., and from Jer. xi. 19  
ἐγὼ ὡς ἀρνίον κ.τ.λ.

27. ἔγραψαν] The following quo-

tations are taken from Joh. i. 1 sq.  
Ἐν ἀρχῇ κ.τ.λ., from Joh. i. 14 ὁ λόγος  
κ.τ.λ., from Matt. i. 1 Βίβλος γενέσεως  
κ.τ.λ., from 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6, εἷς Θεὸς  
κ.τ.λ.

38. υἱὸς... διαβόλου κ.τ.λ.] The ex-

πάσης δικαιοσύνης· ὃ τε ὁμολογῶν Χριστὸν οὐ τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὸν κόσμον υἱὸν ἀλλ' ἑτέρου τινὸς ἀγνώστου, παρ' ὃν ἐκήρυξεν ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφήται, οὗτος ὄργανόν ἐστιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ διαβόλου· ὃ τε τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν παραιτούμενος καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπαισχυνόμενος, δι' ὃν δέδεμαι, οὗτός 5 ἐστιν ἀντίχριστος· ὃ τε ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον λέγων τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπάρατός ἐστι κατὰ τὸν προφήτην, οὐκ ἐπὶ Θεῷ πεποιηθὼς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπῳ· διὸ καὶ ἄκαρπός ἐστιν, παραπλησίως τῇ ἀγριομυρική.

1 ποιήσαντος] ποιήσαντον g<sub>2</sub>.

7 κατὰ τὸν προφήτην] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> L; secundum

dictum prophetae 1A; om. g<sub>4</sub>.

8 ἀνθρώπῳ] ἄνων g<sub>2</sub>. παραπλησίως] proxi-

mus (παραπλήσιος) L.

9 ἀγριομυρική] ἀγριομυρική g<sub>2</sub>.

10 ὦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>LA;

ὁ g<sub>2</sub>; cum sim (ὦν) 1; τῇ g<sub>4</sub> (thus making νεολαία a dative).

νεελαία] novellum

olivae 1; νεολαία g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; νεολέα g<sub>2</sub>; juvenis L; novi pueri A.

For the reasons

which have decided me to adopt the less supported reading νεελαία see the lower note.

11 ὑμῖν] ὑμῶν g<sub>3</sub>.

14 ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία, καὶ] AL\* (see p. 637); deus

pressions are taken from Acts xiii. 10. For the other reading διάβολος comp. Joh. vi. 70.

7. ἐπάρατος κ.τ.λ.] Jer. xvii. 5 ἐπικατάρατος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃς τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον...καὶ ἀπὸ Κυρίου ἀποστῇ ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἀγριομυρική ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κ.τ.λ. Comp. *Ps-Trall.* 11, with the note on ἀνθρωπολάτрас.

10. νεελαία] 'young olive,' the metaphor being suggested by the previous ἀγριομυρική; comp. *Ps.* cxvii (cxviii). 3 ὡς νεόφυτα ἐλαιῶν. The devout servant of God is elsewhere compared to an olive-tree; *Ps.* li (lii). 9 ὡσεὶ ἐλαία κατάκαρπος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ (comp. *Hos.* xiv. 6), *Jer.* xi. 16 ἐλαίαν ὠραίαν εὖσκιον, *Ecclus.* xxiv. 14 ὡς ἐλαία εὐπρεπὴς ἐν πεδίῳ (of wisdom), 1. 10 ὡς ἐλαία ἀναθάλλουσα κάρπους. See also Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* iv. i (vii. p. 58) for the typical character of the olive tree. On the other hand for νεολαία comp. *Clem. Alex. Protr.* 9 (p. 69) ἤκετε, ἤκετε, ὦ νεολαία ἡ ἐμή, *Euseb. V. C.* iv. 43 τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνθούντα κάλλη τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ νεολαίας.

12. βλέπετε κ.τ.λ.] A combination of *Phil.* ii. 2 βλέπετε τοὺς κύνας, βλέπετε τοὺς κακοὺς ἐργάτας, and *Phil.* ii. 18, 19 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κ.τ.λ., with *Is.* lvi. 10 κύνες ἐνεοί.

κακεντρεχεῖς] 'quick, nimble, clever, in mischief,' and so 'wily.' The word occurs as early as *Epicharmus*; *Bekker Antiatt.* p. 105. Like so much of the peculiar diction of our Pseudo-Ignatius, it is a Eusebian word; *Praef. Ev.* iv. 1 (p. 132) τὸ δεινὸν καὶ κακεντρεχὲς τῶν περὶ τὴν κακότεχνον ταύτην διατριβὴν τευταζόντων.

15. τοὺς κύνας τοὺς ἐνεοὺς] The 'dumb dogs' of *Is.* lvi. 10 are introduced again, *Ps-Ephes.* 7 κύνες ἐνεοί, οὐ δυνάμενοι ὑλακτεῖν, λυσσῶντες λαθροδῆκται. Here ἐνεοὺς is rendered *rabidos* by 1 (but not by L in *Ephes.* 7, as stated by *Ussher*, for ἐνεοί does not occur there in the genuine Ignatius, and 'rabidi' is a translation of λυσσῶντες). This seems to be explained by *Epiphanius. Haer.* lxxviii. 3 (p. 1035 sq.) οἱ μὲν αὖθις μανέντες, δίκην λυσσητήρων κυνῶν, ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῶν δεσπότην ὑλακτοῦσι, καθάπερ



10 VI. Ταῦτα γράφω ὑμῖν, ὃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νελαία, οὐ  
 συνειδὼς ὑμῖν τὸ τοιοῦτο φρόνημα, ἀλλὰ προφυλαττόμενος  
 ὑμᾶς, ὡς πατὴρ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τέκνα. Βλέπετε οὖν τοὺς κακεν-  
 τρεχεῖς ἐργάτας, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταγροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ,  
 ὧν τὸ τέλος ἀπώλεια, ὧν [ὁ Θεὸς ἡ κοιλία, καὶ] ἡ δόξα ἐν  
 15 τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν. Βλέπετε τοὺς κύνας τοὺς ἐνεοῦς, τοὺς  
 ὄφεις τοὺς συρομένους, τὰ φολιδωτὰ δρακόντια, τὰς ἀσπίδας,  
 τοὺς βασιλίσκους, τοὺς σκορπίους· οὗτοι γάρ εἰσι θῶες  
 ἀλωποί, ἀνθρωπόμιμοι πίθηκοι.

VII. Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου γεγόνατε μαθηταί· μὴ ἀπο-

*venter est, quorum* l; om. g. The words are perhaps an insertion to complete the quotation, but the coincidence of authorities in their favour gives them a claim to consideration. 15 τοὺς κύνας] om. g<sub>3</sub>. ἐνεοῦς] ἐννεοῦς g<sub>4</sub>. 16 φολι-

δωτὰ] *squamosos* lA; *φιλόδωρα* g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *φιλόδορα* g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; *infoveatos* L (see the lower note). 19 γεγόνατε] g; *fiatis* L; *estis* lA. ἀπολέσητε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s;

ἀπολέσεται g<sub>2</sub>.

ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς Ἰουδαῖοι τοῦτον ἀγνοήσαντες  
 κέκληνται Κύνες ἐννεοί... φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς  
 λυσσῶντας κύνας ἐννεοὺς καλεῖσθαι διὰ  
 τὸ νωθοὺς ἀποτελεῖσθαι ἐκ τῆς καταλιμ-  
 πανούσης αὐτοὺς διανοίας. This is an  
 entire misunderstanding of the mean-  
 ing of the prophet; but the supposed  
 secondary sense, which was thus at-  
 tached to the word, accounts for the  
 employment of it in these two pas-  
 sages of the spurious Ignatius, where  
 ‘madness’, not ‘sloth’ or ‘remiss-  
 ness,’ is the idea.

16. συρομένους] ‘trailing,’ as e.g.  
 Antiphilus in *Anthol.* II. p. 175  
 πᾶσα δὲ νηδὺς συρομένη; comp. LXX  
 Micah vii. 17 ὡς ὄφεις σύροντες γῆν.  
 Later lexicographers and others seem  
 to have confused σύρειν, σύρεσθαι,  
 with συρίζειν. So perhaps the Scho-  
 liast on Lycophr. 217 σύρουσαν ἄλμη  
 καπὶ ροιζοῦσαν πάτρη, who has the  
 gloss, συρομένην, συρίζουσαν τῇ πατρίδι.  
 The confusion was assisted by such  
 passages as Job xxvii. 23 συριεῖ αὐτὸν  
 ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ, Is. v. 26 συριεῖ  
 αὐτοὺς (v. l. αὐτοῖς) ἀπ’ ἄκρου τῆς γῆς.  
 See the notes of Ussher and Cotelier

here. There is no sufficient ground  
 however for ascribing this confusion  
 to our Ignatian writer.

φολιδωτὰ] Arist. *de Part. An.* iv.  
 12 (p. 692) τὰ μὲν τριχωτὰ ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ  
 φολιδωτὰ, τὰ δὲ λεπιδωτὰ, οἱ δὲ ὄρμιθες  
 πτερωτοί. The φολὶς is the horny  
 scale of a reptile as opposed to the  
 λεπίς the thin scale of a fish; *ib.* iv.  
 11 (p. 691) ἔστι δ’ ἡ φολὶς ὁμοιον  
 χώρα λεπίδος, φύσει δὲ σκληρότερον.  
 The ‘infoveatos’ of L is explained  
 by the fact that Suidas (p. 1521  
 Gaisford) under φολιδωτὸς writes,  
 ὁ δὲ κροκόδειλος τὰς χειμερίους ἡμέρας  
 μ’ φωλεύει κατὰ γῆς ἐγκεκρυμμένος,  
 and that at a later point (p. 1534)  
 some copies in connexion with φω-  
 λεά, φωλεύειν, etc., give φωλὶς· καὶ  
 φωλιδωτὸς.

18. ἀλωποί] ‘fox-like’: see Hesych.  
 ἀλωπός· ἀλωπεκώδης, πανούργος· Σο-  
 φοκλῆς Θυέστη Ἰνάχω, and similarly  
*Etym. Magn.* s.v. It is a fit epithet  
 of the jackal (θῶς).

19. Παύλου κ.τ.λ.] *Ps-Magn.* 10  
 Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου θεμελιούντων τὴν  
 ἐκκλησίαν [τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ]. For S.

λέσητε τὴν παραθήκην. μνημονεύσατε Εὐδοδίου τοῦ ἀξιομακαρίστου ποιμένος ὑμῶν, ὃς πρῶτος ἐνεχειρίσθη παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ὑμετέραν προστασίαν. μὴ κατασχύνομεν τὸν πατέρα· γενώμεθα γνήσιοι παῖδες, ἀλλὰ μὴ νόθοι. οἶδατε ὅπως συνανεστράφην μεθ' ὑμῶν· ἃ παρὼν ἔλεγον ὑμῖν, ταῦτα καὶ ἀπὼν γράφω· εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν, ἥτω ἀνάθεμα. μιμηταὶ μοῦ γίνεσθε. ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν γενοίμην, ὅταν Ἰησοῦ ἐπιτύχω. μνημονεύετε μοῦ τῶν δεσμών.

VIII. Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ποιμάνετε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον, ἵνα ἕως ἀναδείξῃ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ὑμῶν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι, ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω. οἱ διάκονοι γνωσκέτωσαν οἷον εἰσὶν ἀξιώματος, καὶ σπουδαζέτωσαν ἄμεμπτοι εἶναι, ἵνα ὧσιν μιμηταὶ Χριστοῦ. ὁ λαὸς ὑποτασσέσθω τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις. αἱ παρθένοι γνωσκέτωσαν τίνι καθιέρωσαν ἑαυτάς.

IX. Οἱ ἄνδρες στεργέτωσαν τὰς ὁμοζύγους, μνημο-

- 2 ὑμῶν]  $g_1 g_3 L1A$  : ἡμῶν  $g_2 g_4$ . 3 ὑμετέραν]  $g_1 g_2 s L1A$  ; ἡμετέραν  $g_3 g_4$ .  
 5 ἃ] *quae* L ; *et quae* A ; *quae ergo* 1 ; ὡς  $g_1 g_2 g_4$  ; ὡς οὖν  $g_3$ . 7 ἥτω]  
 $g_1 g_2 s g_4$  ; ἔστω  $g_3$ . 8 Ἰησοῦ]  $g$  ; *christum* 1 ; *iesum christum* A ;  
*deo* L. 12 σπένδομαι] add. *et tempus resolutionis meae instat* L. This  
 addition is wanting in  $g1A$ . For σπένδομαι  $g_3$  has σπεύδομαι, and 1 *festino*.  
 13 ἄμεμπτοι]  $g1A$  ; *immaculati* (ἄμωμοι?) L. 19 σάρκα ἰδίαν]  $g1L$  : *sarra*  
*abrahamum* A (comp. 1 Pet. iii. 6). Petermann supposes that the Greek text of A  
 was Σάρρα ἰδιον. 20 σωφρονεῖτωσαν]  $g_4$  ; *castificent* L ; *erubescant* [A] ;

Paul see Acts xi. 26, xiii. 1, etc. ; for S. Peter, Gal. ii. 11. It is not however strictly accurate to say that either 'founded' the Church of Antioch : comp. Acts xi. 20 sq.

1. Εὐδοδίου] The constant tradition, whatever may be its worth, makes Euodius or Euhodius the first bishop of Antioch after the Apostles ; Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 22, *Chron.* ii. p. 152 (Schoene). Accordingly Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 8, writes Ἰγνάτιος Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας τρίτος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἐπίσκοπος, and Origen *Hom. vi. in Luc.* (III p. 938)

doubtless means the same, though he says τὸν Ἰγνάτιον...τὸν μετὰ τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας δεύτερον ἐπίσκοπον (just as Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 22, 36, calls him δεύτερος ἐπίσκοπος, not reckoning in S. Peter, and so also *Mart. Rom. Ign.* 1). A more precise statement is hazarded in *Apost. Const.* vii. 47 Ἀντιοχείας δὲ Εὐόδιος μὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου, Ἰγνάτιος δὲ ὑπὸ Παύλου.

5. ἃ παρὼν κ.τ.λ.] Similarly 2 Cor. xiii. 2 ; comp. 1 Cor. v. 3.

6. εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

νεύοντες ὅτι μία ἐνί, οὐ πολλαὶ ἐνί, ἐδόθησαν ἐν τῇ κτίσει.  
αἱ γυναῖκες τιμάτωσαν τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς σάρκα ἰδίαν, μηδὲ  
20 ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτοὺς τολμάτωσαν καλεῖν, σωφρονεῖτωσαν δέ,  
μόνους ἄνδρας τοὺς ὁμοζύγους εἶναι νομίζουσai, οἷς καὶ  
ἡνώθησαν κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ. οἱ γονεῖς, τὰ τέκνα παι-  
δεύετε παιδείαν ἱεράν. τὰ τέκνα, τιμᾶτε τοὺς γονεῖς, ἵνα  
εἶ ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν.

25 X. Οἱ δεσπόται, μὴ ὑπερηφάνως τοῖς δούλοις προσέ-  
χετε, μιμούμενοι τὸν τλητικὸν Ἰωβ εἰπόντα, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐφαγ-  
λῖσα κρίμα θεράποντός μου ἢ θεραπαίνης μου, κρινομένων  
αὐτῶν πρὸς με· τί γάρ ποιήσω, ἐὰν ἔτασιν μου ὁ Κύριος  
ποιήσεται; καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ἐπίστασθε. οἱ δούλοι, μὴ παρορ-  
30 γίζετε τοὺς δεσπότας ἐν μηδενί, ἵνα μὴ κακῶν ἀνηκέστων  
ἑαυτοῖς αἵτιοι γένησθε.

XI. Μηδεὶς ἀργὸς ἐσθιέτω, ἵνα μὴ ῥεμβὸς γένηται  
καὶ πορνοκόπος. μέθη, ὀργή, φθόνος, λοιδορία, κραυγή,  
βλασφημία, μηδὲ ὀνομαζέσθω ἐν ὀνόματι. αἱ χῆραι μὴ σπα-

σωφρονιζέτωσαν  $g_1sg_2sg_3$ ; *sciant* (φρονεῖτωσαν?) l. The edd. have retained *σωφρο-  
νιζέτωσαν*, though a transitive verb makes no sense. 25 προσέχετε] g

(comp. 1A); *praeferamini* (προέχετε). 26 τὸν τλητικὸν] gAl; om. L.

Ἰωβ]  $g_1g_2g_3LlA$ ; *uiden*  $g_4$ .

27 θεραπαίνης] *θεραπένης*  $g_1$ .

29 ποι-

ήσεται]  $g_1sg_3g_4s$ ; *ποιήσεται*  $g_2$ .

30 ἐν μηδενί]  $gl$ ; *propter res nihili* A (prob.

an interpretation of ἐν μηδενί); *in ira* L.

31 ἑαυτοῖς]  $g_1g_3g_4sLl$ ; *αὐτοῖς*  $g_2$ ;

om. A.

32 ῥεμβὸς]  $g_1g_3g_4$ ; *ρεμπτός*  $g_2$ .

33 πορνοκόπος]  $g_2$ ; *πορνοσκόπος*

$g_1sg_3g_4s$ , and so the edd., but see Steph. *Thes.* s. v. (ed. Hase et Dind.).

34 βλασφημία]  $glA$ ; *blasphemiae* L.

7. *μνηταί μου γίνεσθε*] 1 Cor. iv. 16, xi. 1.

8. *μνημονεύετε μου κ.τ.λ.*] From Col. iv. 18.

10. *ποιμάνετε κ.τ.λ.*] From 2 Pet. v. 2.

11. *ἐγὼ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.*] 2 Tim. iv. 6, followed by Phil. iii. 8.

19. *ὡς σάρκα ἰδίαν*] Comp. Ephes. v. 29.

*μηδὲ ἐξ ὀνόματος κ.τ.λ.*] *Apost. Const.* vi. 29 *ὡς ἡ ἁγία Σάρρα τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐτίμα οὐδ' ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτὸν ὑπομένουσα καλεῖν ἀλλὰ κύριον αὐτὸν*

*προσαγορεύουσα κ.τ.λ.* (comp. 1 Pet. iii. 6). This passage will account for the substitution in the Armenian.

23. *ἵνα· εὖ ὑμῖν ᾗ*] Exod. xx. 12; comp. Ephes. vi. 3.

26. *εἰ δὲ καὶ κ.τ.λ.*] From Job xxxi. 13, 14.

32. *μηδεὶς ἀργὸς κ.τ.λ.*] Suggested by 2 Thess. iii. 10.

34. *μηδὲ ὀνομαζέσθω κ.τ.λ.*] From Ephes. v. 3.

*σπαταλάτωσαν, καταστρηνιάσωσι*] These two words in this connexion are borrowed from 1 Tim. v. 6, 11.



ταλάτῳσαν, ἵνα μὴ καταστρηνιάσωσι τοῦ λόγου. τῷ Καίσαρι ὑποτάγητε, ἐν οἷς ἀκίνδυνος ἡ ὑποταγή. τοὺς ἄρχοντας μὴ ἐρεθίζετε εἰς παροξυσμόν, ἵνα μὴ δώτε ἀφορμὴν τοῖς ζητοῦσι καθ' ὑμῶν. περὶ δὲ γοητείας ἢ παιδεραστίας ἢ φόβου περιττὸν τὸ γράφειν, ὅποτε ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν 5 ἀπηγόρευται πράττειν. ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος παρακελεύομαι, ἀλλ' ὡς σύνδουλος ὑμῶν ὑπομιμνήσκω ὑμᾶς.

4 ὑμῶν] g<sub>3</sub>l1A; ἡμῶν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. The ἀφορμὴν is repeated after ζητοῦσιν καθ' ὑμῶν by LA, being probably a reminiscence of 2 Cor. xi. 12 ἵνα ἐκκόψω ἀφορμὴν τῶν θελόντων ἀφορμὴν. δὲ] g1A; om. L. γοητείας] g<sub>4</sub>s; γοητίας g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

1. τῷ Καίσαρι κ.τ.λ.] See *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 6 (p. 515), and the remarks, p. 379.

3. εἰς παροξυσμόν] This expression occurs Heb. x. 24 in a different connexion. The words which follow, ἵνα μὴ κ.τ.λ., are an echo of 2 Cor. xi. 12. So again περιττὸν τὸ γράφειν is borrowed from 2 Cor. ix. 1, and καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν κ.τ.λ. is suggested by 1 Cor. v. 1.

9. τὸ ποθεινόν κ.τ.λ.] i.e. Hero. For the expression see *Ign. Polyc.* 8 with the note (p. 361).

11. ὑποδιακόνους κ.τ.λ.] See the enumeration of the Church officers at Rome (A.D. 251) by Cornelius in Euseb. *H.E.* vi. 43 πρεσβυτέρους τεσσαράκοντα ἕξ, διακόνους ἑπτὰ, ὑποδιακόνους ἑπτὰ, ἀκολουθούς δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, ἐξορκιστὰς δὲ καὶ ἀναγνώστας ἅμα πυλῳροῖς δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα, χήρας σὺν θλιβομένοις ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας πεντακοσίας. Of these offices the acolytes were confined to the Western Church and so are not mentioned here. On the other hand the 'deaconesses' seem to have been confined to the Eastern Church at this time. See also *Apost. Const.* iii. 11 τοῖς λοιποῖς κληρικοῖς. οἷον ἀναγνώσταις ἢ ψάλταις ἢ πυλῳροῖς ἢ ὑπηρέταις κ.τ.λ., viii. 12 πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, δικαίων, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, ὑπο-

διακόνων, ἀναγνώστων, ψαλτῶν, παρθένων, χηρῶν, λαϊκῶν κ.τ.λ., viii. 13 ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἔπειτα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι καὶ ὑποδιάκονοι καὶ οἱ ἀναγνώσται καὶ οἱ ψάλται καὶ οἱ ἀσκηταί, καὶ ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν αἱ διακόνισσαι καὶ αἱ παρθένοι καὶ αἱ χῆραι; comp. viii. 19—28, 31, *Apost. Can.* 43, *Conc. Laodic. Can.* 24 τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τάξεως ἕως ὑπηρέτων ἢ ἀναγνώστων ἢ ψαλτῶν ἢ ἐπορκιστῶν ἢ θυρωρῶν ἢ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν ἀσκητῶν, *Conc. Antioch. Can.* 10. Of these lower orders the 'sub-deacons' are first mentioned in the middle of the third century, in the passage of Cornelius already quoted and in the contemporary letters of Cyprian. On the cause of the institution of this office see *Philippians* p. 188 sq. The 'readers' occur as early as Tertullian *de Praescr.* 41 'hodie diaconus, qui cras lector,' where the language shows that this was already a firmly established order in the Church. Of the 'singers' the notices in the *Apostolical Constitutions* are probably the most ancient. The 'door-keepers,' like the subdeacons, seem to be first mentioned in the letter of Cornelius. The κοπιῶντες first appear a full century later; see the next note. The 'exorcists,' as we have seen, are mentioned as a distinct order by Cornelius, while in *Apost. Const.*

XII. Ἀσπάζομαι τὸ ἅγιον πρεσβυτέριον. ἀσπάζομαι τοὺς ἱεροὺς διακόνους, καὶ τὸ ποθεινόν μοι ὄνομα, ὃν ἐπίδοιμι  
 10 ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, ὅταν Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω· οὗ  
 ἀντίψυχον γενοίμην. ἀσπάζομαι ὑποδιακόνους, ἀναγνώστας,  
 ψάλτας, πυλωρούς, τοὺς κοπιῶντας, ἐπορκιστάς, ὁμολογητάς.

7 ὑμᾶς] ἡμᾶς g<sub>3</sub>.

9 ἐπίδοιμι] *reservavi* l (ἐφειδόμεν) pointing to an intermediate reading ἐφίδοιμι (ἐφέλδοιμι).

12 ἐπορκιστάς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; ἐξορκιστάς g<sub>3</sub>; *exorcistas* Ll; om. A (substituting *religiosos* for the two words, ἐπορκιστάς, ὁμολογητάς): see the lower note.

viii. 26 it is ordered that they shall not be ordained, because it is a spiritual function which comes direct from God and manifests itself by its results. The name and the function however appear much earlier in the Christian Church; e. g. Justin Mart. *Apol.* ii. 6 (p. 45). The forms ἐπορκιστής and ἐξορκιστής are convertible; e. g. Justin Mart. *Dial.* 85 (p. 311) οἱ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπορκισταὶ...ἐξορκίζουσι κ.τ.λ. The 'confessors' hardly deserve to be reckoned a distinct order, though accidentally they are mentioned in proximity with the different grades of clergy in *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 already quoted. Perhaps the accidental connexion in this work has led to their confusion with the offices of the Christian ministry in our false Ignatius. In *Apost. Const.* viii. 23 διατάσσομαι περὶ ὁμολογητῶν ὁμολογητῆς οὐ χειροτονεῖται κ.τ.λ., they are treated in much the same way as the exorcists, being regarded as in some sense an order and yet not subject to ordination. Possibly however the word ὁμολογηταὶ has here a different sense, 'chanters,' as the corresponding Latin '*confessores*' seems sometimes to have, e. g. in the Sacramentary of Gregory 'Oremus et pro omnibus episcopis, presbyteris, diaconibus, acolythis, exorcistis, lectoribus, ostiariis, confessoribus, virginibus, viduis, et pro omni populo

sancto Dei'; see Ducange *Gloss. Lat.* s. v. (II. p. 530, Henschel).

12. τοὺς κοπιῶντας] 'the labourers,' i. e. 'grave-diggers' or 'sextons.' In a law of the year 357 (*Cod. Theod.* xiii. 1) mention is made of 'clerici qui copiatæ appellantur,' and another law of the year 361 (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 2. 15) runs 'clerici vero vel his quos copiatas recens usus instituit nuncupari' etc. From these passages it is clear that the name was not in use much before the middle of the fourth century, though the office under its Latin name 'fossore' or 'fossarii' appears somewhat earlier. Even later Epiphanius (*Expos. Fid.* 21) writes καὶ κοπιатаί, οἱ τὰ σώματα περιστέλλοντες τῶν κοιμωμένων, as if the word still needed some explanation. In accordance with these facts Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 129) correctly argues with regard to our Ignatian writer, urging that on the one hand he would not have ascribed such language to Ignatius if the word had been quite recent, while on the other hand his using the participle (τοὺς κοπιῶντας) rather than the substantive indicates that it had not yet firmly established itself. For these 'copiatæ' see especially de Rossi *Roma Sotterranea* III. p. 533 sq., Gothofred on *Cod. Theod.* II. cc., and for the Latin 'fossore' Martigny *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s. v.

ἀσπάζομαι τὰς φρουροὺς τῶν ἀγίων πυλώνων, τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ διακόνους. ἀσπάζομαι τὰς χριστολήμπτους παρθένους, ὧν ὀναίμην ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ. ἀσπάζομαι τὰς σεμνοτάτας χήρας. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν λαὸν Κυρίου ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου, καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀδελφάς μου ἐν Κυρίῳ. 5

XIII. Ἀσπάζομαι Κασσιανὸν καὶ τὴν ὁμόζυγον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ φίλτατα αὐτοῦ τέκνα. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Πολύκαρπος ὁ ἀξιοπρεπὴς ἐπίσκοπος, ᾧ καὶ μέλει περὶ ὑμῶν, ᾧ καὶ παρεθέμην ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ· καὶ πᾶσα δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία Σμυρναίων μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἐν Κυρίῳ. ἀσπά- 10 ζεται ὑμᾶς Ὀνήσιμος ὁ Ἐφεσίων ποιμήν. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Δαμᾶς ὁ Μαγνησίας ἐπίσκοπος. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Πολύβιος ὁ Τραλλαίων. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Φίλων καὶ Ἀγαθόπους, οἱ διάκονοι οἱ συνακόλουθοί μου. ἀσπᾶσθε ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀγίῳ φιλήματι. 15

1 τὰς] τοὺς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>, but the feminine is wanted, for the clause clearly stands in apposition with τὰς ἐν χριστῷ διακόνους, as A and L translate it. 1 must have read τοὺς φρουροὺς τῶν ἀγίων πυλῶν ὄντας ἐν χριστῷ διακόνους (ΠΥΛΩΝΟΝΤΑΣ for ΠΥΛΩΝΩΝΤΑΣ). This is intelligible in itself, but inappropriate here; for both the male deacons and the male door-keepers have been saluted already.

2 χριστολήμπτους] g<sub>2</sub>; χριστολήπτους g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. 3 ἀσπάζομαι τὰς σεμνοτάτας χήρας] saluto venerabilissimas viduas L; saluto pudicissimas viduas 1 (comp. *Hero* inscr.); saluto verccundas viduas A. The clause is omitted in all the Greek mss.

6 Κασσιανὸν] gLl. Zahn writes Κασιανὸν, but see above, p. 733.

7 φίλτατα αὐτοῦ] gLA; om. L.

8 ὁ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>. μέλει] μέλλει g<sub>4</sub>; 'μέλλει

erat in V [i.e. g<sub>2</sub>] Dressel. 9 ἡ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; om. g<sub>2</sub>. 12 Δαμᾶς] damas 1;

δημᾶς g; demas A; om. L (doubtless owing to the homœoteleuton -μας). See *Magn.* 2, *Hero* 8.

13 Τραλλαίων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; trallaeorum L; trallianorum 1; tralanorum A.

ἀσπάζεται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; salut 1; ἀσπάζονται g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; salutant LA. It is difficult to decide between the two. Internal probability is divided, grammatical strictness being set off against diplomatic conformity.

14 ἀσπά-

1. τὰς φρουροὺς κ.τ.λ.] This function of door-keeping was especially assigned to the deaconesses; *Apost. Const.* viii. 28 διακόνισσα οὐκ εὐλογεῖ οὐδέ τι ὧν ποιοῦσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἢ οἱ διάκονοι ἐπιτελεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ φυλάττειν τὰς θύρας κ.τ.λ. It was only the women's gate however, which they kept; *Apost. Const.* ii. 57 στηκέτωσαν

δὲ οἱ μὲν πυλωροὶ εἰς τὰς εἰσόδους τῶν ἀνδρῶν φυλάσσοντες αὐτάς, αἱ δὲ διάκονοι εἰς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν κ.τ.λ., and accordingly they placed the women in their seats, *ib.* 58. Comp. *Ziegler de Diaconis et Diaconissis* xix. 10 (p. 352 sq.).

2. χριστολήμπτους] 'Christ-possessed'; as in *Method. Conv.* i. 5 (p. 13



XIV. Ταῦτα ἀπὸ Φιλίππων γράφω ὑμῖν. ἐρρωμένους ὑμᾶς ὁ ὢν μόνος ἀγέννητος διὰ τοῦ πρὸ αἰώνων γεγεννημένου διαφυλάξαι πνεύματι καὶ σαρκί, καὶ ἴδοιμι ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείᾳ. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ μέλλοντα  
 20 ἄρχειν ὑμῶν· οὗ καὶ ὀναίμην ἐν Χριστῷ. ἔρρωσθε Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ, πεφωτισμένοι τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

## II.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΗΡΩΝΑ.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῷ θεοτιμῇτῳ καὶ ποθεινο-  
 τάτῳ, [σεμνοτάτῳ,] χριστοφόρῳ, πνευματοφόρῳ, ΓΝΗΣΙΩ

σασθε]  $g_1g_2sg_3$ ; ἀσπάζεσθε  $g_4$ .

18 διαφυλάξαι] *custodiat* L1; διαφυλάξει  $g$ :

dub. A.

19 βασιλείᾳ]  $gl[A]$ ; *adventu* (παρουσία) L.

20 καὶ]  $gl$ :

om. L; def. A.

ἐρρωσθε] ἐρρῶσθαι  $g_1g_4$ .

Θεῷ]  $gl$ ; *in deo* L; *gratia dei*

*patris* A.

21 πεφωτισμένοι]  $g_3g_4s$ ; *illuminati* L1; πεφωτισμένον  $g_1g_2$ ;

al. A.

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς ἀντιοχεῖς. θ.  $g_1g_2$ . No-  
 thing in  $g_3g_4LA$ .

προς ηρωνα] *ad urionem* A; πρὸς ἥρωνα διάκονον ἀντιοχέας (with ι in the  
 marg.)  $g_4$ ; τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς ἥρωνα διακόνον ἀντιοχέας  $g_1g_2$  (with ι in the  
 marg. of  $g_1$ ); τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχέας  
 ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς ηρωνα (sic) διάκονον ἀντιοχέας. ι.  $g_3$ ; *ignatius eroni diacono ecclesiae*  
*antiochenorum* L\* (see p. 639).

24 σεμνοτάτῳ]  $g_1g_4s$ ; *rudico* 1; *puro* A; om.  $g_2g_3L$ . The omission is probably  
 owing to homœoteleuton.

πνευματοφόρῳ]  $g_1g_2g_4sL1$ ; om.  $g_3A$ . Again the  
 homœoteleuton may account for the omission.

γνησίῳ τέκνῳ]  $gA$ ; om. 1; *filio*  
 (om. γνησίῳ) L.

Jahn) ὁ χριστόληπτος...Ἰωάννης. The  
 word is framed on the analogy of μουσό-  
 ληπτος, φοιβόληπτος, θεόληπτος, etc.

6. Κασσιανόν] See the note on  
*Ign. Mar.* 5.

14. ἀσπάσασθε κ.τ.λ.] See *Tars.*  
 10, with the note.

20. Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ] The dative  
 of that whereby or wherein the per-  
 son is strengthened, 'Fare ye well

in God and Christ'; e.g. Plut. *Vit.*  
*Porcl.* 23 ἐρρώσθη χρήμασιν.

24. γνησίῳ κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. i.  
 2 (comp. Tit. i. 4). This letter is  
 largely borrowed from the Pastoral  
 Epistles of S. Paul, as also from the  
 Epistle of the genuine Ignatius to  
 Polycarp. The form of salutation  
 χάρις ἔλεος [καὶ] εἰρήνη is derived from  
 these epistles.

τέκνω ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, Ἡρῶνι διακόνω Χριστοῦ, ὑπηρέτῃ Θεοῦ, χάρις, ἔλεος, καὶ εἰρήνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ, τοῦ δόντος ἐλγτόν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐξέλῃται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ, καὶ 5 σῶσῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον.

I. Παρακαλῶ σε ἐν Θεῷ προσθεῖναι τῷ δρόμῳ σου, καὶ ἐκδικεῖν σου τὸ ἀξίωμα. τῆς συμφωνίας τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους φρόντιζε· τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους βάσταζε, ἵνα πληρώσῃς τὸν νόμον [τοῦ] Χριστοῦ. νηστεύεις καὶ δεήσεις σκόλαζε, 10 ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμέτρως, ἵνα μὴ σαυτὸν καταβάλλῃς· οἶνου καὶ κρεῶν μὴ πάντῃ ἀπέχου· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν βδελυκτά· τὰ γὰρ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς, φησί, φάγεσθε· καὶ, ἔδεσθε κρέα ὡς λάχανα· καί, οἶνος εὐφραίνει καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ἔλαιον ἱλαρύνει, καὶ ἄρτος στερῖζει· ἀλλὰ μεμετρημένως καὶ εὐτάκτως, ὡς Θεοῦ 15 χορηγούντος· τίς γὰρ φάγεται ἢ τίς πίεται παρὲς αὐτοῦ; ὅτι εἴ τι καλὸν, αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἴ τι ἀγαθὸν, αὐτοῦ. τῇ ἀναγνώσει πρόσχε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς εἰδῇς τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις

I [Ἡρῶνι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; ἥρῶνι g<sub>2</sub>; *eroni* L (and so generally, but see p. 642); *urioni* A. Χριστοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>A; *jesu christi* L. ὑπηρέτῃ] g<sub>1</sub>; *præf. et* I.A. 3 Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>; *ιησοῦ χριστοῦ* L\* A. 4 τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν] g<sub>1</sub>A; *nobis et peccatis nostris* L. 6 σῶσῃ] g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; *salvaret* L; *salvos faceret* I; σῶσει g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *invitavit* [A]. 7 προσθεῖναι] g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; προσθῆναι g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 9 φρόντιζε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>L; φρόντιζε g<sub>3</sub>; φροντίζετε g<sub>4</sub>; *curam gerere* I; *studere* [A]; but from the connexion I.A. must have had the singular, if indeed they did not read φροντίζειν. 10 τοῦ Χριστοῦ] g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; *χριστοῦ* g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 11 καταβάλλῃς] καταβάλλης g<sub>3</sub>. μὴ sec.] g<sub>1</sub>A; om. L. 12 ἐστὶν g<sub>1</sub>; ἐστι g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; εἰσι g<sub>3</sub>. 13 φησί, φάγεσθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; φάγεσθε. φησι g<sub>4</sub>.

4. τοῦ δόντος κ.τ.λ.] From Gal. i. 4.

7. προσθεῖναι κ.τ.λ.] Modified from Ign. *Polyc.* i. Several of the injunctions in this chapter are derived from this same epistle.

9. βάσταζε, ἵνα κ.τ.λ.] Modified from Gal. vi. 2.

12. τὰ γὰρ ἀγαθὰ κ.τ.λ.] See *Apost. Const.* vii. 20, where the same passages are quoted, τὰ ἀγαθὰ κ.τ.λ.

from Is. i. 19, ἔδεσθε κ.τ.λ. from Gen. ix. 3, τίς φάγεται κ.τ.λ. from Eccles. ii. 25, ὅτι εἴ τι καλὸν κ.τ.λ. from Zech. ix. 17. The remaining quotation, οἶνος κ.τ.λ. (from Ps. ciii. (civ). 15), is not found there.

15. μεμετρημένως κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* i. 9 εὐτάκτως... μεμετρημένως.

17. τῇ ἀναγνώσει πρόσχε] Borrowed from 1 Tim. iv. 13.

19. νῆφε] I have supplied the

αὐτοὺς ἐξηγγῆ. νῆφε ὡς Θεοῦ ἀθλητῆς. οὐδεὶς στρατεγόμενος  
20 ἐμπλέκεται ταῖς τοῦ βίου πραγματείαις, ἵνα τῷ στρατολογή-  
σαντι ἀρέσῃ· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀθλῇ τις, οὐ στεφανοῦται, ἐὰν μὴ  
νομίμως ἀθλήσῃ. ἀντίψυχόν σου ἐγὼ ὁ δέσμιος.

II. Πᾶς ὁ λέγων παρὰ τὰ διατεταγμένα, καὶ ἀξιόπιστος  
ἦ, καὶ νηστεύῃ, καὶ παρθενεύῃ, καὶ σημεῖα ποιῇ, καὶ προ-  
25 φητεύῃ, λύκος σοι φαίνεται ἐν προβάτῳ δορᾷ, προβάτων  
φθορὰν κατεργαζόμενος. εἴ τις ἀρνείται τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ  
τὸ πάθος ἐπαισχύνεται, ἔστω σοι ὡς [αὐτὸς] ὁ ἀντικείμενος·  
καὶ ψωμίῃ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πτωχοῖς, καὶ ὄρη μεθιστᾷ, καὶ  
παραδῶ τὸ σῶμα εἰς καῦσιν, ἔστω σοι βδελυκτός. εἴ τις  
30 φαυλίζει τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφῆτας οὓς ὁ Χριστὸς παρὼν  
ἐπλήρωσεν, ἔστω σοι ὡς ὁ ἀντίχριστος. εἴ τις ἄνθρωπον  
λέγει ψιλὸν τὸν Κύριον, Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν χριστοκτόνος.

III. Χήρας τίμα τὰς ὄντως χήρας· ὀρφανῶν προΐστασο·  
ὁ Θεὸς γάρ ἐστιν πατὴρ τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ κριτὴς τῶν χηρῶν.  
35 μηδὲν ἄνευ τῶν ἐπισκόπων πράττε· ἱερεῖς γάρ εἰσιν, σὺ δὲ  
διάκονος τῶν ἱερέων· ἐκεῖνοι βαπτίζουσιν, ἱεουργοῦσιν,

15 στηρίζει] στερίζει *g*<sub>2</sub>.

18 εἰδῆς] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>3</sub>*g*<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; οἶδες *g*<sub>2</sub>.

19 νῆφε]

*vigila* A; om. *g*Ll: see the lower note.

20 πραγματείας] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>3</sub>*g*<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>;

πραγματίαις *g*<sub>2</sub>.

21 ἀρέσῃ] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; ἀρέσει *g*<sub>2</sub>*g*<sub>3</sub>.

ἀθλῇ] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>*g*<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>;

ἀθλεῖ *g*<sub>3</sub>.

22 ἀθλήσῃ] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; ἀθλήσει *g*<sub>2</sub>*g*<sub>3</sub>.

ἀντίψυχόν] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub>*g*<sub>3</sub>; ἀντί-

ψυχός *g*<sub>4</sub>.

24 ἦ] om. *g*<sub>3</sub>.

26 ἀρνείται] ἀρνείτε *g*<sub>1</sub>.

27 αὐτὸς

ὁ ἀντικείμενος] *g*; *adversarius* 1A; *antichristus et adversarius* L.

31 ὁ ἀντί-

χριστος] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub>*g*<sub>3</sub> (comp. 1 Joh. ii. 22, 2 Joh. 7); ἀντίχριστος (om. ὁ) *g*<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>. The edd. omit the definite article.

32 λέγει] *g*<sub>2</sub>*g*<sub>3</sub>; λέγη *g*<sub>1</sub><sup>s</sup>*g*<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>.

ψιλόν] *g*<sub>4</sub>;

*nudum* L; *merum* A; *tantum* 1; om. *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub>*g*<sub>3</sub>.

word from the Armenian. Patrick Young had suggested the insertion of *κακοπάθησον*, supposing the passage to be borrowed from 2 Tim. ii. 3; but it is taken word for word from Ign. *Polyc.* 2.

οὐδεὶς κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Tim. ii. 4,

5.

23. ἀξιόπιστος] See the note on Ign. *Philad.* 2 (p. 254).

25. λύκος κ.τ.λ.] From. Matt. vii. 15; comp. *Ps-Ephes.* 5.

28. καὶ ψωμίῃ κ.τ.λ.] Adapted

from 1 Cor. xiii. 2, 3.

33. χήρας τίμα κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. v. 3.

34. πατὴρ κ.τ.λ.] Adapted from Ps. lxxvii (lxxviii). 5.

35. μηδὲν κ.τ.λ.] See Ign. *Magn.* 7, with the note (p. 122).

36. ἱεουργοῦσιν] Used especially of celebrating the eucharist; e. g. Athan. *Apol. c. Arian.* 11 (p. 105). So too ἱεουργία; e. g. Euseb. *V. C.* iv. 45 *μυστικαῖς ἱεουργίαις*.



χειροτονοῦσιν, χειροθετοῦσιν· σὺ δὲ αὐτοῖς διακόνει, ὡς  
Στέφανος ὁ ἅγιος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰακώβῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσ-  
βυτέροις. τῶν συνάξεων μὴ ἀμέλει· ἐξ ὀνόματος πάντας  
ἐπιζήτει. μηδεὶς σοῦ τῆς νεότητος καταφρονεῖτω, ἀλλὰ  
τύπος γίνου τῶν πιστῶν ἐν λόγῳ, ἐν ἀναστροφῇ.

5

IV. Οἰκέτας μὴ ἐπαισχύνου· κοινωνεῖ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ  
αὐτοῖς ἡ φύσις· γυναῖκας μὴ βδελύττου· αὐταί σε γὰρ  
γεγεννήκασιν καὶ ἐξέθρεψαν. ἀγαπᾶν οὖν χρή τὰς αἰτίας τῆς  
γεννήσεως, μόνον ἐν Κυρίῳ· ἄνευ δὲ γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ οὐ παιδο-  
ποιήσει. τιμᾶν οὖν χρή τὰς συνεργοὺς τῆς γεννήσεως. οὔτε ἰο  
ἀνὴρ χωρὶς γυναικὸς οὔτε γυνὴ χωρὶς ἀνδρός, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τῶν  
πρωτοπλάστων· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀδάμ τὸ σῶμα ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων  
στοιχείων, τῆς δὲ Εὕας ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Ἀδάμ. καὶ ὁ  
παράδοξος δὲ τοκετὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐκ μόνης τῆς παρθένου,  
οὐ βδελυκτῆς οὔσης τῆς νομίμου μίξεως, ἀλλὰ θεοπρεποῦς 15  
τῆς γεννήσεως· ἔπρεπε γὰρ τῷ δημιουργῷ μὴ τῇ συνήθει

1 χειροτονοῦσιν] gl; om. LA. διακόνει] g<sub>2</sub>; διακονῇ g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ministra L;  
ministrabis (or ministres) A; διακονεῖς g<sub>3</sub>; ministras (v.l. ministrans) l. 2 Στέ-  
φανος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ὁ στέφανος g<sub>4</sub>. 4 καταφρονεῖτω] καταφρονήτω g<sub>3</sub>. 6 κοι-  
νωνεῖ] g<sub>3</sub>; κοινωνῇ (sic) g<sub>1</sub>; κοινῇ (sic) g<sub>2</sub>; κοινῇ g<sub>4</sub>; communis est (sic) lA; communis  
L. 7 αὐτα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ipse lL; αὐται (sic) g<sub>4</sub>; illae A. σε γὰρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s;  
γὰρ σε g<sub>2</sub>. 8 γεγεννήκασιν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; γεγέννηκαν g<sub>2</sub>. 9 μόνον] txt lL;  
add. δὲ gA. 13 Εὕας] Εὐὰ g<sub>3</sub>. 16 τῇ συνήθει] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; consuetudo L;  
τῇ συνηθείᾳ g<sub>2</sub>; secundum humanam consuetudinem l; al. A. 19 ὑπερη-

1. χειροτονοῦσιν, χειροθετοῦσιν] *Apost. Const.* viii. 28 ἐπίσκοπος...χειροθετεῖ, χειροτονεῖ, προσφέρει. While χειροθεσία is used of 'laying on of hands,' e.g. in Confirmation, χειροτονία is said of Ordination; e.g. *Apost. Const.* viii. 27 ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ τριῶν ἢ δύο ἐπισκόπων χειροτονεῖσθω, comp. *Apost. Can.* 1, 2. Referring originally to the election of the Clergy, χειροτονία came afterwards to be applied commonly, as here, to their ordination; see Suicer *Thes.* s.vv. χειροτονεῖν, χειροτονία, with the passages there quoted.

ὡς Στέφανος κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Ps-*

*Trall.* 7. The example of Stephen as a deacon is given in *Apost. Const.* viii. 18.

3. ἐξ ὀνόματος κ.τ.λ.] See the note (p. 345) on Ign. *Polyc.* 4, whence this injunction is borrowed.

4. μηδεὶς σου κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. iv. 12.

10. τὰς συνεργοὺς κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vi. 29 ὡς κοινωνοὺς βίου καὶ συνεργοὺς πρὸς γένεσιν παιδῶν.

οὔτε ἀνὴρ κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. xi. 11, from which passage also some ideas in the context are borrowed.

12. τὸ σῶμα κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 τῆς μὲν [ψυχῆς] ἐκ τοῦ μὴ

ἀποχρήσασθαι γεννήσει ἀλλὰ τῇ παραδόξῳ καὶ ξένῃ, ὡς δημιουργῶ.

V. Ὑπερηφανίαν φεύγε· ὑπερηφάνοις γὰρ ἀντιτάσσεται  
20 Κῆριος. ψευδολογίαν βδελύττου· ἀπολεῖς γὰρ πάντας τοὺς  
λαλοῦντας τὸ ψεῦδος. φθόνον φυλάττου· ἀρχηγὸς γὰρ αὐτοῦ  
ὁ διάβολος, καὶ διάδοχος ὁ Κάϊν, ἀδελφῶ βασκάνας καὶ ἐκ  
φθόνου φόνον κατεργασάμενος. ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μου παραίνει  
ἀγαπᾶν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ μόνον ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἀνδράσιν·  
25 ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου παραίνει ἀρκεῖσθαι ταῖς ὁμο-  
ζύγοις. παρθένους φύλαττε, ὡς Χριστοῦ κειμήλια. μακρό-  
θυμος ἔσο, ἵνα ᾗς πολὺς ἐν φρονήσει. τῶν πενήτων μὴ  
ἀμέλει, ἐν οἷς ἂν εὐπορήῃς. ἐλεημοσύναις γὰρ καὶ πίστεσιν  
ἀποκαθαίρονται ἁμαρτίαι.

30 VI. Σεαυτὸν ἀγνὸν τήρει, ὡς Θεοῦ οἰκητήριον· ναὸς  
Χριστοῦ ὑπάρχεις, ὄργανον εἰ τοῦ πνεύματος. οἶδας ὅπως  
σε ἀνέθρεψα· εἰ καὶ ἐλάχιστός εἰμι, ζηλωτῆς μου γενοῦ·

φανίαν] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ὑπερηφανείαν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>.

20 γὰρ] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>L; add. φησί g<sub>3</sub>l;  
*enim ait* l (but *ait* is wanting in some important mss). A cannot have had φησί,  
for he mends the passage by substituting a third person *etenim perdit dominus* etc.

21 αὐτοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; *ipsius* L; *eius* lA; om. g<sub>2</sub>. In g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>[A] ἐστὶν is added; om.  
g<sub>2</sub>Ll.

22 ὁ διάβολος] here, g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; before αὐτοῦ, g<sub>4</sub>. For g<sub>2</sub> see the last  
note.

24 τοῖς ἰδίῳις  
ἀνδράσιν· ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου παραίνει ἀρκεῖσθαι] om. L by homœote-  
leuton.

29 ἀποκαθαίρονται] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; ἀποκαθαίρωνται g<sub>2</sub>. 31 ὄργανον  
εἰ] g; *et organum...existens* l; *organumque* L; *et cithara* A.

ὄντος, τοῦ δὲ [σώματος] ἐκ τῶν τεσσά-  
ρων στοιχείων.

13. ὁ παράδοξος κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Phil-  
liph.* 8.

19. ὑπερηφανίαν κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.*  
vii. 5 οὐκ ἔση...ὑπερήφανος· ὑπερηφά-  
νοις γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται. This  
same passage (Prov. iii. 34) is quoted  
in the genuine Ignatius, *Ephes.* 5  
(see the note, p. 45).

20. ψευδολογίαν κ.τ.λ.] *Apost.*  
*Const.* vii. 4 οὐ ψεύσῃ· Ἀπολεῖς γὰρ,  
φησί, πάντας τοὺς λαλοῦντας τὸ ψεῦδος  
(Ps. v. 6).

22. Κάϊν] See Clem. Rom. 4 with

the notes.

23. ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μου κ.τ.λ.] Bor-  
rowed from Ign. *Polyc.* 5; see also  
*Apost. Const.* viii. 32.

26. μακρόθυμος κ.τ.λ.] *Apost.*  
*Const.* vii. 8 γίνου μακρόθυμος, ὁ γὰρ  
τοιούτος πολὺς ἐν φρονήσει, based on  
Prov. xiv. 29 (LXX) μακρόθυμος ἀνὴρ  
πολὺς ἐν φρονήσει.

27. τῶν πενήτων κ.τ.λ.] *Apost.*  
*Const.* vii. 12 εἰ ἐχῇς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν  
σου δός...ἐλεημοσύναις γὰρ κ.τ.λ., a  
quotation from Prov. xv. 27 (xvi. 6).

30. σεαυτὸν κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim.  
v. 22.

μίμησαί μου τὴν ἀναστροφήν· οὐ καυχῶμαι ἐν κόσμῳ ἀλλ' ἐν Κυρίῳ. Ἦρῳνι τῷ ἐμῷ τέκνῳ παραινῶ· ὁ δὲ καυχώμενος ἐν Κυρίῳ καυχάσθω. ὀναίμην σου, παιδίον ποθεινόν· οὗ φύλαξ γένηται ὁ μόνος ἀγέννητος Θεὸς καὶ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. μὴ πᾶσιν πίστευε, μὴ πᾶσιν θάρρει, μηδὲ ἂν τις ὑποκορίζηταί σε· πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσιν ὑπηρέται τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ ὁ ταχὺ ἐμπιστεύων κοῦφος τῇ καρδίᾳ.

VII. Μέμνησο τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεις ποτέ. μὴ γίνου δίψυχος ἐν προσευχῇ σου, μακάριος γὰρ ὁ μὴ διστάσας. πιστεύω γὰρ εἰς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ υἱόν, ὅτι δείξει μοι ὁ Θεὸς Ἦρῳνα ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου μου· πρόσθες οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ δρόμῳ. παραγγέλλω σοι ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ὄλων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, παρόντος καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ τῶν λειτουργικῶν ταγμάτων· φύλαξόν μου τὴν παρὰθῆκην, ἣν ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς παρέθέμεθά σοι, καὶ μὴ ἑαυτὸν ἀνάξιον κρίνης τῶν δοχθέντων περὶ σοῦ Θεῷ. παρατίθημί σοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Ἀντιοχείων. Πολυκάρπῳ παρεθέμην ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.

VIII. Ἀσπάζονται σε οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, Ὀνήσιμος, Βίτος, 20

2 Ἦρῳνι τῷ ἐμῷ τέκνῳ]  $g_1 g_2 s g_4 s$ ; ἡρῳνα τὸ ἐμὸν τέκνον  $g_3$ ; *heronī (eronī) filio meo* L; *heronem filium meum* I; *filium meum urionem* A. Both the Latin versions have the same verb *moneo*.

4 γένηται]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3$ ; γένοιτο  $g_4$ . 6 ὑποκορίζηται σε] ὑποκορίζεται σε  $g_3$ ; ὑποκορύζεται σε  $g_1$ ; ὑποκορύζηται σε  $g_2$ ; ὑποκορύζητέ σε  $g_4$ . 10 Κυρίου]  $g$ ; add *nostrī* L[A]. 11 μονογενῇ]  $g$ ; add. *ipsius* L; add. *eius* I A.

15 φύλαξόν]  $g_1 g_2 s g_3$ ; φύλαξαι  $g_4$ . 16 τῶν δοχθέντων]  $g_1 g_2$ ; τῶν δοθέντων  $g_4$ ; τῶν δεχθέντων  $g_3$ ; *expectatis* L; *eorum quae ostensa sunt* (δειχθέντων) I. In A the sentence is translated *indignum eius in quo et deo gratus vere es*.

17 Θεῷ]  $g_1 g_2 g_4$ ; τῷ θεῷ  $g_3$ . 18 Ἀντιοχείων] ἀντιοχείων  $g_1 g_3$ . Πολυκάρπῳ] πολυκάρπῳ  $g_2$ . C begins at this point. 21 Δαμάς] δάμας  $g_1 s g_2 s g_3 g_4 s$ ; see p. 110 sq. 22 ὅθεν...σοι] om. C. καὶ]  $gA$ ; om. L; def. C.

2. ὁ δὲ καυχώμενος κ.τ.λ.] 2 Cor. x. 17; comp. 1 Cor. i. 31.

7. ὁ ταχὺ κ.τ.λ.] From Ecclus. xix. 4.

9. μὴ γίνου κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 11 μὴ γίνου δίψυχος ἐν προσευχῇ σου...λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἐμοὶ Πέτρῳ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, Ὀλιγόψυχε, εἰς τί ἐδίστασας;

13. ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] Suggested by 1 Tim. v. 21.

15. φύλαξον κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. vi. 21.

20. Βίτος] See the note on *Philipp.* 14.

29. Ἰσχυε] The injunction of Moses to Joshua, Deut. xxxi. 7; comp. Josh. i. 6, 7, 9.



Δαμᾶς, Πολύβιος, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ Φιλίππων, ἐν Χριστῷ,  
 ὅθεν καὶ ἐπέστειλά σοι. ἄσπασαι τὸ θεοπρεπὲς πρεσβυ-  
 τέριον. ἄσπασαι τοὺς ἁγίους συνδιακόνους σου, ὧν ἐγὼ  
 ὀναίμην ἐν Χριστῷ, σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι. ἄσπασαι τὸν  
 25 λαὸν Κυρίου ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου κατ' ὄνομα· οὓς παρα-  
 τίθημί σοι, ὡς Μωυσῆς Ἰησοῦ τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν στρατηγῷ·  
 καὶ μὴ σοι φανῇ βαρὺ τὸ λεχθέν· εἰ καὶ μὴ ἔσμεν τοιοῦτοι  
 οἱοὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλ' οὖν γε εὐχόμεθα γενέσθαι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦ  
 Ἀβραάμ ἔσμεν παῖδες. ἴσχυε οὖν, ὦ Ἡρων, ἡρώϊκῶς καὶ  
 30 ἀνδρικῶς· σὺ γὰρ εἰσάξεις ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἐξάξεις τὸν λαὸν  
 Κυρίου τὸν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἡ συναγωγὴ Κυρίου  
 ὡς πρόβατα οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμήν.

IX. Ἀσπασαι Κασσιανὸν τὸν ξένον μου, καὶ τὴν σεμ-  
 νοτάτην αὐτοῦ ὁμόζυγον, καὶ τὰ φίλτατα αὐτῶν παιδία· οἷς  
 35 δώσει ὁ Θεὸς εἶρεῖν ἔλεον παρὰ Κυρίου ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ,  
 τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς διακονίας· οὓς καὶ παρατίθημί σοι ἐν Χριστῷ.  
 ἄσπασαι τοὺς ἐν Λαοδικίᾳ πιστοὺς ἅπαντας κατ' ὄνομα ἐν  
 Χριστῷ. τῶν ἐν Ταρσῷ μὴ ἀμέλει, ἀλλὰ συνεχέστερον  
 αὐτοὺς ἐπίβλεπε, ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Μάριν

23 ἁγίους] gLlA; om. C.

26 Μωυσῆς] g<sub>4</sub> (contrary to its general practice)

Ll[C]; μωσῆς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>[A?].

αὐτὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>LAC; αὐτοῦ g<sub>4</sub>; al. 1.

27 εἰ]

txt LlC; add. γὰρ gA.

31 ἢ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; om. g<sub>2</sub>.

33 Κασ-

σιανὸν] gLl; *kasianum* [C]; *kisianum* [A]; comp. *Antioch.* 13, and see p. 733.

34 αὐτῶν] gLlA; αὐτοῦ C.

παιδία] παιδεία g<sub>2</sub>.

35 δώσει] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>;

*dabit* L; δῶν (δῶν) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub> (from 2 Tim. i. 18); *det* l; dub. AC.

36 Χριστῷ]

txt gLAC; add. Ἰησοῦ L.

37 Λαοδικία] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>[C]; λαοδικία g<sub>4</sub>s; *laodicia*

(v. l. *laodicea*) l; dub. A. For L see p. 642.

39 αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον] *iis*

*evangelium* A; αὐτοὺς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; αὐτοὺς τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ g<sub>4</sub>; *eos in evan-*  
*gelium* C; *eos in evangelio* l; *ipsos secundum evangelium* L. The editors read

αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

Μάριν] *marim* L; *marinum* (ΜΑΡΙΝΟC) C; *ma-*

*rianum* A; *marium* l; see above p. 721.

30. εἰσάξεις κ.τ.λ.] Words bor-  
 rowed from the functions assigned  
 to Joshua on his appointment, Num.  
 xxvii. 17.

33. Κασσιανὸν] See the note on  
*Ign. Mar.* 5.

35. δώσει ὁ Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.] 'Quoted  
 from 2 Tim. i. 18, but not quite ver-  
 batim.

37. Λαοδικία] The Syrian Lao-  
 dicea; not the Phrygian city men-  
 tioned by S. Paul (Col. ii. 1, iv. 13,  
 15, 16) and S. John (Rev. iii. 14 sq.).  
 For the orthography of the word see  
 the evidence in the passages of the  
 N. T. just cited.

39. Μάριν] See the note on *Mar.*  
*Ign.* 1.

τὸν ἐν Νέα πόλει τῇ πρὸς Ζαρβῶ ἐπίσκοπον προσαγορεύω  
ἐν Κυρίῳ. πρόσκειπε δὲ καὶ τὴν σεμνοτάτην Μαρίαν τὴν  
θυγατέρα μου τὴν πολυμαθεστάτην, καὶ τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτῆς  
ἐκκλησίαν ἥς ἀντίψυχον γενοίμην· τὸ ἐξεμπλάριον τῶν εὐσε-  
βῶν γυναικῶν. ὑγιαίνοντά σε καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν εὐδοκιμοῦντα 5  
ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς φυλάττοι  
ἐπὶ μήκιστον [βίου] χρόνον εἰς ὠφέλειαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας.  
ἔρρωσο ἐν Κυρίῳ, καὶ προσεύχου ἵνα τελειωθῶ.

## 12.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥΣ.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ εὐλογημένη ἐν μεγέθει 10  
Θεοῦ πατρὸς πληρώματι, τῇ καὶ προωρισμένη πρὸ  
αἰώνων εἶναι διὰ παντὸς εἰς δόξαν παράμονον, ἄτρεπτον,  
ἡνωμένην καὶ ἐκλελεγμένην ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῷ ἐν θελήματι  
Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος  
ἡμῶν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀξιομακαρίστῳ, τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ 15  
τῆς Ἀσίας, πλεῖστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ καὶ ἐν ἀμώμῳ χαρᾷ  
χαίρειν.

1 πρὸς Ζαρβῶ] *ad zarbo* L; *apud (prope) zarbo* C; *secus zarbo* l; *prope ad derbim fluvium* A; πρὸς ἀναζαρβῶ  $g_1 g_2 g_4$ ; πρὸς ἀναζαρκῶ  $g_3$ : see *Mar. Ign. 1*.

2 Μαρίαν τὴν] om.  $g_2$ . 6 δι' αὐτοῦ]  $g_1$ ; *per* (om. αὐτοῦ) LC: om. (altogether) A. τοῦ] repeated in  $g_1$ . φυλάττοι]  $g_1 g_4$  LIAC; φυλάττει  $g_2 g_3$ . 7 ἐπὶ μήκιστον βίου χρόνον]  $g$ ; *in longum vivere* L; *aevum longiore* l; *in longum tempus* C; *per longa tempora* A. τῆς ἐκκλησίας] IA; *ecclesiae christi* L; τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας  $gC$ .

Subscr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἥρωνα διάκονον (ἥρωνα διάκονον  $g_2$ ) ἀντιοχείας  $g_1 g_2$ . In the marg. of  $g_1$  is the number ι. No subscr. in  $g_3 g_4$  ACL.

προς εφεσιους]  $g_4$  (with ια in the marg.); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἐφεσίους  $g_1 g_2$  (with ια in the marg. of both MSS); ἰγνατίου ἐπισκόπου ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἐφεσίους  $g_5$  (with α' in the marg.); τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκοπῶν θεοπέλεις ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἐφεσίους. ια.  $g_3$ .

10 ἐν]  $g_1 g_2 g_3 g_4$  with I; om.  $g_5$  l, but l here degenerates into a paraphrase, *magnitudine patris dei repletae*.

11 πληρώματι]  $g_1 g_2 g_4 g_5$  with I (see p. 22); καὶ πληρώματι  $g_3$ . See the previous note for l. 12 παράμονον]  $g_1 g_2 g_3 g_5$  I;

*singulari* l; παραμένειν  $g_4$ . 15 ἀξιομακαρίστῳ]  $g_1 g_2 g_3 g_4$  l I; *θεομακαρίσ-*

I. Ἀποδεξάμενος ὑμῶν ἐν Θεῷ τὸ πολυπόθητον ὄνομα, ὃ κέκτησθε φύσει δικαίᾳ κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην ἐν Χριστῷ  
 20 Ἰησοῦ τῷ σωτῇρι ἡμῶν· μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεοῦ φιλελευθροπίας, ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι Χριστοῦ, τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον τελείως ἀπηρτίσατε· ἀκούσαντες γάρ με δεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, τῆς κοινῆς ἐλπίδος, πεποιθότα τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηριομαχῆσαι, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ μαρτυ-  
 25 ρίου δυνηθῶ μαθητῆς εἶναι τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐαυτὸν ἀνενεγκόντος Θεοῦ προσφοράν καὶ θυσίαν. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν πολυπλήθειαν ὑμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ ἀπέλκῃσα ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ, τῷ ἐπ' ἀγάπῃ ἀδιηγῆται, ὑμῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπῳ· ὃν εὐχομαι κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ὑμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν, καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν ὁμοιώματι  
 30 αὐτοῦ εἶναι· εὐλογητὸς γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ χαρισάμενος ὑμῖν τοιούτοις οὗσιν τοιοῦτον ἐπίσκοπον κεκτῆσθαι ἐν Χριστῷ.

II. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ συνδούλου ἡμῶν Βούρρου, τοῦ κατὰ Θεὸν διακόνου ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν εὐλογημένου, εὐχομαι παραμεῖναι αὐτὸν ἁμῶμον εἰς τιμὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ  
 35 ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν τοῦ μακαριωτάτου. Κρόκος δὲ ὁ Θεοῦ ἄξιος καὶ ὑμῶν, ὃν ὡς ἐξεμπλᾶριον τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀγάπης ἀπελάβομεν, κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν καὶ τὴν ἄλγυσίν μου οὐκ ἐπῆσχύνθη, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναψύξει, ἅμα Ὀνησίμῳ καὶ Βούρρῳ καὶ Εὐπλοῖ καὶ Φρόντωνι, δι'

τῷ g<sub>5</sub>. 16 Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> l; χριστῷ ἰησοῦ g<sub>5</sub>. 18 ἀποδε-  
 ξάμενος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup> l I; ἀπεδεξάμην g<sub>3</sub>. This is only one of several alterations, by which g<sub>3</sub> endeavours to remedy the anacolutha and mend the grammar of the text in the passage which follows. 19 Χριστῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup> l I\*; κυρίῳ g<sub>4</sub>.  
 20 σωτῇρι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> l I; κυρίῳ g<sub>5</sub>. 21 ἀναζωπυρήσαντες] add. οὖν g<sub>3</sub>. 22 ἀπηρτίσατε] ἀπηρτήσατε g<sub>2</sub>. γάρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup> l I; om g<sub>3</sub>. 23 πεποιθότα] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> l (comp. I); πεποιθότες g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. 25 ἀνε-  
 ενεγκόντος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup> l I; ἀνερέγκαντος g<sub>2</sub>. 26 ἐπεὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup> l I; ἐγὼ μὲν g<sub>3</sub>. πολυπλήθειαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup> l I; πολυπάθειαν g<sub>2</sub>. 32 Βούρρου] I (see p. 33); burro l; βίρρου (or βίρρου) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; βήρρου g<sub>5</sub> ('η secundis curis' Dressel). 38 ἐπῆσχύνθη] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup> l; ἐπαισχύνθη g<sub>2</sub>. 39 Ὀνη-  
 σίμῳ] ἐνισήμῳ g<sub>2</sub>. Βούρρῳ] I; burro l; βίρρω (βίρρῳ) g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; βήρρῳ g<sub>2</sub>; βίρρῳ altered into βήρρῳ g<sub>5</sub>. Εὐπλοῖ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; εὐπλοῖ g<sub>2</sub>; εὐπλόῃ g<sub>5</sub>. Φρόν-  
 τωνι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup>; φρόντωνι g<sub>2</sub>.

25. τοῦ ὑπὲρ κ.τ.λ.] Adapted from Ephes. v. 2.

37. καὶ τὴν ἄλυσίν μου κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Tim. i. 16.



ὦν πάντας ὑμᾶς κατὰ ἀγάπην εἶδον. ὀναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός, εἴαν περ ἄξιός ᾧ. πρέπον οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον) δοξάζειν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δοξάσαντα ὑμᾶς· ἵνα ἐν μιᾷ ὑποταγῇ ᾗτε, καθηρτισμένοι τῷ αὐτῷ νοῦ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ κατὰ πάντα ᾗτε ἡγιασμένοι.

III. Οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν, ὥς ὢν τι. εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι διὰ τὸ ὄνομα, οὐπω ἀπήρτισμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. νῦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι, καὶ προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν ὡς ὁμοδούλοις· ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔδει παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπομνησθῆναι πίστει, νουθεσίᾳ, ὑπομονῇ, μακροθυμίᾳ. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἔα με σιωπᾶν περὶ ὑμῶν, διὰ τοῦτο προέλαβον παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὅπως συντρέχητε τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς πάντα κατὰ γνώμην πράττει τοῦ πατρός, ὡς αὐτός που λέγει· ἐγὼ τὰ ἀρεστὰ αὐτοῦ ποιῶ πάντοτε. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς χρὴ ζῆν κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ καὶ ζηλοῦν, ὡς Παῦλος· μίμηται γάρ μοι, φησὶν, γίνεσθε, καθὼς κἀγὼ Χριστοῦ.

IV. Ὅθεν καὶ ὑμῖν πρέπει συντρέχειν τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γνώμῃ τοῦ κατὰ Θεὸν ποιμαίνοντος ὑμᾶς· ὅπερ καὶ ποιεῖτε αὐτοί, σοφισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος. τὸ γὰρ ἀξιονόμαστον πρεσβυτέριον, ἄξιον ὂν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὕτως συνήρμωστοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρα, συνδεδεμένοι οὕτω τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ συμφώνῳ ἀγάπῃ, ἧς ἐστὶν ἀρχηγὸς καὶ

1 ὑμᾶς] ὑμᾶς ὑμᾶς g<sub>2</sub>.  
ceptione (ἐπιταγῇ) l.

2 πρέπον] πρέπων g<sub>2</sub>.

4 υποταγῇ] *prae-*

noῦ] add. καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι g<sub>4</sub> (not supported by any other authority).

5 λέγητε] g<sub>4</sub>sg<sub>5</sub>; *dicatis* l; λέγετε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>.

9 ὄνομα]

txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; add. αὐτοῦ g<sub>3</sub>; add. *jesu christi* l. Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> I;

χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; def. l.

14 συντρέχητε] συντρέχετε g<sub>2</sub>. καὶ γὰρ] g<sub>3</sub>

omits from here to κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ. The omission is explained by the homœoteleuton.

15 ὡς] καθὼς g<sub>4</sub> alone.

16 αὐτοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> (but g<sub>4</sub> transposes,

ποιῶ αὐτοῦ) g<sub>5</sub>; def. g<sub>3</sub>. The edd. read αὐτῷ, as it stands in Joh. viii. 29. In

4. ἡτε, καθηρτισμένοι κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. viii. 29.

I Cor. i. 10, the clauses being transposed.

18. μίμηται ... μου κ.τ.λ.] From I Cor. xi. 1.

16. ἐγὼ τὰ ἀρεστὰ κ.τ.λ.] From

30. δὸς...αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ.] A very loose

φύλαξ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός. καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα δὲ χορὸς  
 γένεσθε εἰς, ἵνα σύμφωνοι ὄντες ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ, συνάφειαν Θεοῦ  
 λαβόντες, ἐν ἐνότητι ἐν γένησθε τῇ συμφωνίᾳ τῷ Θεῷ πατρὶ  
 καὶ τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.  
 30 δὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς, φησί, πάτερ ἄγιε, ἵνα ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ ἐν ἑσμεν,  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐν ὧσιν. χρήσιμον οὖν ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς ἐν  
 ἀμώμῳ ἐνότητι συνημμένους Θεῷ μιμητὰς εἶναι Χριστοῦ,  
 οὗ καὶ μέλη ὑπάρχετε.

V. Εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐν μικρῷ χρόνῳ τοιαύτην συνήθειαν  
 35 ἔσχον πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην οὐσαν  
 ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς μακαρίζω τοὺς ἀνα-  
 κεκραμένους αὐτῷ, ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία τῷ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ὁ  
 Κύριος τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα πάντα ἐν ἐνότητι σύμ-  
 φωνα ᾦ. μηδεὶς πλανάσθω· ἐὰν μή τις ἐντὸς ᾧ τοῦ θυσιασ-  
 40 τηρίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ. εἰ γὰρ ἐνὸς καὶ  
 δευτέρου προσευχὴ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, ὥστε τὸν Χριστὸν  
 ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστάναι, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ  
 πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσευχὴ σύμφωνος ἀνιούσα πρὸς  
 Θεὸν πιστοῖ παρασχεθῆναι αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ ἐν Χρισ-  
 45 τῷ αἰτήματα. ὁ οὖν τῶν τοιούτων χωριζόμενος καὶ μὴ  
 συνερχόμενος ἐν βουλῇ θυσιῶν καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων  
 ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανῷ λύκος ἐστὶν ἐν προβάτοῦ δορᾷ,  
 ἡμερον ἐπιδεικνὺς μορφήν. σπουδάσατε, ἀγαπητοί, ὑποτα-  
 γῇ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις·

I it is rendered *quae placita sunt ei*, as in the Vulgate.

17 [ζηλοῦν] ζηλοῦν g<sub>2</sub>.

23 οὕτως] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> I; οὕτω g<sub>5</sub>.

24 συνδεδεμένοι] g; *colligatae* (συνδεδε-  
 μέναι) l.

25 ᾧ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; *cujus* l; ᾧ g<sub>5</sub>.

26 ὁ Χριστός] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>;

χριστός g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

28 γένησθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; γένεσθε g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>.

πατρὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>

l; καὶ πατρὶ g<sub>5</sub>.

30 σὺ] σοι g<sub>2</sub>.

36 ἀνακεκραμένους] g<sub>4</sub>; ἀνακε-

κραμμένους g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; ἀνακεκρεμαμένους g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; *qui pendetis* l. For the reading of I see  
 p. 43.

44 πιστοῖ] g<sub>3</sub>; *persuadet* l; πίστει g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; πιστή g<sub>4</sub>. The edd.

(before Zahn) generally read *πέισει*, and Dressel has *πίσκει* *πέισει*.

47 οὐ-

ρανῷ] οὐρανοῖς g<sub>4</sub> alone (with Heb. xii. 23).

quotation made up of John xvii. 11,  
 21.

pression, λύκος ἐν προβάτου δορᾷ, sug-  
 gested by Matt. vii. 15, occurs also

46. ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων κ.τ.λ.] in *Hero* 2.

From Heb. xii. 23. The next ex-

ὁ γὰρ τούτοις ὑποτασσόμενος ὑπακούει Χριστῷ τῷ προχειρισμένῳ αὐτούς· ὁ δὲ ἀπειθῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπειθεῖ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· ὁ δὲ ἀπειθῶν τῷ γίῳ οὐκ ὀφείλει τὴν ζωὴν, ἀλλ' ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ μένει ἐπ' αὐτόν· ἀνθάδης γάρ ἐστιν καὶ δύσερις, ὑπερήφανος, ὁ μὴ πειθαρχῶν τοῖς κρείττοσιν. ὑπερηφάνοις δέ, φησὶν, 5 ὁ Θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν· καὶ, ὑπερήφανοι παρηνόμουν ἕως σφόδρα· λέγει δὲ καὶ ὁ Κύριος πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς, ὁ ὧν ἀκούων ἐμοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων ἀκούει τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρός· ὁ ὧν ἀθετῶν ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν ἀθετεῖ τὸν πέμψαντά με. 10

VI. Ὅσῳ οὖν βλέπετε σιωπῶντα τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, πλείον αὐτὸν φοβεῖσθε. πάντα γὰρ ὃν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν, οὕτως αὐτὸν δεῖ ἡμᾶς δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμψαντα. τὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον δηλονότι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν, τῷ Κυρίῳ παρεστῶτα· ὁρατικὸν δὲ 15 ἄνδρα καὶ ὁξὺν τοῖς ἔργοις βασιλεῦσι δεῖ παρεστάναι, καὶ μὴ παρεστάναι ἀνθρώποις νωθοῖς. αὐτὸς μέντοι Ὀνήσιμος ὑπερεπαινεῖ ὑμῶν τὴν ἐν Θεῷ εὐταξίαν, ὅτι πάντες κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ζῆτε, καὶ ὅτι ἐν ὑμῖν οὐδεμία αἵρεσις κατοικεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀκούετε τινος ἢ μόνου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ 20

1 ὁ...ὑποτασσόμενος] οἱ...ὑποτασσόμενοι *g*<sub>4</sub> alone (notwithstanding that it has a sing. verb ὑπακούει). ὑπακούει] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>3</sub>*g*<sub>4</sub>*g*<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup>; *obedit* 1; ὑπακούσει *g*<sub>2</sub>. 9 ἀκούει] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub>*g*<sub>3</sub>*g*<sub>4</sub> 1; οὐκ ἀκούσει ἐμοῦ ἀλλὰ *g*<sub>5</sub>. 10 πέμψαντα] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>3</sub>*g*<sub>4</sub>*g*<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup>;

ἀποστείλαντα *g*<sub>2</sub> (from Luke x. 16). 11 οὖν] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>3</sub>*g*<sub>4</sub>*g*<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup> 1; om. *g*<sub>2</sub>. 12 πέμπει] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>*g*<sub>3</sub>*g*<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> 1; *mittit* 1; πέμψει *g*<sub>5</sub>. 13 ἡμᾶς] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>*g*<sub>3</sub>*g*<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup> 1; ὑμᾶς *g*<sub>4</sub>. 16 παρεστάναι] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>*g*<sub>3</sub>*g*<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> 1 (as in Prov. xxii. 29); om. *g*<sub>5</sub>. 17 ἀνθρώποις νωθοῖς] ἀνθρώπους νωθούς *g*<sub>3</sub> against all the other authorities. In Prov. xxii. 29 it is ἀνδρασι νωθοῖς. 18 ὅτι] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>*g*<sub>4</sub>*g*<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup> 1; καὶ ὅτι *g*<sub>3</sub>. κατὰ] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>*g*<sub>3</sub>*g*<sub>5</sub><sup>s</sup>; κατ' *g*<sub>4</sub>. 22 διὰ τὸ καὶ] *g*<sub>1</sub>*g*<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>*g*<sub>3</sub> 1; διὰ τὸ *g*<sub>5</sub>; *quoniam* 1; καὶ (om. διὰ τὸ) *g*<sub>4</sub>. 25 τοιοῦνδε παιδευταῖν] τοιῶνδε παιδευτῶν, all the

2. ὁ δὲ ἀπειθῶν κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. iii. 6.

5. ὑπερηφάνοις κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Hero* 5.

6. ὑπερήφανοι κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. cxviii (cxix). 51.

7. λέγει δὲ κ.τ.λ.] The quotation which follows is taken mainly from Luke x. 16, but the clause καὶ ὁ

ἐμοῦ...πατρός does not occur there.

15. ὁρατικὸν—ἄνδρα κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. xxii. 29.

22. ἐν σῶμα κ.τ.λ.] The expressions are borrowed from Ephes. iv. 4—6.

25. ὑπὸ τοιοῦνδε κ.τ.λ.] 'under two such instructors.' Considering the reading of the MSS, there cannot



ποιμένος καὶ διδασκάλου· καὶ ἔστέ, ὡς Παῦλος ὑμῖν ἔγραφεν,  
 ἔν σῶμα καὶ ἔν πνεῦμα διὰ τὸ καὶ ἔν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι κεκληῖσθαι  
 τῆς πίστεως· ἐπέιπερ καὶ εἷς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἔν βάπτισμα,  
 εἷς Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων  
 25 καὶ ἔν πάσιν. ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἔστε τοιοῦτοι, ὑπὸ τοιοῦνδε  
 παιδευταῖν στοιχειωθέντες, Παύλῳ τῷ χριστοφόρῳ καὶ Τιμο-  
 θέῳ τῷ πιστοτάτῳ.

VII. Τινὲς δὲ φαυλότατοι εἰώθασιν δόλῳ πονηρῷ τὸ  
 ὄνομα περιφέρειν, ἄλλα τινὰ πράσσοντες ἀνάξια Θεοῦ καὶ  
 30 φρονοῦντες ἐναντία τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας. ἐπ  
 ὀλέθρῳ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πειθομένων αὐτοῖς· οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ὡς  
 θηρία ἐκκλίνειν· δίκαιος γὰρ ἐκκλίνας σώζεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα·  
 πρόχειρος δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐπίχαρτος ἀσεβῶν ἀπώλεια· εἰσὶ  
 γὰρ κύνες ἐνεοί, οἳ δυνάμενοι ὑλακτεῖν, λυσσῶντες, λαθρο-  
 35 δῆκτοι, οὓς φυλάσσεσθαι χρή· ἀνίατα γὰρ νοσοῦσιν. ἱατρὸς  
 δὲ ἡμῶν ἔστιν ὁ μόνος ἀληθινὸς Θεός, ὁ ἀγέννητος καὶ  
 ἀπρόσιτος, ὁ τῶν ὅλων Κύριος, τοῦ δὲ μονογενοῦς πατὴρ  
 καὶ γεννήτωρ. ἔχομεν ἱατρὸν καὶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Θεὸν  
 Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν, τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων υἱὸν μονογενῆ καὶ  
 40 λόγον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου·  
 ὁ λόγος γὰρ σὰρξ ἐγένετο, ὁ ἀσώματος ἐν σώματι, ὁ ἀπαθὴς

Greek MSS. In 1 it is *a tali eruditi estis, hoc est a paulo christifero et timotheo fidelissimo*. I have made the correction on account of the datives which follow: see the lower note.

26 Παύλῳ τῷ χριστοφόρῳ]  $g_1g_2g_5$ ; παύλου τοῦ χριστοφόρου  $g_3g_4$ . Τιμοθέῳ τῷ πιστοτάτῳ]  $g_1g_2g_5$ ; τιμοθέου τοῦ πιστοτάτου  $g_3g_4$ . 29 ἄλλα τινὰ]  $g_1g_2g_4g_5$ : ἄλλά τινα  $g_3$ ; *sed aliquanta* 1: see above p. 47. 33 ἀπώλεια] ἀπόλεια  $g_1$ . 34 κύνες] κύνες  $g_2$ . οὐ]  $g_1g_2g_3g_4$  1; οἱ  $g_5$ . λυσσῶντες] λυσσοῦντες  $g_2$ . λαθροδῆκτοι] All the MSS. Many edd. have λαθροδῆκται. 38 καὶ sec.] om.  $g_4$  alone. 39 τὸν Χριστόν]  $g_1g_2g_3$ ; χριστόν (om. τὸν)  $g_4g_5$ . 40 Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου] παρθένου *μαρίας*  $g_4$  alone.

I think, be any doubt that the text should be read as I have restored it. For this use of ὑπὸ with the dative comp. e.g. Plat. *Lach.* p. 184 E ὑπὸ παιδοτρίβῃ ἀγαθῷ πεπαιδευμένος καὶ ἡσκήκως, *Resp.* viii. p. 558 D υἱὸς ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ τεθραμμένος.

32. δίκαιος κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. x. 25, xi. 4.

34. κύνες ἐνεοί, κ.τ.λ.] From Is. lvi. 10: see the note on *Antioch.* 6.

36. ὁ μόνος κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. xvii. 3.

41. ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. i. 14.

ἐν παθητῷ σώματι, ὁ ἀθάνατος ἐν θνητῷ σώματι, ἡ ζωὴ ἐν φθορᾷ, ὅπως θανάτου καὶ φθορᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃ καὶ ἰατρείσῃ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν, καὶ ἰάσῃται αὐτὰς νοσηλευθείσας ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ πονηραῖς ἐπιθυμίαις.

VIII. Μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατάτω, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐξαπα- 5  
τᾶσθε· ὅλοι γάρ ἐστε Θεοῦ. ὅταν γὰρ μηδεμία ἐπιθυμία ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχῃ δυναμένη ὑμᾶς ῥυπᾶναι καὶ βάσανον ἐπαγάγειν, ἄρα κατὰ Θεὸν ζήτε, καὶ ἐστὲ Χριστοῦ. περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ἀγνοιάτης Ἐφεσίων ἐκκλησίας τῆς διαβοήτου καὶ πολυνῦμνῆτος τοῖς αἰῶσιν. οἱ σαρκικοὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ πράτ- 10  
τειν οὐ δύνανται, οὐδὲ οἱ πνευματικοὶ τὰ σαρκικά· ὥστε οὐδὲ ἡ πίστις τὰ τῆς ἀπιστίας οὐδὲ ἡ ἀπιστία τὰ τῆς πίστεως. ὑμεῖς δέ, πλήρεις ὄντες τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐδὲν σαρκικὸν ἀλλὰ πνευματικὰ πάντα πράσσετε· ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τελει-  
οῦσθε, ὅς ἐστιν σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, μάλιστα πιστῶν. 15

IX. Ἐγνων δέ τινας παροδεύσαντας δι' ὑμῶν ἔχοντας κακὴν διδαχὴν ἀλλοκότου καὶ πονηροῦ πνεύματος· οἷς οὐκ ἔδωκατε πάροδον σπεῖραι τὰ ζιζάνια, βύσαντες τὰ ὠτα εἰς τὸ μὴ παραδέξασθαι τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καταγγελλομένην πλάνην, πεπεισμένοι τὸ λαοπλάνον πνεῦμα οὐ τὰ Χριστοῦ ἀλλὰ τὰ 20

1 ὁ ἀθάνατος ἐν θνητῷ σώματι]  $g_1g_2sg_3$ ; om.  $g_4g_5$  (by homœoteleuton).

2 ἐλευθερώσῃ καὶ ἰατρείῃ]  $g_1g_3g_4sg_5$ ; ἐλευθερώσει καὶ ἰατροῦσει  $g_2$ . 5 ἐξαπατάτω] ἐξατάτω  $g_2$ .

ὥσπερ]  $g_3$  I; ὅπερ  $g_1g_2g_4g_5$ ; and I seems to have had this reading, for it translates loosely *nullus ergo vestrum seducatur, quod et de vobis confido*.

6 ὅλοι]  $g_1g_2sg_4sg_5$  [I]; ὅλως  $g_3$ ; al. l. 7 ὑπάρχῃ]  $g_1g_4g_5$ ; ὑπάρχει  $g_2g_3$ .

8 ἐστὲ Χριστοῦ. περίψημα ὑμῶν]  $g_1g_2g_4sg_5$ ; *erit* (ἔσται) *christi subiectio vestra*; ἐστὲ Χριστοῦ· περίψημα δὲ ὑμῶν (also adding ἐκβάλλετε at the end of the sentence after τοῖς αἰῶσιν)  $g_3$ ; see p. 59 sq. The interpolator has left the words of the original, merely altering the (to him) unintelligible ἀγνίζομαι into ἀγνοιάτης.

9 ἀγνοιάτης]  $g_1g_2sg_3g_4$ ; ἀγιωτάτης  $g_5$ ; om. l. διαβοήτου] *auxiliatrix* l (some confusion with βοηθοῦ). 12 ἀπιστίας] ἀπιστείας  $g_1g_2g_3$ .

ἀπιστία] ἀπιστεία  $g_1g_2g_3$ . 13 ὑμεῖς] ἡμεῖς  $g_4$  (notwithstanding the following πράσσετε).

14 πνευματικὰ]  $g_1g_3g_4sg_5$ ; πνεύματι καὶ  $g_2$ .

20 λαοπλάνον] λαοπνάνον  $g_5$ . 22 ἀλλὰ sec.] ἀλλ'  $g_5$ . 23 τὰ]  $g_1g_3g_4sg_5$ ; om.  $g_2$ .

24 κατήγγελλεν]  $g_1g_2sg_4$ ; κατήγγειλεν  $g_3$ ; ἀπήγγελλεν  $g_5$ ; annunciat l. 26 λαλήσει] λαλήσε (sic)  $g_2$ . 28 ἔδωκάς]  $g_1g_2sg_3$

15. ὅς ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. are taken from John xiv. 24 ὁ λόγος  
iv. 10. κ.τ.λ., Joh. xvi. 13 οὐ λαλήσει κ.τ.λ.,

24. κατήγγελλεν] The quotations Joh. xvii. 4, 6 ἐγὼ σε ἐδόξασα κ.τ.λ.,



ἴδια λαλεῖν· ψευδολόγον γάρ ἐστιν· τὸ δὲ ἅγιον πνεῦμα οὐ  
 τὰ ἴδια ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ Κυρίου· ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῖν  
 κατήγγελλεν· ὁ λόγος γάρ, φησὶν, ὃν ἀκούετε, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸς  
 25 ἀλλὰ τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρός· καὶ περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ  
 ἁγίου, οὗ λαλήσει, φησὶν, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν ἀκούσῃ παρ'  
 ἐμοῦ. καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ φησι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· ἐγὼ σε, φησὶν,  
 ἐδόξασα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· τὸ ἔργον ὃ ἔδωκάς μοι, ἐτελείωσα·  
 ἐφανέρωσά σοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. καὶ περὶ τοῦ  
 30 ἁγίου πνεύματος· ἐκεῖνος ἐμέ δοξάζει, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λαμ-  
 βάνει. τὸ δὲ πλάνον πνεῦμα ἑαυτὸν κηρύττει, τὰ ἴδια λαλεῖ·  
 αὐτάρεσκον γάρ ἐστιν· ἑαυτὸν δοξάζει, τύφου γάρ ἐστι μεστόν·  
 ψευδολόγον ὑπάρχει, ἀπατηλόν, θωπευτικόν, κολακευτικόν,  
 ὑπουλον, ῥαψωδόν, φλύαρον, ἀσύμφωνον, ἀμετροεπές, γλίσ-  
 35 χρον, ψοφοδεές· οὗ τῆς ἐνεργείας ρύσεται ὑμᾶς Ἰησοῦς [ὁ]  
 Χριστὸς ὁ θεμελιώσας ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν, ὡς λίθους  
 ἐκλεκτούς, συναρμολογουμένους εἰς οἰκοδομὴν Θεοῦ πατρός·  
 ἀναφερόμενοι εἰς τὰ ὕψη διὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν  
 σταυρωθέντος, σχοίνῳ χρώμενοι τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι· πίστει  
 40 δὲ ἀναγόμενοι, καὶ ἀγάπῃ κουφιζόμενοι ἐκ γῆς πρὸς οὐρανόν,

g<sub>3</sub>s; δέδωκάς g<sub>4</sub>.29 σου τὸ ὄνομα] τὸ ὄνομά σου g<sub>4</sub> alone.

31 ἐ-

αὐτὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; ἑαυτὸ g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; dub. l.32 ἑαυτὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>5</sub> (but corrected) g<sub>2</sub>(probably); ἑαυτὸ g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s; dub. l.τύφου...μεστόν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>3</sub>; om. g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; *acerbus**namque est, plenus* l.33 κολακευτικόν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>s; om. g<sub>2</sub> (by homoeote-leuton); and l has only one word *lubricus* for the two, θωπευτικόν, κολακευ-  
 τικόν.34 φλύαρον] φλοῖαρον g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>.35 ὑμᾶς] g<sub>3</sub>; ἡμᾶς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>;

nos [l].

ὁ] g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>3</sub>.36 ὑμᾶς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub>s; ἡμᾶς g<sub>4</sub>; nos

l.

ὡς] om. g<sub>4</sub> alone.37 συναρμολογουμένους] *apli* l; *εὐαρμολογουμένους*

all the Greek mss. For this conjectural reading which I have substituted comp.

Ephes. ii. 21. The change is slight,  $\overline{\text{C}}\gamma$  for  $\epsilon\gamma$ .Θεοῦ] l l; *θείου* g<sub>4</sub>;θείαν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub>s.38 ἀναφερόμενοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>5</sub> [I]; ἀναφερομένοι (sic) g<sub>2</sub>; ἀναφε-ρομένους g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. The interpolator has forgotten to alter the nom. which he found in  
 the original and then has made the following participles to conform.

ὑψη] ὑψει

g<sub>2</sub>.40 ἀναγόμενοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; ἀναγόμενοι g<sub>2</sub>; ἀναγομένους g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s.

κουφι-

ζόμενοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; κουφιζόμενους g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s.γῆς πρὸς] τῆς ὑπ' g<sub>4</sub> alone (the

expression borrowed from Luke xvii. 24).

Joh. xvi. 14 ἐκεῖνος κ.τ.λ. Cf. the  
 expressions which follow, ἑαυτὸν κη-  
 ρύττει is modified from 2 Cor. iv. 5,

τὰ ἴδια λαλεῖ from Joh. viii. 44, and  
 ἑαυτὸν δοξάζει from Joh. viii. 54.



συνοδοιοποροῦντες ἅμα ἀμώμως. μακάριοι γάρ, φησίν, οἱ  
 ἁμωμοὶ ἐν ὁδῷ, οἱ πορευόμενοι ἐν νόμῳ Κυρίου· ὁδὸς δέ ἐστιν  
 ἀπλανὴς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός· ἐγὼ γάρ, φησίν, εἰμὶ ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ  
 ἡ ζωὴ· ὁδηγεῖ δὲ ἡ ὁδὸς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔρχεται  
 πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, εἰ μὴ δι' ἐμοῦ. μακάριοι οὖν ἐστε ὑμεῖς 5  
 οἱ θεοφόροι, πνευματοφόροι, ναοφόροι, ἁγιοφόροι, κατὰ πάντα  
 κεκοσμημένοι ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, βασίλειον  
 ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἄγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν· δι' οὗς ἀγαλ-  
 λιώμενος ἡξιώθην δι' ὧν γράφω προσομιλῆσαι τοῖς ἁγίοις  
 τοῖς οὔσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τοῖς πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. χαίρω 10  
 οὖν ἐφ' ὑμῖν, ὅτι μὴ τῇ ματαιότητι προσέχετε· οὐδὲ κατὰ  
 σάρκα ἀγαπάτε ἀλλὰ κατὰ Θεόν.

X. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀδιαλείπτως  
 προσεύχεσθε· ἔστιν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλπίς μετανοίας, ἵνα Θεοῦ  
 τύχωσιν· μὴ ὁ πίπτων γὰρ οὐκ ἀνίσταται; ἢ ὁ ἀποστρέφων 15  
 οὐκ ἐπιστρέφει; ἐπιτρέψατε οὖν αὐτοῖς μαθητευθῆναι ὑμῖν·  
 γίνεσθε οὖν διάκονοι Θεοῦ καὶ στόμα Χριστοῦ· λέγει γὰρ  
 ὁ Κύριος, ἐὰν ἐξαγάγητε ἐξ ἀναξίου τίμιον, ὡς στόμα μου  
 ἔσσεσθε. γίνεσθε πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ταπεινόφρονες·  
 ἀντιτάξατε πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς τὰς ἐκτενεῖς 20  
 εὐχάς· αὐτῶν πλανωμένων, στήκετε ὑμεῖς ἐν τῇ πίστει ἐδραῖοι·

1 συνοδοιοποροῦντες]  $g_1g_2g_5$ ; συνοδοιοποροῦντας  $g_3g_4s$ . ἀμώμως]  $g_4$ ; *im-*  
*maculate* 1; ἀμώμοις  $g_1s^2g_2sg_3g_5s$ . 3 ὁ Χριστός]  $g_1g_3g_4sg_5s$ ; *χριστός* (om.  
 ὁ)  $g_2$ . 4 γὰρ]  $g_1g_2g_4g_5$ ; add. *φησιν*  $g_3$  1. 6 πνευματοφόροι ναο-  
 φόροι ἁγιοφόροι]  $g_1g_3$ ; καὶ ναοφόροι χριστοφόροι ἁγιοφόροι 1; πνευματοφόροι ἁγιο-  
 φόροι  $g_2g_4$ ; *spiritiferi sanctiferi templiferi* 1; om.  $g_5$ . 13 δὲ] here  
 $g_1g_2sg_3g_5s$ ; after ὑπὲρ  $g_4$ . 16 ἐπιτρέψατε] 1; ἐπιστρέψατε  $g_1g_2sg_3g_4sg_5s$ ;  
*convertimini* 1. The v. l. ἐπιστρέψατε is due to the accidental proximity of ἐπι-  
 στρέφει. αὐτοῖς]  $g_2g_2g_5$  with 1; αὐτοὺς  $g_3g_4s$ ; al. 1. 22 ἐν sec.]  $g_3$ ;  
*per* 1 (it has translated the previous ἐν by *per*); om.  $g_1g_2g_4g_5$ . The omission is  
 probably due to the similar ending -ONEN. 24 Δαυεὶδ]  $d\alpha\delta$   $g_1$ . δὴ]

1. μακάριοι κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. cxviii (cxix). 1.

3. ἐγὼ...εἰμὶ κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. xiv. 6.

7. βασίλειον κ.τ.λ.] Taken from 1 Pet. ii. 9.

9. τοῖς ἁγίοις κ.τ.λ.] Ephes. i. 1;

so that this Ignatian writer must have had ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in his text.

15. μὴ ὁ πίπτων κ.τ.λ.] From Jer. viii. 4. The quotation which follows, ἐὰν ἐξαγάγητε, is from Jer. xv. 19.

21. τῇ πίστει ἐδραῖοι] See the note, p. 59.

νικήσατε τὸ ἄγριον ἦθος ἐν ἡμερότητι, τὸ ὀργίλον ἐν πραό-  
 τητι· μακάριοι γὰρ οἱ πραεῖς, καὶ μωσῆς πρᾶος παρὰ πάντας  
 ἄνθρωπος, καὶ Δαυεὶδ πρᾶος σφόδρα. διὸ παραινεί Παῦλος,  
 25 ΔΟΥΛΟΝ, λέγων, Κυρίου οὐ δεῖ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἡπιον εἶναι πρὸς  
 πάντας, διδακτικόν, ἀνεξίκακον, ἐν πραότητι παιδεύοντα  
 τοὺς ἀντιδιατιθεμένους. μὴ σπουδάζοντες ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς  
 ἀδικοῦντας ὑμᾶς· εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα γάρ, φησὶν, τοῖς ἀνταποδι-  
 δοῦσί μοι κακά. ἀδελφούς αὐτοὺς ποιήσωμεν τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ·  
 30 εἶπατε γὰρ τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, Ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν ἐστε· ἵνα τὸ  
 ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου δοξασθῇ· καὶ μιμησώμεθα τὸν Κύριον,  
 ὅς λοιδοροῦμενος οὐκ ἀντελοιδόρει, σταυρούμενος οὐκ ἀντέ-  
 τεινεν, πάσχων οὐκ ἠπείλει· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν προσηύ-  
 χετο· πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐκ οἶδασιν ὃ ποιοῦσιν. εἴ τις πλέον  
 35 ἀδικηθεὶς πλείονα ὑπομείνῃ, οὗτος μακάριος· εἴ τις ἀποστε-  
 ρηθῇ, εἴ τις ἀθετηθῇ, διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου, οὗτος ὄντως  
 Χριστοῦ ἐστιν. βλέπετε μὴ τοῦ διαβόλου βοτάνῃ εὐρεθῇ  
 ἐν ὑμῖν· πικρὰ γάρ ἐστιν καὶ ἀλμυρά τις αὕτη. νήψατε,  
 σωφρονήσατε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

40 XI. Ἐσχατοὶ καιροὶ λοιπόν εἰσιν· αἰσχυνθῶμεν, φοβη-  
 θῶμεν τὴν μακροθυμίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ· μὴ τοῦ πλοῦτοῦ τῆς

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> l; add. καὶ g<sub>5</sub>.

λέγετε δὲ g<sub>3</sub>. It has first omitted the words owing to homœoteleuton, and then inserted λέγετε δὲ as required by the sense.

29 ἐπιεικείᾳ] ἐπιεικία g<sub>2</sub>.

30 ἡμῶν] ὑμῶν g<sub>3</sub>.

31 τοῦ] om. g<sub>5</sub>.

μιμησώμεθα] μιμησόμεθα g<sub>1</sub>.

32 ἀντέτεινεν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; ἀντέτεινε g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; ἀντεῖπε g<sub>3</sub>; con-

tradicebat l.

33 ἠπείλει] ἠπήλει g<sub>2</sub>.

34 δ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; τί g<sub>4</sub>

alone (after Luke xxiii. 34). εἰ...εἰ...εἰ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. (Bryennios has only

recorded the reading of g<sub>4</sub> in the 2nd and 3rd cases, but prob. it applies to the

first also). The edd. commonly (not Zahn) read ἐάν...ἐάν...ἐάν.

πλέον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s

g<sub>3</sub>; πλείον g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>.

35 ὑπομείνῃ] ὑπομείνει g<sub>2</sub>.

36 τοῦ Κυρίου]

τοῦ χριστοῦ g<sub>4</sub> alone.

39 σωφρονήσατε] σωφρονίσατε.

22. ἐν πραότητι] The quotations which follow are from Matt. v. 5 μακάριοι κ.τ.λ., from Num. xii. 3 Μωσῆς πρᾶος κ.τ.λ., from 2 Tim. ii. 24 sq. δούλον Κυρίου κ.τ.λ., from Ps. vii. 4 εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα κ.τ.λ.

31. τὸν Κύριον] The passages fol-

lowing are quoted from 1 Pet. ii. 23 ὅς λοιδορούμενος κ.τ.λ., Luke xxiii. 34 πάτερ ἄφες κ.τ.λ.

38. νήψατε, σωφρονήσατε] Words taken from 1 Pet. iv. 7.

41. τοῦ πλούτου κ.τ.λ.] From Rom. ii. 4.

ΧΡΗΣΤΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΟΧΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΗΣΩΜΕΝ· ἡ γὰρ  
τὴν μέλλουσαν ὀργὴν φοβηθῶμεν ἡ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν χάριν  
ἀγαπήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν βίω· μόνον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εὐρε-  
θῆναι εἰς τὸ ἀληθινῶς ζῆν. χωρὶς τούτου μηδ' ἀναπνεῦσαι  
ποτὲ ἔλησθε· οὗτος γάρ μου ἡ ἐλπίς, οὗτος τὸ καύχημα, 5  
οὗτος ἀνεκλιπὴς πλοῦτος· ἐν ᾧ τὰ δεσμὰ ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι  
Ῥώμης περιφέρω, τοὺς πνευματικούς μαργαρίτας, ἐν οἷς  
γένοιτό μοι τελειωθῆναι τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν, μέτοχον τῶν  
παθημάτων Χριστοῦ καὶ κοινωνὸν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ γενέ-  
σθαι καὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς ἀνεκλιποῦς 10  
ζωῆς· ἥς γένοιτό μοι ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἵνα ἐν κλήρῳ Ἐφεσίων εὐρεθῶ  
τῶν Χριστιανῶν, οἳ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πάντοτε συνῆσαν  
ἐν δυνάμει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Παύλῳ, Ἰωάννῃ, Τιμοθέῳ τῷ  
πιστοτάτῳ.

XII. Οἶδα τίς εἰμι καὶ τίσιν γράφω· ἐγὼ ὁ ἐλάχιστος 15  
Ἰγνάτιος [καὶ] τοῖς ὑπὸ κίνδυνον καὶ κρίσιν παρόμοιος· ὑμεῖς  
δὲ ἡλεημένοι, ἐστηριγμένοι ἐν Χριστῷ· πάροδος ἐστε τῶν  
διὰ Θεὸν ἀναιρουμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος Ἀβελ τοῦ δικαίου  
ἕως τοῦ αἵματος Ἰγνατίου τοῦ ἐλαχίστου. Παύλου συμμύσται  
ἐστέ, ἡγιασμένου, μεμαρτυρημένου ὅτι σκεῖός ἐστιν ἐκλογῆς· 20

1 ἡ γὰρ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub> I; μάλλον γὰρ (sic) g<sub>3</sub>; plus I. 2 χάριν] I; gratiam I;  
χαράν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; ὀργὴν g<sub>4</sub>. 3 βίῳ] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; add. ἔστω δὲ ἡ ἐνεστῶσα

χαρὰ καὶ ἡ ἀληθινὴ τὸ g<sub>3</sub>. In I the passage runs *praesentem gratiam diligamus: praesens enim gratia est, ut inveniamur in christo jesu*. There is nothing corre-  
sponding to this addition in I.

4 ἀναπνεῦσαι] ἂν ἀγνεῦσαι g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; ἂν  
ἀναπνεῦσαι g<sub>3</sub>; *respirare* I. The reading of g<sub>3</sub> is adopted commonly by the  
edd., though not grammatical. 5 ἔλησθε] ἔλοισθε g<sub>5</sub>. οὗτος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>;  
οὗτος ὁ g<sub>5</sub>. 6 ἀνεκλιπὴς] LXX; ἀνεκλειπὴς g<sub>2</sub>; ἀνελλειπὴς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἀνελλι-  
πὴς g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. 10 ἀνεκλιποῦς] ἀνεκλειποῦς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; ἀνεκλείπτου g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. 12 συν-  
ῆσαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; συνέσαν g<sub>2</sub>; *conversati sunt* I. For I see p. 62. 15 ἐγὼ]  
txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; add. μέν g<sub>3</sub>; add. *itaque* I. 16 καὶ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; om. g<sub>3</sub>;  
al. I. 17 πάροδος ἐστε] with I; παραδοθεῖς γε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; *traditus sum*  
*autem* I; παραδοθήσεσθε g<sub>4</sub>; παραδοθεῖς γε ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ g<sub>3</sub>. The difference between  
παροδοcecte and παραδοθειςce is not great; and πάραδος ἐστε was doubt-  
less the original reading in the interpolator's text, as it is in Ignatius himself.

6. ἀνεκλιπὴς πλοῦτος] See Wisd.  
viii. 18; comp. Wisd. vii. 14, Luke  
xii. 33.

18. ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος κ.τ.λ.] From  
Matt. xxiii. 35.

20. σκεῖος...ἐκλογῆς] Acts ix. 15.



οὗ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη εὐρεθῆναι, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀγίων, ὅταν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω· ὃς πάντοτε ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσιν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν.

XIII. Σπουδάζετε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι εἰς  
25 εὐχαριστίαν Θεοῦ καὶ δόξαν· ὅταν γὰρ συνεχῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ  
γένησθε, καθαιροῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ ἄπρακτα  
αὐτοῦ ἐπιστρέφει τὰ πεπρωμένα βέλη πρὸς ἁμαρτίαν· ἡ  
γὰρ ὑμετέρα ὁμόνοια καὶ σύμφωνος πίστις αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐστὶν  
ὄλεθρος, τῶν δὲ ὑπασπιστῶν αὐτοῦ βάσανος. οὐδὲν ἄμεινον  
30 τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν εἰρήνης, ἐν ᾗ πᾶς πόλεμος καταργεῖται  
ἀερίων καὶ ἐπιγείων πνευμάτων· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη  
πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ πρὸς ἐξουσίας  
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους, πρὸς τὰ πνευ-  
ματικά τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπογρανίοις.

35 XIV. Οὐκοῦν οὐ λήσεται ὑμᾶς τι τῶν νοημάτων τοῦ  
διαβόλου, ἐάν, ὡς Παῦλος, τελείως εἰς Χριστὸν ἔχητε τὴν  
πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ζωῆς καὶ τέλος·  
ἀρχὴ ζωῆς πίστις, τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη· τὰ δὲ δύο ἐν ἐνότητι  
γενόμενα Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον ἀποτελεῖ· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα εἰς

The corruption into *παραδοθεὶς γε* however was earlier than any existing authorities for the interpolator's text. The reading of  $g_3$  is a deliberate alteration.

18 διὰ Θεόν] *propter deum* 1; εἰς θεόν I; διὰ χριστὸν  $g_1g_2g_3g_4g_5$ .

τοῦ αἵματος]  $g_1g_3$ ; αἵματος (om. τοῦ)  $g_2g_4g_5$ . 19 τοῦ ἐλα-  
χίστου]  $g_1g_2g_4g_5$  1; ἐλάχιστος, ὑμεῖς δὲ  $g_3$ . 22 Ἰησοῦ] om.  $g_4$  alone. 23 ὑ-

μῶν]  $g_1g_2g_4g_5$  1 with I; ἡμῶν  $g_3$ . 24 πυκνότερον] ποικνότερον  $g_2$ . 25 εὐ-

χαριστίαν] εὐχαριστείαν  $g_2$ . συνεχῶς] here,  $g_1g_2g_3g_4g_5$ ; after αὐτὸ,  $g_5$ . The

order of  $g_1g_2g_3g_4$  is also the order of I, which has *πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, and of 1, which translates *assidue hoc ipsum*.

26 γένησθε]  $g_1g_2g_3g_4g_5$ ; γίνησθε  $g_5$ ; γίνεσθε I. 27 ἐπιστρέφει] μένει  $g_4$  alone. 28 ὑμετέρας]  $g_1g_3g_4g_5g_5$

1; ἡμετέρας  $g_2$ . 30 καταργεῖται] κατεργῆται  $g_2$ . 31 ἀερίων] ἀερίων

$g_2$ . 32 καὶ πρὸς ἐξουσίας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κ.τ.λ.]  $g_1g_2g_3$ ; καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας

πρὸς τοὺς κ.τ.λ.  $g_4$ ; *et potestates et adversus* etc. 1; πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς

κ.τ.λ.  $g_5$  (in conformity with Ephes. vi. 12). 34 πονηρίας] ἐξουσίας  $g_3$ , probably

an error of the press. 36 ἔχητε]  $g_1g_3g_4g_5$  with I; ἔχετε  $g_2g_5$ . 39 δὲ

ἄλλα] δ' ἄλλὰ  $g_5$ .

27. τὰ πεπρωμένα βέλη] Ephes. vi. 16, taken from the context of the quotation which follows almost immediately, οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν κ.τ.λ.

(Ephes vi. 12).

39. Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον κ.τ.λ.] A reminiscence of 2 Tim. iii. 17.

καλοκαγαθίαν ἀκόλουθά ἐστιν. οὐδεὶς πίστιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ὀφείλει ἀμαρτάνειν, οὐδὲ ἀγάπην κεκτημένος μισεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν· ὁ γὰρ εἰπών, ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου, εἶπεν, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι, οὐκ ἐξ ὧν λέγουσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν 5 πράττουσι, γνωρίζονται· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκεται.

XV. Ἀμεινόν ἐστι σιωπᾶν καὶ εἶναι ἢ λαλεῖν καὶ μὴ εἶναι· οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει· καρδίᾳ πιστεύεται, στόματι δὲ ὁμολογεῖται· τῇ μὲν εἰς δικαιοσύνην, τῷ δὲ εἰς σωτηρίαν. καλὸν τὸ διδάσκειν, ἐὰν ὁ λέγων ποιῇ· ὅς γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ, οὔτος μέγας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ. ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζώντος, πρῶτον ἐποίησεν καὶ τότε ἐδίδαξεν, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Λουκάς, οἷον ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν 15 ἐκκλησιῶν. οὐδὲν λανθάνει τὸν Κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἡμῶν ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ ἐστιν. πάντα οὖν ποιῶμεν, ὡς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικοῦντος, ἵνα ὦμεν αὐτοῦ ναοί, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν Θεός. Χριστὸς ἐν ἡμῖν λαλείτω, ὡς καὶ ἐν Παύλῳ· τὸ πνεῦμα

2 ὀφείλει] ὀφείλη g<sub>2</sub>. 4 σεαυτόν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; ἑαυτὸν g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. 10 sq. πιστεύεται.....ὁμολογεῖται] πιστεύετε.....ὁμολογεῖτε g<sub>4</sub> alone. 11 λέγων] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sg<sub>5</sub>; λέγω g<sub>2</sub>. 12 ποιήσῃ, διδάξῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sg<sub>5</sub>; ποιήσῃ, διδάξει g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 13 ὁ Χριστός] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; χριστὸς (om. ὁ) g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 17 αὐτῷ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub> with I. There is no authority for αὐτοῦ, which the edd. commonly read. αὐτοῦ] αὐτῷ g<sub>4</sub> alone. 24 οἴκους] om. g<sub>4</sub> alone. 25 διδασκαλίαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>l; ἐκκλησίαν g<sub>3</sub>, which has been adopted commonly by the edd. before Zahn. 26 καὶ θάνατον ὑπέμεινεν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> (ὑπέμεινε); ὑπέμεινεν καὶ θάνατον g<sub>5</sub>. 27 ὁ Κύριος] κύριος (om. ὁ) g<sub>4</sub> alone. ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ] praef. ὁ θεὸς g<sub>4</sub> alone. υἱός· οὖν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sg<sub>5</sub>l; υἱοῦ 28 λιπανθεῖς] λιπανθεῖς

3. ἀγαπήσεις κ.τ.λ.] Luke x. 27 (from Deut. vi. 5, Lev. xix. 18); comp. *Ps-Smyrn.* 6.

6. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xii. 33.

8. μὴ εἶναι] The quotations which follow are from 1 Cor. iv. 20 οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ κ.τ.λ., and from Rom. x. 10 καρδίᾳ κ.τ.λ.

12. ὁς...ἂν ποιήσῃ κ.τ.λ.] Matt. v. 19. For the whole passage see *Apost. Const.* ii. 6 ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν...ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἤρξατο πρῶτον ποιεῖν καὶ τότε διδάσκειν· διό φησιν ὅς δ' ἂν ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ κ.τ.λ. We have thus an explanation of ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Λουκάς, which is a reference to Acts i. 1 ὃν ἤρξατο Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν.

20 τὸ ἅγιον διδασκέτω ἡμᾶς τὰ Χριστοῦ φθέγγεσθαι παρα-  
πλησίως αὐτῷ.

XVI. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου· οἱ οἰκοφθόροι βασι-  
λείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν· εἰ δὲ οἱ τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους  
οἴκους διαφθείροντες θανάτῳ καταδικάζονται, πόσῳ μᾶλλον  
25 οἱ τὴν Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίαν νοθεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες αἰωνίαν  
τίσουσι δίκην· ὑπὲρ ἧς σταυρὸν καὶ θάνατον ὑπέμεινεν  
ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενῆς υἱός· οὗ τὴν διδασ-  
καλίαν ὁ ἀθετήσας λιπανθεὶς καὶ παχυνθεὶς εἰς γέενναν  
χωρήσει. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὁ τὸ διακρίνειν παρὰ  
30 Θεοῦ εἰληφῶς κολασθήσεται, ἀπείρῳ ποιμένι ἐξακολουθήσας  
καὶ ψευδῇ δόξαν ὡς ἀληθῇ δεξάμενος. τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ  
πρὸς σκότος ἢ Χριστῷ πρὸς Βελίᾳ; ἢ τίς μερίς πιστοῦ πρὸς  
ἄπιστον, ἢ ναῶν Θεοῦ μετὰ εἰδώλων; φημὶ δὲ καὶ γὰρ, τίς  
κοινωνία ἀληθείας πρὸς ψεῦδος, ἢ δικαιοσύνης πρὸς ἀδικίαν,  
35 ἢ δόξης πρὸς ψευδοδοξίαν;

XVII. Διὰ τοῦτο μύρον ἔλαβεν ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς κεφα-  
λῆς, ἵνα ἡ ἐκκλησία πνέῃ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν. μύρον γάρ, φησὶν,  
ἐκκενωθὲν ὄνομά σοι· διὰ τοῦτο νεάνιδες ἠγάπησάν σε,  
εἴλκυσάν σε· ὁπίσω εἰς ὁσμὴν μύρων σου δραμοῦμεθα. μὴ

g<sub>2</sub>. γέενναν] γέεναν g<sub>4</sub>.

29 ὁ] om. g<sub>4</sub> alone.

30 κολασ-

θήσεται] om. g<sub>3</sub> alone.

ἀπείρῳ ποιμένι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>sg<sub>5</sub>l; ποιμένι ἀπείρῳ δὲ

g<sub>3</sub>. 31 ἀληθῇ] g<sub>5</sub>; *veram* l; ἀληθὴν g<sub>3</sub>; ἀληθῶς g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

32 Be-

λίᾳ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sg<sub>5</sub>; βελίαν g<sub>2</sub>; *belial* l.

34 δικαιοσύνης] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l; δικαιο-

σύνη g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>.

35 δόξης] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l; δόξη g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>.

ψευδοδοξίαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l;

ψευδοξίαν g<sub>2</sub>; ἀδοξίαν g<sub>5</sub>.

36 ἐπὶ τῆς] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub> with l; ἐπὶ (om. τῆς) g<sub>1</sub>; ὡς

ἐπὶ (om. τῆς) g<sub>3</sub>; *in* l.

κεφαλῆς] txt g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>l; add. τῆς ἐκκλησίας

g<sub>3</sub>. 37 ἵνα] om. g<sub>4</sub>.

38 σοι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; σου g<sub>5</sub>; *tuum* l. The edd.

read σου (as in Cant. i. 3, where however there is a v. l. σοι).

39 ὁπίσω]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>sg<sub>5</sub>; ὁπίσω αὐτῶν g<sub>2</sub>; *post te* l. In Cant. i. 3 it is ὁπίσω σου.

μύρων]

μύρου g<sub>4</sub> alone. In g<sub>3</sub> it is misprinted μύζων. The LXX has μύρων.

15. οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος κ.τ.λ.] 2 Cor. viii. 18, applied to S. Luke from a mistaken interpretation of ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ as his written Gospel. So probably Origen, quoted by Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25.

22. μὴ πλανᾶσθε... βασιλείαν κ.τ.λ.] Expressions from 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

28. λιπανθεὶς καὶ παχυνθεὶς] Words borrowed from Deut. xxxii. 15; comp. Clem. Rom. 3.

31. τίς κοινωνία κ.τ.λ.] 2 Cor. vi. 14 sq.; comp. *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 4.

37. μύρον... ἐκκενωθὲν κ.τ.λ.] From Cant. i. 3, 4.



ἀλειφέσθω δυσωδίαν διδασκαλίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ ἀγία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία· μὴ αἰχμαλωτισθῇ ὑπὸ τῆς πανουργίας αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἡ πρώτη γυνή. διὰ τί λογικοὶ ὄντες οὐ γινόμεθα φρόνιμοι; διὰ τί ἔμφυτον τὸ περὶ Θεοῦ παρὰ Χριστοῦ λαβόντες κριτήριον εἰς ἄγνοιαν καταπίπτομεν ἐξ ἀμελείας; 5 ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ χάρισμα ὃ εἰλήφαμεν, ἀνοήτως ἀπολλύμεθα.

XVIII. Ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπίστοις σκάνδαλόν ἐστίν, τοῖς δὲ πιστοῖς σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ συζητητής; ποῦ καύχησις τῶν λεγομένων δυνατῶν; ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱός, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων γεννηθεὶς 10 καὶ τὰ πάντα γνώμη τοῦ πατρὸς συστησάμενος, οὗτος ἐκυοφορήθη ἐκ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν, ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαυεὶδ πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου. ἰδοῦ γάρ, φησὶν, ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται καὶ τέξεται γίον, καὶ κληθήσεται Ἑμμανοὺήλ. οὗτος ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, ἵνα πιστοποιήσῃται 15 τὴν διάταξιν τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν τῷ προφήτῃ.

XIX. Καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας, καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου· τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἐπράχθη, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐφανερώθη. ἀστὴρ ἐν οὐρανῷ 20 ἔλαμψεν ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἀνεκλάλητον ἦν, καὶ ξενισμὸν παρείχεν ἡ καινότης αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὁρώσιν αὐτόν· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἄστρο ἅμα ἡλίῳ

1 ἀλειφέσθω] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; add. *τις* g<sub>3</sub>; add. *quis* l. This is quite unnecessary, and involves a change in the punctuation. δυσωδίαν] δυσωδείαν g<sub>1</sub>. διδασκαλίας] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; τῆς διδασκαλίας I; *doctrinae* l; διδασκαλίαν g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>5</sub>. 2 τοῦ Θεοῦ] θεοῦ (om. τοῦ) g<sub>3</sub>. 3 γινόμεθα] γινώμεθα g<sub>3</sub>. 4 φρόνιμοι] φρόνημοι g<sub>2</sub>. τὸ] τὸν g<sub>2</sub>. Χριστοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>; τοῦ χριστοῦ g<sub>3</sub>. 5 ἐξ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>g<sub>5</sub>l; καὶ ἐξ g<sub>3</sub>. ἀμελείας] ἀμελίας g<sub>2</sub>. 9 λεγομένων] g<sub>5</sub> ends with λεγο-. 12 οἰκονομίαν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; add. θεοῦ g<sub>3</sub>. *Dei* appears in some texts of l, but is wanting in the most important mss. In the existing authorities of l it is found, but is probably an interpolation. Δαυεὶδ] δαδ g<sub>1</sub>. 13 πνεύματος] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>l with l;

9. ποῦ σοφός κ.τ.λ.] See the note above, p. 74.

13. ἰδού...ἡ παρθένος κ.τ.λ.] Is. vii. 14 (Matt. i. 23), quoted also *Philipp.* 3, *Antioch* 2.

15. ἵνα πιστοποιήσῃται κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 22 ἐβαπτίσθη...ἵνα καὶ Ἰωάννη ἀληθείαν προσμαρτυρήσῃ καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπογραμμὸν παράσχηται.

30. οὔτε τὸ πρότερον] i.e. 'the one,

καὶ σελήνῃ χορὸς ἐγίνοντο τῷ ἀστέρι· αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑπερ-  
 25 βάλλων αὐτοὺς τῷ φανῷ. ταραχή τε ἦν, πόθεν ἢ και-  
 νότης ἢ φαινομένη. ἔνθεν ἐμωραίνεται σοφία κοσμική, γοητεία  
 ὕθλος ἦν, καὶ γέλως ἢ μαγεία· πᾶς θεσμὸς κακίας ἠφανίζετο,  
 ἀγνοίας ζόφος διεσκεδάννυτο, καὶ τυραννικὴ ἀρχὴ καθηρεῖτο,  
 Θεοῦ ὡς ἀνθρώπου φαινομένου, καὶ ἀνθρώπου ὡς Θεοῦ ἐνερ-  
 30 γοῦντος· ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ πρότερον δόξα, οὔτε τὸ δεύτερον  
 ψιλότης· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀλήθεια, τὸ δὲ οἰκονομία. ἀρχὴν δὲ  
 ἐλάμβανεν τὸ παρὰ Θεῷ ἀπηρτισμένον· ἔνθεν τὰ πάντα συνε-  
 κινεῖτο διὰ τὸ μελετᾶσθαι θανάτου κατάλυσιν.

XX. Στήκετε, ἀδελφοί, ἐδραῖοι ἐν τῇ πίστει Ἰησοῦ  
 35 Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγάπῃ, ἐν πάθει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνα-  
 στάσει. πάντες ἐν χάριτι ἐξ ὀνόματος συναθροίζεσθε κοινῇ,  
 ἐν μιᾷ πίστει Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μονο-  
 γενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ, τοῦ καὶ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, κατὰ  
 40 κλήτου· ὑπακούοντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ  
 ἀπερισπάστῳ διανοίᾳ· ἓνα ἄρτον κλώντες, ὃ ἐστὶν φάρμακον  
 ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Θεῷ  
 διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καθαρτήριον ἀλεξίκακον.

XXI. Εἴην ὑμῶν ἀντίψυχον, καὶ ὧν ἐπέμψατε εἰς Θεοῦ  
 45 τιμὴν εἰς Σμύρναν· ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν, εὐχαριστῶν τῷ

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| διὰ πνεύματος g <sub>3</sub> .  | 15 καὶ] g <sub>3</sub> with I; om. g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>2</sub> g <sub>4</sub> ; al. l.      | πιστο-   |
| ποιήσεται] πιστοποιήσεται g <sub>2</sub> .  | 16 ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν] ἐγχειρισθῆσαν g <sub>2</sub> .   | 18 παρ-  |
| θενία] g <sub>2</sub> sg <sub>3</sub> g <sub>4</sub> s; παρθενεία g <sub>1</sub> .  | 21 τοῦς] τοῦ g <sub>1</sub> .   | 25 αὐτοῦς]   |
| g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>2</sub> g <sub>4</sub> ; omnes (ἄστρα has been translated by <i>sidera</i> ) l; αὐτὰ g <sub>3</sub> . |   | 26 γοη-  |
| τεία] g <sub>2</sub> g <sub>4</sub> s; γοητία g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>3</sub> .   | 27 γέλως] γέλος g <sub>2</sub> g <sub>3</sub> .   | μαγεία] g <sub>4</sub> s;  |
| μαγία g <sub>3</sub> ; μαγίας g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>2</sub> .   | ἠφανίζετο] καθηρεῖτο (sic) g <sub>4</sub> alone (from below).                                 | 32 ἀπηρτισμένον]   |
| 28 καθηρεῖτο] g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>3</sub> g <sub>4</sub> s; καθαιρεῖτο g <sub>2</sub> .                                   |   | 34 Στήκετε] στήκεται   |
| ἀπηρτησμένον g <sub>2</sub> .   | συνεκινεῖτο] συνεκινεῖτο g <sub>2</sub> .   | 35 πάθει] πάθη g <sub>1</sub> .  |
| g <sub>1</sub> .  | 35 πάθει] πάθη g <sub>1</sub> .   | 37 καὶ] g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>3</sub> g <sub>4</sub> l; om. g <sub>2</sub> . |
| 37 καὶ] g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>3</sub> g <sub>4</sub> l; om. g <sub>2</sub> .  |   | 39 Δαυεῖδ]   |
| δαδ g <sub>1</sub> .  | ἐφοδηγούμενοι] g <sub>2</sub> sg <sub>3</sub> ; ἐποδηγούμενοι g <sub>1</sub> g <sub>4</sub> . |  |

the incarnation of Deity, is not a mere phantasm, and the other, the humanity of Christ, is not bare humanity.' For ψιλός, ψιλότης, as applied to the pure humanitarian Christology of the Ebionites and

others, see *Ps-Trall.* 6, *Tars.* 6, *Philipp.* 5, *Hero* 2.

31. οἰκονομία] See the note on κατ' οἰκονομίαν *Ign. Ephes.* 18, p. 75.

38. πρωτοτόκου κ.τ.λ.] *Col.* i. 15, quoted also *Tars.* 4, *Ps-Smyrn.* i.

Κυρίῳ, ἀγαπῶν Πολύκαρπον ὡς καὶ ὑμᾶς. μνημονεύετε μου, ὡς καὶ ὑμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείων τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ, ὅθεν δεδεμένος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπάγομαι, ἔσχατος ὢν τῶν ἐκεῖ πιστῶν, ὥσπερ ἠξιώθην εἰς Θεοῦ τιμὴν φορέσαι ταυτασὶ 5 τὰς ἀλύσεις· ἔρρωσθε ἐν Θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν, ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ· ἔρρωσθε. ἀμήν· ἡ χάρις.

## 13.

## ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ ἡλεημένη ἐν μεγαλειότητι 10 ὑψίστου Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ, ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡγιασμένη καὶ πεφωτισμένη ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὰ πάντα ᾧ ἔστιν, κατὰ πίστιν καὶ

1 ἀγαπῶν] ἀγαπῶ  $g_3$  alone. 5 ὥσπερ]  $g_1g_2g_3g_4$  with I; unde l. There is no authority for ὅσπερ, which is commonly read by editors. 7 ἐν πνεύματι] καὶ ἐν πνεύματι  $g_3$  alone. 8 ἡ χάρις]  $g_1g_2g_4$ : om. [ $g_3$ ][I], but as  $g_3$  makes a similar omission in *Polyc.* 7, its testimony is suspicious here. After χάρις add. *ἰγνατίου ἐφεσίοις*  $g_1g_2g_4$ , without any interpunctuation (at least in  $g_2g_4$ ); but this is obviously an isolated subscription which has been accidentally attached to the body of the letter.

Subscr. τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἐφεσίους ια.  $g_1g_2$ . Nothing in  $g_3g_4$ .

πρὸς ρωμαίους]  $g_4$  (with the number ιβ in the marg.); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ρωμαίους  $g_1g_2$  (There is no number in the marg. or elsewhere in either MS; Dressel is wrong in giving ιβ as part of the superscription in  $g_2$ ); τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ρωμαίους. ιβ.  $g_3$ .

8. ἀμήν· ἡ χάρις] Comp. *Ps-Polyc.* 8. Anastasius of Antioch, writing to Gregory the Great, about A.D. 594, quotes these words; to which Gregory replies (*Op.* VII. p. 320, Venet. 1770) 'Amen. Gratia. Quæ videlicet verba de scriptis vestris accepta, idcirco in meis epistolis pono, ut de sancto Ignatio vestra

beatitudo cognoscat etc.' This is adduced as one of the earliest testimonies to the circulation of the interpolated Ignatian Epistles. The inference however is not certain; for the Armenian Version adds 'Gratia vobiscum: Amen,' at the end of the genuine letter to the Ephesians, and this seems to be a loose translation



ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἥτις  
 15 προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων, ἀξιόθεος, ἀξιοπρεπής,  
 ἀξιομακάριστος, ἀξιεπαινος, ἀξιεπίτευκτος, ἀξίαγνος, καὶ  
 προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης, χριστόνομος, πατρώνυμος, πνευ-  
 ματοφόρος, ἣν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ παντοκρά-  
 20 τορος καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα  
 καὶ πνεῦμα ἠνωμένοις πάσῃ ἐντολῇ αὐτοῦ, πεπληρωμένοις  
 πάσης χάριτος Θεοῦ ἀδιακρίτως καὶ ἀποδιῦλισμένοις ἀπὸ  
 παντὸς ἀλλοτρίου χρώματος· πλείστα ἐν Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ  
 Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἀμώμως χαίρειν.

I. Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος τῷ Θεῷ ἐπέτυχον ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὰ  
 25 ἀξιόθεα πρόσωπα, ὥς καὶ πλέον ἡτοῦμην λαβεῖν· δεδεμένος  
 γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐλπίζω ὑμᾶς ἀσπᾶσασθαι, ἕάνπερ  
 θέλημα ᾗ τοῦ ἀξιωθῆναί με εἰς τέλος εἶναι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴ  
 εὐοικονόμητός ἐστιν, ἕάνπερ χάριτος ἐπιτύχω, εἰς τὸ τὸν  
 κλῆρόν μου εἰς πέρας ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν· φοβοῦμαι  
 30 γὰρ τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν, μὴ αὐτὴ με ἀδικήσῃ· ὑμῖν γὰρ  
 εὐχερές ἐστιν, ὃ θέλετε, ποιῆσαι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δύσκολόν ἐστιν

10 ἡλεημένη]  $g_1 g_2 s g_4 s$  l with I; εὐλογημένη  $g_3$ . 12 ἡγιασμένη]  $g_1 g_2 g_3 g_4 s$  l.

There is no authority in this recension for ἡγαπημένη, which some editors adopt here. The marginal alternative ἡγαπημένη, which Dressel's language appears to assign to V(=  $g_1$ ), doubtless belongs to the secondary MS O.

13 α] ἡ  $g_3$  alone. 14 καὶ σωτῆρος]  $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$  l; σωτῆρος (om. καὶ)  $g_2$ . 16 ἀξιεπίτευκτος] ἀξιοεπίτευκτος  $g_1 g_4 s$ ; ἀξιοεπίστευκτος  $g_2$ ; ἀξιεπίστευτος  $g_3$ ; *fide dignae* (ἀξιοπίστευτος) l: see p. 191.

ἀξίαγνος]  $g_1 g_2 s g_4 s$  with I; *castitate dignae* l; ἀξιάγιος  $g_3$ .

17 χριστόνομος] with I (see p. 192); *lege* (v.l. *fide*) *Christi* l; χριστόνυμος  $g_2$ ; χριστώνυμος  $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$ .

18 Θεοῦ] om.  $g_4$  alone. 23 ἡμῶν] om.  $g_3$  alone.

24 Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος]  $g_1 g_2 g_3 g_4$ ; *deprecans* (as if ἐπευξάμενος) l: see above, p. 194.

25 ὥς] *sicuti* l, with I (p. 194); οὕς  $g_1 g_2 s g_3 g_4 s$ . ἡτοῦμην] ἡ τοῦμή (sic)  $g_2$ .

30 ἀδικήσῃ]  $g_1 g_4 s$ ; ἀδικήσει  $g_2 g_3$ . 31 ἐστὶν τοῦ Θεοῦ]  $g_1$  with I; ἐστὶ τὸ θεοῦ  $g_3 g_4 s$ ; ἐστὶν θεοῦ  $g_2$ .

or a paraphrase of ἀμὴν ἡ χάρις. So again at the end of the Epistle to Polycarp, where ἀμὴν ἡ χάρις stands now only in the interpolator's text, the Armenian Version of the original Ignatius has 'Gratia cum omnibus vobis: Amen.' It is probable therefore that ἀμὴν ἡ χάρις stood at

the close of both these epistles in the original text, or in some early copies, of the genuine Ignatius. Transcribers would be sorely tempted to omit or alter such an unusual expression. For the absolute use of ἡ χάρις in Ignatius see *Smyrn.* 12 with the note (p. 321).

τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, εἴανπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ φείσησθέ μου προφάσει  
φιλίας σαρκίνης.

II. Οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι, ἀλλὰ Θεῷ  
ἀρέσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀρέσκετε· οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτε ἔξω καιρὸν  
τοιούτου, ὥστε Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, οὔτε ὑμεῖς, εἴαν σιωπήσητε, 5  
κρείττονι ἔργῳ ἔχετε ἐπιγραφῆναι. εἴαν τε γὰρ σιωπήσητε  
ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ γενήσομαι Θεοῦ· εἴαν δὲ ἐρασθῆτε τῆς σαρκὸς  
μου, πάλιν ἔσομαι τρέχων. πλείον δέ μοι μὴ παρέχεσθε  
τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι Θεῷ, ὥς ἔτι θυσιαστήριον ἑτοιμόν ἐστιν,  
ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι ἄσητε τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Χριστῷ 10  
Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας κατηξίωσεν ὁ Θεὸς εὐρε-  
θῆναι εἰς δύσιν, ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμψάμενος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ  
παθημάτων μάρτυρα. καλὸν τὸ διαλυθῆναι ἀπὸ κόσμου  
πρὸς Θεόν, ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνατείλω.

III. Οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνατε οὐδενί, ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε. 15  
ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω ἵνα κακεῖνα βέβαια ᾗ, ἃ μαθητεύοντες ἐντέλ-  
λεσθε. μόνον δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθέ μοι ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν,  
ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω, ὅπως μὴ μόνον λέγωμαι

1 μὴ φείσησθέ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s; γέ φείσησθέ g<sub>3</sub>; φείσησθέ g<sub>4</sub>; *reperceritis* l. For the omis-  
sion of μὴ see above, p. 197. 4 ποτε ἔξω] g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I (see p. 197); ἔξω ποτε

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>s; *habui aliquando* l. 8 πλείον δέ μοι μὴ] πλέον [δέ] μοι μὴ I (see p. 200);  
πλείον δέ μοι g<sub>3</sub>; πλείον δέ με g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s; *multum enim mihi* l. 9 τοῦ σπονδισθῆ-  
ναι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s with I; εἰ ἥδη σπονδίσουσθέ με g<sub>3</sub>; *si me offeratis deo* l. These are  
arbitrary alterations in order to make sense, the omission of μὴ (see the last note)  
having rendered the passage unintelligible.

12 μεταπεμψάμενος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ  
παθημάτων μάρτυρα· καλὸν κ.τ.λ.] Zahn; *praemittens suarum passionum martyrem  
bonum etc.* l (the MSS read *suam passionem*, but this makes no sense and the Greek  
shows what the original Latin text must have been: the common contraction for  
-rum is easily confused with a simple m); μεταπεμψάμενος, τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παθημάτων  
μάρτυρα καλῶν κ.τ.λ. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; μεταπεμψάμενος, καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παθημάτων μάρτυρα  
καλῶν κ.τ.λ. g<sub>3</sub>. I has simply μεταπεμψάμενος· καλὸν κ.τ.λ. (see p. 202). A com-  
parison of the authorities leaves no doubt about the reading.

13 τὸ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>  
with I; τοῦ g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. διαλυθῆναι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>; δύναι I; διελεῖν αὐτὸν g<sub>3</sub>; *proficis-  
centem* l.

14 πρὸς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; εἰς g<sub>3</sub>. εἰς αὐτὸν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub> with I; ἐν  
αὐτῷ g<sub>4</sub>; *in ipso* l.

15 ἐβασκάνατε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub> I\* (p. 203); ἐβασκήνατε  
g<sub>4</sub>. 17 αἰτεῖσθέ] ἐτείσθέ g<sub>2</sub>. 18 μὴ μόνον λέγω ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω,

12. τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. i Pet.  
v. 1. The Ignatian forger seems to  
accept the story that Ignatius was

the child whom our Lord took in  
His arms (Θεόφορος, not Θεοφόρος).  
Or perhaps he misinterpreted  *Smyrna*.



χριστιανὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρεθῶ. ἐὰν γὰρ εὐρεθῶ, καὶ λέγεσθαι  
 20 δύναμαι, καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι, ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι.  
 οὐδὲν φαινόμενον αἰώνιον. τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα· τὰ δὲ  
 μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια. οὐ πείσμονῃς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ μεγέθους  
 ἐστὶν ὁ χριστιανισμός. ὅταν μισῇται ὑπὸ κόσμον, φιλεῖται  
 παρὰ Θεοῦ· εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου γάρ, φησί, τοῦτο ἦτε, ὁ  
 25 κόσμος ἂν ἐφίλει τὸ ἴδιον· νυνὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου,  
 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐξελεξάμην ὑμᾶς· μέινετε παρ' ἐμοί.

IV. Ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ἐντέλ-  
 λομαι πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ Θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω, ἐάνπερ ὑμεῖς  
 μὴ κωλύσητε. παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, μὴ εὐνοια ἄκαιρος γένησθέ  
 30 μοι. ἄφετέ με θηρίων εἶναι βρῶμα, δι' ὧν ἔστιν Θεοῦ  
 ἐπιτυχεῖν. σίτός εἰμι τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ δι' ὁδόντων θηρίων  
 ἀλήθομαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος Θεοῦ εὐρεθῶ. μᾶλλον κολα-  
 κεύσατε τὰ θηρία, ἵνα μοι τάφος γένωνται καὶ μηθὲν κατα-  
 λείπωσιν τῶν τοῦ σώματός μου, ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθεῖς βαρὺς τι-  
 35 εὐρεθήσομαι· τότε δὲ ἔσομαι μαθητῆς ἀληθῆς Ἰησοῦ Χρι-  
 στοῦ, ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται. λιτανεύσατε

ὅπως]  $g_1s_2g_4^s$  I; om.  $g_3$  I (owing to the recurrence of the same words, μὴ μόνον λέγω). 20 ὅταν]  $g_4^s$  I (p. 204); ὅτε  $g_1s_2g_3$ ; quando I. φαίνωμαι]  $g_1s_2$  with I; *comparativo* I; φαινόμεναι  $g_3g_4$ . 22 πείσμονῃς] πλεισμονῇς (sic)  $g_2$ ; al. I. μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ χριστιανισμός. ὅταν μισῇται] I (but with a different punctuation: see p. 205); in *magnitudine, christianitas enim est, quae oditur* I; μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ χριστιανός, ὅταν μισεῖται (μισῇται  $g_2^s g_4^s$ )  $g_1s_2g_3g_4$ . The words were doubtless read originally in this recension as in I; and it seems probable that I ran in *magnitudine christianitas est; quum oditur*. 23 κόσμου]  $g_1s_3g_4^s$  I; τοῦ κόσμου  $g_2$ . 27 ἐντέλλομαι] I; ἐπιστέλλω  $g_3$ ; mando I; ἐντελοῦμαι  $g_1s_2g_4$ . 28 ὅτι] txt  $g_1s_2g_3g_4$ l. The edd. add ἐγώ; but there is no authority for it in this recension, though it is found doubtfully in I (see p. 206). 29 παρακαλῶ]  $g_1s_3$  with I; παρακαλῶ οὖν  $g_2g_4$ ; rogo itaque I. γένησθέ]  $g_1s_3g_4$  with I; γένεσθέ  $g_2$  (a solecism). 30 δι' ὧν]  $g_1s_2^s g_3$  I; δι' οὗ  $g_4$ , and so *per quam* (i. e. *escam*) I. 32 ἀλήθομαι] ἀλίθομαι  $g_2$ . 33 γένωνται]  $g_1s_3g_4^s$ ; γένηνται  $g_2$ . μηθὲν]  $g_1g_4$  I\*; μηδὲν  $g_2^s g_3$ . καταλείπωσιν]  $g_1s_2^s g_3$  (but -σι  $g_2^s g_3$ ); καταλίπωσι (-σιν)  $g_4$  I\*. 34 κοιμηθεῖς] κοιμηθῆς  $g_2$ . 35 εὐρεθήσομαι]  $g_2^s g_3g_4^s$ ; εὐρεθήσωμαι  $g_1$ . 36 λιτανεύσατε]  $g_1s_3g_4^s$ ; λιτανεύσατε  $g_2$ .

3; see the note, p. 294.

21. τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Cor. iv. 18.

24. εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. xv. 19. The last words, μέινετε παρ' ἐμοί, are a reminiscence of Joh. xv. 4



τὸν Κύριον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων Θεοῦ  
 θυσία εὔρεθῶ. οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι  
 ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐλάχιστος·  
 ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι ὡς δοῦλοι Θεοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος·  
 ἀλλ' εἰάν πάθω, ἀπελεύθερος γενήσομαι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ 5  
 ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος. νῦν μανθάνω δεδεμένος  
 μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν κοσμικὸν ἢ μάταιον.

V. Ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ, διὰ γῆς καὶ  
 θαλάσσης, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις,  
 ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα· οἱ καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χείρους 10  
 γίνονται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι,  
 ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι. ὀναίμην τῶν θηρίων τῶν  
 ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων, ἃ καὶ εὐχομαι σύντομά μοι εὔρεθῆναι·  
 ἃ καὶ κολακεύσω συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν, οὐχ ὥσπερ τινῶν  
 δειλαινόμενα οὐχ ἥψαντο. καὶν αὐτὰ δὲ ἐκόντα μὴ θέλῃ, ἐγὼ 15  
 προσβιάσομαι. συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε· τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ  
 γινώσκω· νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι. μηθέν με ζηλώσαι  
 τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ τῶν ἀοράτων, ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.  
 πῦρ καὶ σταυρός, θηρίων τε συστάσεις, ἀνατομαί, διαιρέσεις,  
 σκορπισμοὶ ὁστέων, συγκοπαὶ μελῶν, ἄλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ 20  
 σώματος, καὶ κόλασις τοῦ διαβόλου ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθω· μόνον  
 ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.

1 Θεοῦ θυσία] g<sub>3</sub> (which is also the probable reading of I); θεῷ θυσία g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; *sacrificium* l. 6 μανθάνω] txt l I; add. ἐν αὐτῷ g. It seems to have slipped

in from the preceding sentence. 7 μάταιον] μάται g<sub>2</sub>. 10 χείρους] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>

l with I; χείρον g<sub>2</sub>. 15 δειλαινόμενα] δειλαιόμενα g<sub>4</sub>. καὶν] g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> with

I; *etsi* l; καὶ g<sub>1</sub>. ἐκόντα] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>I\* ; εἰκοντα g<sub>4</sub>; om. l. θέλῃ] θέλει

g<sub>4</sub> alone. 17 μηθέν] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub> (with I); μηδέν g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>. ζηλώσαι] ζηλώσαι

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>. In l μηθέν με ζηλώσαι is translated *nulli aemulor*. The reasons for

preferring the optative to the infinitive are given above, p. 215. 20 ἄλεσμοι]

g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; *interitus* l. This last is perhaps a corruption from *contritiones* or *con-*

*tritio*, easily explained by the common contractions in Latin MSS. There is no

authority for the reading ἄλυσμοι which is commonly adopted by edd.; see above,

p. 216. 23 πέρατα] g I\* ; om. l. 26 κερδήσῃ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; κερδήσει

g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>. 27 αὐτοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>; αὐτοῦ g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>. 28 Θεοῦ] g<sub>3</sub>l; om. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub>,

owing to the recurrence of similar letters -ΟΤΘΥ; see the notes on θεοῦ θυσία,

p. 209. 35 πάθους] om. g<sub>4</sub> alone. Χριστοῦ] g; om. l with I (see

12. ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.] From I Cor. iv. 4. See above, p. 214.

VI. Οὐδέν με ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου, οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. καλὸν ἐμοὶ ἀποθανεῖν διὰ  
 25 Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἢ βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς· τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀγτοῦ ἀπολέσῃ; τὸν Κύριον ποθῶ, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρός, Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν. ἐκείνον ζητῶ, τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα. συγγνω-  
 30 μονεῖτέ μοι, ἀδελφοί. μὴ ἐμποδίσητέ μοι εἰς ζωὴν φθάσαι· Ἰησοῦς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ζωὴ τῶν πιστῶν. μὴ θελήσητέ με ἀποθανεῖν· θάνατος γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἄνευ Χριστοῦ ζωὴ. τοῦ Θεοῦ θέλונτά με εἶναι κόσμῳ μὴ χαρίσσησθε. ἄφετέ με καθαρὸν φῶς λαβεῖν· ἐκεῖ παραγενόμενος, ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ  
 35 ἔσομαι. ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι πάθους Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ μου. εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει, νοησάτω ὃ θέλω, καὶ συμπαθείτω μοι, εἰδὼς τὰ συνέχοντά με.

VII. Ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου διαρπάσαι με βού-  
 λεται καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν Θεόν μου γνώμην διαφθεῖραι. μηδεὶς  
 40 οὖν τῶν παρόντων ὑμῶν βοηθείτω αὐτῷ· μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ γένεσθε, τουτέστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ. μὴ λαλεῖτε Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κόσμον δὲ προτιμᾶτε. βασκανία ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ κατοικεῖτω· μηδέ, ἐὰν ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς παρὼν παρακαλῶ, πείσθητε· τούτοις δὲ μᾶλλον πιστεύσατε, οἷς γράφω ὑμῖν. ζῶν γὰρ γράφω ὑμῖν,  
 45 ἐρῶν τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν ἀποθανεῖν. ὃ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρω-  
 ται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πῦρ φιλοῦν τι· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν,

p. 220). 36 ἐν ἑαυτῷ] I; *in seipso* 1; ἐνταῦθα g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub>. 39 δια-  
 φθεῖραι] διαφθῆραι g<sub>2</sub>. 40 μᾶλλον] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s with I; μᾶλλον δέ g<sub>3</sub>; *magis autem* 1.  
 41 γένεσθε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>4</sub>s; γένεσθε or γίνεσθε I (p. 222); παραγί-  
 νεσθε g<sub>3</sub>; *adiutores estote* 1. τουτέστιν] g<sub>1</sub>; τουτέστι g<sub>3</sub>; τοῦτ' ἔστιν g<sub>2</sub>;  
 τουτέστι (sic) g<sub>4</sub>. τοῦ Θεοῦ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub> with I; *dei* 1; τῷ θεῷ g<sub>3</sub> (to conform to the  
 reading παραγένεσθε in this MS). λαλεῖτε] g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub> with I; λαλήτε g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>4</sub>s. Many  
 edd. have retained the solecism μὴ λαλήτε. 42 κατοικεῖτω] κατοικῆτω g<sub>2</sub>.  
 43 ἐὰν ἐγὼ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; ἂν ἐγὼ I; ἐγὼ ἐὰν g<sub>4</sub>. πείσθητε] πισθῆτε (sic) g<sub>2</sub>.  
 46 φιλοῦν τι] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>sg<sub>3</sub>; φιλοῦλον g<sub>4</sub> with I\*. In 1 the words πῦρ φιλοῦν τι are  
 omitted. The reading of g<sub>4</sub> is probably derived from the Menæa, where the

25. τὶ γὰρ ὠφελεῖται κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xvi. 26, Mark viii. 36, Luke ix. 25;  
 comp. *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 2.



ἀλλόμενον ἐν ἐμοί, ἔσωθέν μοι λέγει, Δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. οὐχ ἡδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς οὐδὲ ἡδοναῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου. ἄρτον τοῦ Θεοῦ θέλω, ἄρτον οὐράνιον, ἄρτον ζωῆς, ὃ ἐστὶν σὰρξ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐν ὑστέρω ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ· καὶ πόμα θέλω 5 τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἀφθαρτος καὶ ἀέννιος ζωή.

VIII. Οὐκέτι θέλω κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῆν· τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς θέλητε. Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι· ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ, ἐπειδήπερ ζῇ ἐν ἐμοί ὁ Χριστός. δι' ὀλίγων γραμμάτων αἰτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς μὴ παραιτήσασθαι με. πιστεύ- 10 σατέ μοι, ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν φιλῶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ παραδοθέντα. τί ἀνταποδώσω τῷ Κυρίῳ περὶ πάντων, ὧν ἀνταπέδωκέ μοι; αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός φανερῶσει ὑμῖν ταῦτα, ὅτι ἀληθῶς λέγω. καὶ ὑμεῖς συνεύξασθέ μοι, ἵνα τοῦ σκοποῦ τύχω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. 15 οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ὑμῖν ἔγραψα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ. ἐὰν πάθω, ἡγαπήσατε· ἐὰν ἀποδοκιμασθῶ, ἐμισήσατε.

passage is quoted. Otherwise the combination of  $g_4$  with I would require its substitution in the text: see above, pp. 223, 224.

1 ἀλλόμενον]  $g_2sg_4s$ ; ἀλλόμενον  $g_1$ ; *vina manet* (i. e. ἄλλο μένον) l. See above, pp. 223, 224 sq. 2 ἡδομαι]  $g_1g_2g_4s$  with I; ἡσομαι  $g_3$ ; *comedam* (v. l. *comedo*) l. φθορᾶς]  $g_1g_3g_4s$  with I; φθορά  $g_2$ . τούτου] τοῦ  $g_2$ . 4 τοῦ Χριστοῦ]  $g_1g_2$  (so prob., though Dressel is not clear)  $g_3g_4$  (and this is the probable reading of I; see above, p. 226); *jesu christi* l. 5 Δαυεὶδ]  $d\bar{a}d$   $g_1$ .

6 αἷμα] I; *sanguinem* l; πόμα  $g_1g_2g_3$  (an obvious error of inadvertence). Bryennios gives θέλω τὸ πόμα as the reading of  $g_4$  for πόμα θέλω, so that it would appear to have θέλω τὸ πόμα τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ. ἀέννιος]  $g_2sg_4s$ ; ἀένιος  $g_1g_3$ .

10 παραιτήσασθαι]  $g_3$ ; παραιτήσασθέ  $g_1sg_2s$ ; παραιτήσησθέ  $g_4$ ; *obseruetis* (v. l. *obsistatis*) l. The editors from Morel downwards, including Ussher, Voss, Cureton, Dressel, and Zahn, have all (apparently without exception) acquiesced silently in the solecism μὴ παραιτήσασθε; comp. the false reading μὴ λαλήτε in § 7.

13 ὁ Χριστός]  $g_1g_2sg_4s$ ; χριστός  $g_3$ . 19 ἥτις]  $g_1g_3g_4s$  with I; εἴ τις  $g_2$ ; and this must have been the reading of I, which translates *memento te in orationibus vestris illius qui pro me recturus est ecclesiam quae est in syria*. χρῆται]  $g_1g_2sg_3$ ; χρᾶται  $g_4$ . 20 μόνος]  $g_1g_2sg_4sl$  with

3. ἄρτον τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] For the coincidences with John vi in this passage, see above, p. 226.

8. Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι κ.τ.λ.]

From Gal. ii. 19.

12. τί ἀνταποδώσω κ.τ.λ.] Ps. cxv. 3 (cxvi. 12).



IX. Μνημονεύετε ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλη-  
 σίας, ἣτις ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ποιμένι χρῆται τῷ Κυρίῳ τῷ εἰπόντι,  
 20 ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός· καὶ μόνος αὐτὴν ἐπισκοπήσει,  
 καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπη. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ αἰσχύνομαι ἐξ  
 αὐτῶν λέγεσθαι· οὐ γάρ εἰμι ἄξιος, ὣν ἔσχατος αὐτῶν καὶ  
 ἔκτρωμα· ἀλλ' ἠλέημαί τις εἶναι, ἐὰν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ἀσπά-  
 ζεται ὑμᾶς τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν  
 25 δεξαμένων με εἰς ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐχ ὡς παροδεύ-  
 οντα· καὶ γὰρ αἱ μὴ προσήκουσαί μοι τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ πόλιν  
 με προήγαγον.

X. Γράφω δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἀπὸ Σμύρνης διὰ Ἐφεσίων  
 τῶν ἀξιομακαρίστων. ἔστιν δὲ ἅμα ἐμοὶ σὺν πολλοῖς καὶ  
 30 ἄλλοις Κρόκος, τὸ ποθητὸν ὄνομα. περὶ τῶν προσελθόντων  
 ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πιστεῦω ὑμᾶς ἐπεγνω-  
 κέναι· οἷς καὶ δηλώσετε ἐγγύς με ὄντα· πάντες γὰρ εἰσιν  
 ἄξιοι Θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν· οὓς πρέπον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν κατὰ πάν-  
 τα ἀναπαῦσαι. ἔγραψα δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα τῇ πρὸ ἐννέα καλ-  
 35 ανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίων. ἔρρωσθε εἰς τέλος ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ  
 Χριστοῦ.

I; add. γε οὗτος g<sub>3</sub>.

21 εἰς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; ἡ εἰς g<sub>2</sub>.

25 με] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>

I with I; om. g<sub>2</sub>.

εἰς] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup> with I\* (see above, pp. 230, 231); ὡς g<sub>3</sub>;

sicut l.

28 δὲ] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub><sup>s</sup>g<sub>3</sub> I\* (see p. 232); igitur l; om. g<sub>4</sub>.

30 περὶ]

πέρα g<sub>4</sub>.

32 δηλώσετε] g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>g<sub>3</sub>g<sub>4</sub><sup>s</sup>; mandatis (or mandastis) [l]. The pro-

bable reading in I is δηλώσατε (p. 232), and this may have stood originally in the text of this recension also.

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου πατριάρχου θεουπόλεως ἀντιοχείας  
 ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ῥωμαίους. ιβ. g<sub>1</sub>g<sub>2</sub>; τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῶν δώδεκα τέλος g<sub>3</sub>.  
 Nothing in g<sub>4</sub>.

20. ἐγὼ εἰμι κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. x. 11.



IV.

COPTIC REMAINS

OF

S. IGNATIUS.



I. *FRAGMENTS OF THE EPISTLES IN THE SAHIDIC DIALECT.*

α. To Hero.

β. To the Smyrnæans.

The MS, *Borg.* 248, from which these fragments are taken is described above in the General Introduction.

II. *ROMAN ACTS OF MARTYRDOM IN THE MEMPHITIC DIALECT.*

Edited by P. le P. RENOUF.

The MS, *Vatic. Copt.* lxvi, from which these Acts are taken, is described above, p. 365 sq. Obvious errors are tacitly corrected.

## I.

## a.

.....аѣѣ[тїи прос] полѣкарпос г҃м пхоеіс іс пех̄с .

[VIII]. Сешіне ерок іѣі іепіскопос описімос ѣтос тамас полѣбіос мїи отон нїм ет г҃м пех̄с еѣолгїи пefіліппос . шїне е непресѣтерос етѣеінт г҃м ппотте . шїне е пекшѣр діаконос пал апок іт аѣѣгнт ммоот г҃м пех̄с[с аѣ]ω [г]їи тсарз мїи [пепи]а . шїне е плаос [м]пхоеіс х[м] мпкоти ша п[п]о[ѣ] ката петрап . [пал і]т аѣѣ ммоот етоо[тк] [ї]ѣе мωωтснс іїнсоѣ патн істра-тѣтос мїиісωѣ . аѣω мпертре пент аѣхоѣ шωпе еѣрорш паррак . ешхе апок пет ммаѣ ап алла тїшлїл етреѣѣѣ іїнет ммаѣ . епегдн апок ішїре іаѣбрагам гωон . ѣмѣом отп [ω] гнрωп гїи отмїт[хω]ωре мїи отѣахро . [їто]к тар хїп е поот еѣол пет-нахї еротн аѣω еєіне еѣол мплаос мпхоеіс ет гїи таптїохїа . аѣω мпртре тетпатѣтн мпхоеіс шωпе іѣе іїнеі есоот е мїт от шωс ммаѣ .

[IX]. шїне е касїанос петѣалωот ероі мїи теѣсгїме ісемїи мїи пefмерїт ішїре . пал ере пхоеіс таас пат ере етпа г҃м пероот ет ммаѣ . хе аѣдіаконег ерон . пал ет еѣѣ ммоот етоотк г҃м пех̄с . шїне мпїстос тнрот ет гїи лаодїкїа г҃м пех̄с ката рап . мперамедеі е пет гїи тарсос . алла ѣгтнїк ероот ахїи ωхїи . пѣѣахроот еротн е пefаттeлїон . ѣшїне е марїнос пепі-скопос іїнеаполїс ет гатїи гѣѣрω г҃м пхоеіс . шїне он е марїа





ѣтъ а҃г҃лїе е҃роу е҃спашоу ѿ моотъ . ꙗ҃сешоу ꙗ҃дѧмоу а҃хї  
сѡма .

[III]. апок де ꙗкоути мѣмѣса третѣмъ онъ гдѣ тсарзъ.  
аѣмъ ꙗкоути ероу ꙗтегъ де. ꙗтерѣмъ де ероу ꙗа напе-  
тросъ пѣхъмъ нѣмъ . де амнѣтѣ ꙗтетѣмъ ероу ꙗтетѣ нѣмъ де  
аѣмъ отъамнѣтѣмъ аѣмъ ꙗтетѣмъ . ꙗтетѣмъ де аѣмъ ероу аѣ-  
мъ . еѣмъ де мѣмъ гдѣ тѣсарзъ мѣмъ пѣмъ . еѣмъ пѣмъ рѣ  
аѣмъ аѣмъ мѣмъ . аѣмъ пѣмъ ероу еѣмъ еѣмъ мѣмъ .  
мѣмъ третѣмъ де аѣмъ онъ мѣмъ аѣмъ аѣмъ . еѣмъ  
саркѣмъ аѣмъ мѣмъ . еѣмъ отъ мѣмъ пѣмъ .

[IV]. наг де еисраг  $\overline{\text{ммоот}}$  пнтї намерате. еисооти же  
отїтнтї наг  $\overline{\text{зоттнтї}}$ . ег шрп  $\overline{\text{зарез}}$  де ероти  $\overline{\text{еболгї}}$  пег  
ѳнріон  $\overline{\text{про}}$   $\overline{\text{проме}}$ . наг же от моноп  $\overline{\text{шше}}$  е тм  $\overline{\text{шпоот}}$  ероти.  
алла ешхе отї  $\overline{\text{шбom}}$ . е тм  $\overline{\text{тoмїт}}$  ероот е птирѣ. моноп де  
шлнл  $\overline{\text{зароот}}$  мнпоте сенашметаног.  $\overline{\text{ропер}}$  наг  $\overline{\text{мокр}}$  наг.  
отптеѣ  $\overline{\text{тезотса}}$  де е наг  $\overline{\text{пбг}}$   $\overline{\text{іс}}$   $\overline{\text{пexс}}$   $\overline{\text{пенонг}}$   $\overline{\text{мме}}$ . ешхе  $\overline{\text{гї}}$   
отсмот  $\overline{\text{тар}}$   $\overline{\text{пта}}$  наг  $\overline{\text{шопе}}$   $\overline{\text{еболгїтм}}$   $\overline{\text{пенхоегс}}$ . еге анок  $\overline{\text{зoт}}$   
он емир  $\overline{\text{гї}}$  от смот. етѣе от де  $\overline{\text{їтоотн}}$   $\overline{\text{агтаат}}$   $\overline{\text{еграг}}$  е  
пмот  $\overline{\text{ппазрї}}$   $\overline{\text{пкoт}}$   $\overline{\text{ппазрї}}$   $\overline{\text{тснче}}$   $\overline{\text{агw}}$   $\overline{\text{ппазрї}}$   $\overline{\text{неѳнріон}}$ .  
алла  $\overline{\text{петр[н]п}}$   $\overline{\text{ерот[и]}}$   $\overline{\text{е[тснче]}}$   $\overline{\text{е[чз]нп}}$   $\overline{\text{еротн}}$  е  $\overline{\text{пкoтте}}$ .  $\overline{\text{пет}}$   
 $\overline{\text{гї}}$   $\overline{\text{тмнте}}$   $\overline{\text{пнеѳнріон}}$   $\overline{\text{еѣ}}$   $\overline{\text{гї}}$   $\overline{\text{тмнте}}$   $\overline{\text{мпкoтте}}$ . моноп  $\overline{\text{га}}$   $\overline{\text{пран}}$   
 $\overline{\text{пїс}}$   $\overline{\text{пexс}}$ . егѣ  $\overline{\text{га}}$   $\overline{\text{зoв}}$   $\overline{\text{пм}}$   $\overline{\text{етрамот}}$   $\overline{\text{пмаѣ}}$ .  $\overline{\text{їтоѣ}}$   $\overline{\text{петфбom}}$   
наг. пег  $\overline{\text{тедгoc}}$   $\overline{\text{проме}}$ .

[V]. паг ет ере зоме арна ммоу . ет он атсоотн ммоу .  
 прото де етарна ммоот еболзитоут . етѡше езраг ехм пмоу  
 ероте тме . паг ет емпотпѡе ммоот пѡг непрофитне отѡе  
 ппомос ммоутсис отѡе петатчелюн шадраг е тепот отѡе  
 пехро пѡргисе . каг тар етмеете птег ге етѡннті рѡон он .  
 ере отѡ тар паѣрнѡ ммог пѡт . еушантаеог мен . пѣ хюта  
 ѡе е пахоеис . енѣомолоуге ммоу ап же аѣфорег птсарз .  
 петѡ ѡе мпаг . аѣарна ммоу е птирѣ . еуфорег [пѡ]у мпмоу .  
 п[р]ап ѡе п[ ] он атпа[р]те мпелешсраисот лнтп . алла

ⲡⲛⲉⲥⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲃ̅ ⲡⲉⲧⲕⲉⲙⲉⲉⲧⲉ . ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲟⲗ̅ ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ  
 ⲉ ⲡⲙⲟⲗ̅ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭⲥ̅ . ⲉⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲉⲡⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ .

[VI] ⲙⲡⲣ̅ⲧⲣⲉ ⲁⲗⲁⲗ̅ ⲡⲗⲁⲛⲁ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ̅ ⲑⲛ̅ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ̅  
 ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲓⲛ̅ ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲱⲛ̅ . ⲡⲛⲉⲧ̅ ⲟⲩⲛⲁⲗ̅ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ̅ ⲙⲓⲛ̅ ⲡⲉⲧ̅ ⲉⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁⲗ̅  
 ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ̅ ⲁⲛ̅ . ⲉⲧⲱⲁⲛ̅ ⲧⲙ̅ ⲡⲓⲥⲧⲉⲧⲉ ⲉ ⲧⲉⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭⲥ̅ ⲙⲓⲛ̅ ⲡⲉⲣⲥⲡⲟⲩ̅  
 ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲗⲗ̅ . ⲡⲓⲧⲟⲟⲩ̅ ⲑⲱⲟⲩ̅ ⲟⲛ̅ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲑⲣⲁⲛ̅ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ̅ . ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲩⲓ ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲣⲩⲓ .  
 ⲙⲡⲣ̅ⲧⲣⲉ ⲁⲗⲁⲗ̅ ⲭⲓⲥⲉ ⲡⲣⲓⲧ̅ ⲉⲭⲓⲛ̅ ⲟⲩⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ . ⲡⲧⲓⲣⲩ̅ ⲧⲁⲣ̅ ⲡⲉ ⲧⲡⲓⲥⲧⲓⲥ  
 ⲙⲓⲛ̅ ⲧⲁⲧⲁⲛⲓ . ⲡⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙⲓⲗⲁⲗ̅ ⲥⲟⲧⲛ̅ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ̅ . ⲑⲣⲧⲓⲧⲓⲛ̅ ⲗⲉ ⲉ ⲡⲉⲧ̅  
 ⲉⲛⲥⲉⲛⲁⲣⲧⲉ ⲁⲛ̅ ⲉ ⲧⲉⲭⲁⲣⲓⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲛⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲓⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲭⲥ̅ . ⲡⲓⲧ̅ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲓ  
 ⲉⲭⲱⲛ̅ . ⲡⲟⲉ ⲉⲧ̅ ⲟⲩⲑⲟⲩⲏⲉ ⲉ ⲧⲉⲥⲡⲱⲙⲓⲛ̅ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ . ⲙⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟⲟⲩⲱⲩ̅ ⲁⲛ̅  
 ⲡⲉ ⲁⲧⲁⲛⲓ ⲡ̅ ⲉⲧⲏⲉ ⲭⲓⲣⲁ ⲛ̅ ⲟⲣⲑⲁⲛⲟⲥ ⲛ̅ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲣⲣⲟⲩⲣⲱⲟⲩ̅ ⲛ̅ ⲟⲩⲁ  
 ⲉⲣⲣⲓⲛⲱⲩ̅ ⲛ̅ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲣⲣⲕⲁⲉⲓ ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲏⲉ . . . .

## 2.

Θμαρτῳρια ἡτεπαγῆος κηαδῆος φηετ εὐμοτῃ ἐροϋ γε  
θεοφορος етефи петерфорни мѣт. фηет аѣер епископос ἡαν-  
τιωχῆα менепса πριωνιῃ ἡτεπαпостолос. еаѣхек теѣмаρτῳρια  
ἐδῶλ деп ρωμн. ἡсоу з̄ мпашот епип деп отѣрипи ἡтефῃ.  
амин.

I. 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135

Ἰγνατιος πεισκοπος ἡαντιοχια εαφερ μαρ Ἐ μενεκεα πια-  
 ποστολος. ετοζιος γαρ πε πινωρι σταζοι ἡμετεπισκοπος.  
 ατεντη δε ἐρωμι ετρωις ἐροϋ δεπ οτινιτ ἡποταν ἐβο-  
 λοιτεν πινετατοτορποϋ σολε τομολογια ετοι ἐβοτι ἐνϋς.

Ии де епатарез ёроу натири иї не деи тогипи ёрапротиктор  
итетрапос потро не. наг де непотрап, коринамос, фисон,  
готѣпос, сезос, баттос, дедархос, палмас, атмини, барбарос,  
атмипос. гариом не иагриос деи оуметрото ёотоп итвот  
лимаг ирапемот иѳнрион.

Ἄντι δὲ ἡπιακαρίος εὐσον ἀνι ἐβόλθεν τυχώρα ἡτεφασα  
 οτορ ἐβόλθεν πμα етеммаτ ἀνι ἐφοραки нем рнѣон. сои  
 мен ден пимωит сои де ден фюм. етѣмаз ἡπιαλκес  
 етωψι ἡмоу ден оѣметрозо пѣроот нем писωорз. кетои  
 ере писиноу ката поѡис † иωот ἡграппш† ἡтаю. де рма  
 ἡтоѣасо ἡфнеѣотаѣ.



Ἀλλὰ ὑπερλί θεи παг зери ὑποῦσι αὐτὰ παρῶρεα ὑπὶ  
 αἰεος θεи ραββὰ ἡαῶσι οὐορ ἡαῶσι.

Καταφριτ ἡοογ етегои ὑμεορε θεи οτι ὑπερεπистоли, ерхω  
 ὑμοο ὑπαριτ.

Хе аг исхеп тсѣриа ша рωмн. ите θεи мωит ите θεи пет-  
 цотцот ите θεи φιομ, емоши нем ннѣриоп. еисонг ἡтотг  
 м̄ ὑμοτι ете нматой не паг ашпанер пеопанеф нωот  
 шатро ἡгого.

II. Σταθιηι οτι ὑπὶ αἰεος ἐβόλθεν ριπτοι αῖше ἐβоти ἐρωми  
 αтерстменнι ὑπατοкратор ἡτεупаротсга.

Тотε а҃҃отазсагнι ἐороттагог ератг паг. еафωотт ἡтсг-  
 клнтос тирс епес ернот огог пехаг паг.

Хе ἡоок не игнадиос. фиет а҃҃оттнос тпoлис аптохга зωсте  
 еоре пексωт г намашх. хе актасе тсѣриа тирс ἐβόλза  
 шемши ἡниотт ἐβоти епшемши ἡнихристианос.

А҃҃еротω ἡхе игнадиос пехаг хе амог ω потро апащхесхом  
 ἡтасеок зωк ἐβόλθεν шемши ἡниωлоп епросенетке  
 ὑмок м̄ф̄т огог еагк ἡшфир ὑпишутт ἡотро пх̄с хе гпа  
 ἡтеутахро ἡтекметотро.

А҃҃еротω ἡхе трапанос пехаг хе исхе хотωш ет пнι ἡрап-  
 харисма огог еорекшопи екнп немап ἡшфир хω ἡсωк  
 ἡтагпωми ἡтекеротсга ἡниотт огог хпашопи ἡархне-  
 ретс ὑпишутт пзетс. огог ἡтекер отро немн.

А҃҃еротω ἡхе игнадиос хе отгоѡ етесше ап не ω потро ет  
 ἡрапхарисма епаерѡлапти ἡтψтхи огог ἡсеѡтс ἡни-  
 коласис ша епер.

Некωш зе етакωш ὑмωот етнот пнι тωп ὑмωот ап хе  
 семша ἡгλι ептирг. огог отзе тпашемши ап ἡрапнотт  
 ἡтсωоти ὑмωот ап.

Огог пзетс мен етексаг ерог тегι ап хе оташ ἡсмот не  
 огог ѡметотро мпаг космос терептотмнι ерос ап. епа-  
 тгнот гар ἡот. ашпап хемгнот ὑпагкосмос тирг ἡтафосг  
 ἡтаψтхи.

Аҗеротω иҗе трапачос пехач җе хотонг ёбол җе лимонгди  
 несонсис лимткарит иҗнтак. еѳе фал акшощу ипгвореа  
 еталотωш етнитот пак. отог хнаѳри шонт итаерколазл  
 лимок җеп тимѳриа иҗен. от монон җос атсѳтем, алла  
 җос атшепомот отог еҗерантилетии отѳе иҗдотма итеҗстн-  
 клитос еѳотаѳ, отог епҗерѳтсја ап ипшотҗ.

Аҗеротω иҗе игнатис пехач җе ариотт ипг ката фнет рапак  
 ω потро.

Апок гар фнаерѳтсја ап. отѳе гар лимон хром отѳе  
 лимон [с]татрос лимон шонт иѳнрион лимон шот ёбол  
 ипмелос пащҗемхом ап ёфорҗт ёболга фҗ етопг. фмеи  
 гар ап ипаикосмос, алла еимеи мфнет аҗмот җарон пхс  
 саҗтѳиҗ ёболҗеп инеѳмѳотт.

III. А фҗтҗклитос тнрс еротω пехас. җе апок теисѳотт  
 җе ипшотҗ җанатмот пе. иащ ириҗ кшω лимос иѳок җе  
 а пхс мот. еотшотҗ пе.

Аҗеротω иҗе игнаҗис пехач җе паѳс апок кап исхе  
 аҗмот ката отогкономја еѳе непотҗал аҗтѳиҗ лиммаг  
 ѳ иероот.

Инет етепшω лимос ерѳот иѳѳтеп җе потҗ аҗмот җос  
 реҗмѳотт. отог лимот тѳотниот җе җна итетепеми пзѳтс  
 мен җѳомс җеп критт.

Асклипиос җе атраҗтҗ җитен откератпос җшоп җеп о...ѳотрнс.

Афроҗаҗ җе сѳомс җеп пмҗат нем пиянипос.

Праклис атрокҗ җитен отхром еаҗѳшҗем. петепшотҗ  
 семшја иоттимѳриа лимарнҗ еѳе җе җанатамагт пе отог  
 иреҗпетгѳот отог иреҗтако ипирѳми.

Пепѳс җе иѳоҗ пхс кап исхе атерстатрѳпп лимѳ отог  
 аҗмот екотсисѳс алла аҗотѳиҗ ёбол итеҗхом. җеп  
 пхмѳреҗ тѳиҗ ёболҗеп инетмѳотт. отог аҗѳи мшш  
 ипнет атѳѳѳеҗ | ёболҗитен ѳнпот пирѳмеос. Отог петеп-  
 юҗ атѳи мшш лимѳот ёболҗитен фҗ җос ерпатнс ите-  
 фҗаҗа.





IV. Πεχαϋ ἦχε τραγανος. хе акшап ерѣтсѣ хнахемирнот аштеп ерѣтсѣ хпаотемрѣни ѣмашу маасо. оти ѣрок ѣматати ѣпатекшен зѣсѣ.

Πεχαϋ ἦχε ιγναδιος. хе епалѣасо ѣроѣ пе. панаер фнет етепотагсагши ѣмоу пни пе.

Πεχαϋ ἦχε трагανος. хе рѣоти ѣхеп теѣместепрѣнт, ѣрапкотм-пос ѣтатѣ.

Πεχαϋ ἦχε пхѣрѣ зеп отмеѣмни ιγναδιος. хе акотѣшс ѣѣол ѣпамеѣ ѣзотѣ ѣпхс ѣрѣото ѡ потро.

Πεχαϋ ἦχε трагανος. хе рѣки ѣпексфѣрѣоти. ѣрапгоке ѣѣепи ѣтетепрѣоти ѣотрѣмот ѣпекшаш.

Πεχαϋ ἦχε ιγναδιος. хе палотѣсмос тѣрѣ форш ѣѣѣ. отор ѣѣересѣапесѣе ап ѣпнетшоп ѣмѣот.

Πεχαϋ ἦχε трагανος. хе арѣ ѣтсѣ ѣппнотѣ. пал сахи гар паѣрнот пак ап ѣрѣлѣ.

Πεχαϋ ἦχε ιγναδιος. хе аш ѣпнотѣ арнот керкеѣетѣ пни ѣѣрѣ ерѣтсѣ ппнотѣ ѣтепремѣхпмѣ.

Отмасѣ. нем отѣарѣнт. нем отрѣоти. нем отпѣикос. нем отрѣѣ ѣпекрѣмаѣоти. нем отѣпш. нем ототрѣор. нем отмотѣ. нем отѣсар.

Іе пхѣрѣм ѣтепперсѣс. іе птѣот етсапеснт ѣпикарѣ. іе пѣрмѣс пѣрѣзѣоти.

Πεχαϋ ἦχε трагανος. хе аѣхос пак хе арѣ ѣтсѣ. пал сахи гар етекѣ ѣмѣот. паѣрнот пак ап ѣрѣлѣ.

Πεχε ιγναδιος. хе аѣхос пак хе ѣпаершѣшѣотѣ ап. ѣсѣотѣ гар ап ѣрѣлѣ ѣпнотѣ. ѣса пѣотал ѣмататѣ. фал етаѣѣамѣо ѣтѣе нем ппикарѣ фѣом нем пнет ѣзѣнтѣ тѣрот. фал ѣтоѣ ѣезѣтсѣ ѣсарз пѣѣп. ѣѣѣ ѣтеппѣа нем пнѣтеппѣа ѣрѣот ап.

Πεχαϋ ἦχε трагανος. хе пѣм гар етеркѣѣлѣ ѣмоп ѣшѣп ѣѣѣ пе ѣшѣмшѣ ѣмоу нем ппнотѣ пал рѣп етеперѣмѣѣѣлѣ ѣмѣот рѣотсѣп.

Πεχαϋ ἦχε ιγναδιος. хе арѣшп ѣѣѣтсѣ ерѣѣакрѣпѣп ѣкаѣѣс

ατση πλανι σπασρανεχесое ап. еретп ѓмеопотх нем  
ѓмеомни. је потωни нем пикари. је петролх нем фиет  
енишши нисте мпартферх наг тар епотёрнот. ѓтрафи хω  
ммос же отог нωот.

Аш тар пе ѓмаѓ мпхс нем еелгар је аш те өмерис нот-  
пстос нем отапистос.

Је аш пе пѓмаѓ мперѓей мѓѓ нем ппгωлон.

V. Пехаѓ нхе трапанос. же фωрш мперхих ебол нтетеп  
магот мхром.

Пехаѓ нхе ппнаѓнос. же отѓе хром мперωкз отѓе пахри  
нөнриоп. отѓе пхωр ебол мпикас. отѓе псотхет мпи-  
мелос. отѓе птако мписωма тнрѓ. епашфорхт ап еболга  
таагани еѓотп еѓѓ.

Пехаѓ нхе трапанос. же ωмс мгаппаппрон мпер нтетеп-  
рωкз мперсѓирωти.

Пехаѓ нхе ппнаѓнос. же хотонз ебол ω потро. же ког нат-  
сωотп же ѓѓ етонѓ шоп мѓнт. фат етсарш ппг мѓхом.  
отог еѓири мтаѓтхн мберг. еһнл епс еѓе фат ап пе. пе  
ммон шхом ммог ап пе еѓат ѓа пекѓасанос.

Пехаѓ нхе трапанос. же арнот нѓок отһенпш епашѓѓ. ммон  
пахнаерпарахωрп пе мпиѓасанос мтекерѓтсга мппотѓѓ.

Пехаѓ нхе ппнаѓнос. же еѓат ерри. отог етерзтпомепп  
мпекѓасанос. зωс ере наг ѓг ап еѓотп ерог отог же  
етерсѓанесѓе ерωот ап алла таагани еѓотп ероѓ. нѓоѓ  
ѓѓ мми. фат етере таѓтхн нем пасωма ѓеп перхих  
мснот мһеп нем фпѓѓ нотон мһеп етерзлпс епатаѓон  
еѓашωп. нѓос еѓро мпиѓасанос шωп етасѓωот мтотот  
сегорш паграт ап.

Отѓе тар ммон хром отѓе ммωот еѓωш пащωшем ап  
мѓагани етентп еѓотп еѓѓ.

Пехаѓ нхе трапанос. же апоти нотхром мтетепфоршѓ ебол-  
зихеп пкари мтетептаго ппнаѓнос ератѓ зихω же зпа  
кап мпагриѓ мтеѓѓет перзнт мтеѓерѓтсга мппотѓѓ.

Пѣсѣи иже ꙗ҃ваꙋс. ѿ прѡкѣр ѡпаѣхром ѡтпросотснот не  
чѡаѣ ни ѡперфмет ѡпѣхром ѡмеѡмнѣ еѡмнѣ ёбѡл ѡгор  
ѡатѡщем.

Πεχαυ ἵχε τραγανός. χε φμετι χε екеркатаφронни ἱπιβаса-  
 пос зеп отмагга ἱμεтерзпк. пе ἱмоп пе паχпабωтп  
 еакшеп паг зисг тпрот ёбодрототеп.

Περαυ ἡγε γνησιος. γε πνεσταςσο ἡμωσ ἐβοῶ ἡμπαδωσιν  
 ρως εταρρει ἐβοῶριτεν φφ. οτορ ετσίβοφ ἡμπαδωσιν. ἡαυ  
 ἡριφ ἀτπαερρεφερεικ ἀχος πιν. ἡῶτεν γε μάλλον θα  
 πινετשמσι ἡπα. ετοι ἡπορχος ἐραυωσ ἡπαριφ. αποκ  
 γε ατφ πομος παπ. ἐσχημα πφαρματος ἐωπδ. γε πρε-  
 ρμοσφ. γε πρεφβιοσι. γε πρεφβι μινι ἀλλὰ εῶρεν ρωκρ  
 ἡῶσ ἡμπαωμ ἡτεπνιετι ἡπα ἡπαριφ δειν οτμεππεριερτος.  
 οτκοτι αποκ οτρεφερεικ απ ἀλλὰ ἡῶτεν. πινετ οτωσπ  
 ἡμπαδωσιν ετιρ ἡπα.

Περαὺ ἦκε τραγῆνος. καὶ οὐκ ἔτι ἐπταμένοτ ἀδίσσι ἀρχατοτ  
ἐβόλ παρρακ.

Пе́че ꙗ҃гнаѡс. ꙗ҃е оу ѡперѣѣси пак ѡ поѡро. а҃лла ꙗ҃е мнѣ  
 е҃тоту ѡпѣхром. ꙗ҃е шатт е҃ѡл ꙗ҃тснѣ. ꙗ҃е верѡорт е҃пѣѡк  
 ѡфѣом ꙗ҃е мнѣ ѡпѣѣрюм г҃на ꙗ҃текнаѣѣ ꙗ҃е ѡмон г҃лѣ зен  
 пак г҃орш а҃п паѣраѣ е҃ѡѣ таѣѣпн е҃ѣѡтн е҃пѣхс ꙗ҃тн.

VI. Περαυ ἦχε τραγανος. χε αψ τε φελπς етекхотшт ёвоλ  
 ζαχως ω ιππαλιος. екпамот деп пал ёасапос. етекшоп  
 ммωот ἡφемι ап.

Πεχαυ ἦχε ὑπαλιος. ⁂ πνετατερατσοτεи φ† стрѣхен птирѹ  
нем пеглотос етопс инс пхс пенбс. сеог ѱатсоτεи φ†  
нем пегатаθоп. етопс мфрин† ѱпгтепπωотι сеерελпис ап.  
ἐρλι μπεθпапег менепса пфωрх ёвол мпаѳиос.

[illegible]



Πεχαϋ ἵχε τραλανος. χε αποκ εοπακωρϥ ἵτετεпгересіс пта-  
ерѣнноу ἵсаѣс. ἐϣтеммѣϣи нем ппзотма ἵтепρωмеос.

Πεχε писофос пгнаσιос. χε отор ним еопашхемхом ω ποτρο  
ἐβωλ ἐβωλ ἵпнет α φ̄ϣ̄ семпнтоу отор аϣкотот. кап  
арешан отат хеп хори гнахемриот ἵгλἰ ап имн̄ ἵтот-  
хемϥ еμнѣϣи нем φ̄ϣ̄.

Πϣемѣϣи тар ппхристианос отмопон сенашбωλϥ ἐβωλ ап  
гитен ппρωми аλλα ἐβωλгитен ϣхом ἵтепχс гнаерпрокоп-  
ти ἵггото ἐβωλгитен отѣроот ἵтеϣαρζане отор ἵтеϣалаг  
отор ἵтеϣеротωпн зен ппактип ἵтеϣотωпн ἵϣметерсе-  
һнс.

Πкагἰ тирϥ паашаг ἐсотен п̄с̄ л̄фрит̄ ἵотмωот еϣош еϣρωһс  
ἵпшамалот. ката псахи л̄пшпрофитнс.

От зиксон ап пе ω ποτρο еорекмот̄ ἐпϣемѣϣи ἵппхристиа-  
нос χе гересіс. паг сахи тар χе гересіс форх ἐβωλ л̄пп-  
христианисмос. еѡһе χе паграп χе гересіс отфантасіа те.  
отгит еϣплана еϣϣемѣϣи ἵпечметг л̄магатаϥ ἵотρωһ еϣемѣϣа  
ап ἵтагоϥ. л̄фрит̄ ἵтгересіс ἵпепикотриос ἵшотѡм ἵрвос  
етхω л̄мос χе л̄моп пот̄ шоп.

Іе л̄фрит̄ п̄тгересіс етхω л̄мос еϣϣρухи ἵппоера. χе ша-  
сототех̄ ἐзоти ἵпштепнωоти. нем пппѡпкос нем пггλн.

Іе οὰρίστοθωτλос θαг етхω л̄мос. χе φ̄ϣ̄ ергемἰ ἵпнетшоп  
за фпан л̄магатаϥ. ἵпнетфег̄ ἐпеснт ша ппоз.

Πϣемѣϣи зе ἵѡоϥ ἵппхристианос отсωотпот пе ἵтеφ̄ϣ̄ етшоп  
зен отмсѡмип нем печмопотечис ἵшпргἰ нем ϣоппоно-  
мἰа ἵпатшн̄ϣ̄ етаϥгἰ сарз ἵзнтс еаϣер рωми зен отмет-  
атфωрх.

Πпечшн̄ϣ̄ тар. зен теϣметпот̄ мененса ѡрег ер рωми. аλλα  
ἵѡоϥ. ἵѡоϥ оп пе.

Сре тполгтἰа ἵппгβноти. еопаотог ппποлемос. еташшоп  
ἵзнтот нем пштарахӣ ἐзоти ἐпотѣрпот. аѣωλ ἐβωλ  
отор ашшоп зен отхами ἵггἰрппикоп.

VII. Ασερотω ἵχε ϣεπικλнтос. χе се паг смот л̄пагрит̄. ката

фрит̃ ѣтакхос. аλλα φαι πε τεπхонт еѡнѣтѣ же аѣѡλ  
ѣѡλ мпшемши ипнот̃.

Пехач̃ иже игнаѡос. же отог от пе ппегрѡот̃ етаѣшѡп  
ѡ фкеротсиа еттаиот̃ же а тепгнма мпенѡс ѣот̃  
ѣѡлѣен прѡм̃ ипип̃а итефплапн. ете пгемѡп пе.

Етои итрапнос ѣхеп прѡмеос ѡатри мфоот̃ мфрит̃ етаѣре  
пфѣли иѣнос иѣарѣарос ете ммѡп рли истринѣсис иѣн-  
тот̃, ѡпехѡот̃ итархн ипрѡмеос, ѡаи ете фтрафн еѡѡаѣ  
итенихристѡнос мот̃ ѣрос же пшѣѡт̃ иѣеппн, еаѣтсаѣе  
прѡм̃. же отпот̃ иотѡт̃, етрихеп птирѣ отог аѣаитот̃  
мремре ѣѡлѣа фметѣѡк. ѣтепшѡп ите фпорпна, етои иаѣнаи  
отог иотамспѡѣ, ѣѡот̃ ипептѣнос.

Натртѣфа тар пе ѣеп пспѡѣ итепетеишир̃. ѣтетеишѡт̃ ммѡт̃  
пѡот̃. отог натѡѡѣм̃ ммѡтѣн пе ѣеп иппѡлемос ѣтетеи-  
п̃и ммѡт̃ пем петеп ѣрнот̃ пнѣтпн ѣтаиѣтсис пем пѡ-  
тѣнос иотѡт̃.

Отог патеранаѣкаѣп̃ ммѡтѣн еерасхимопн отог еѡретеи  
шѡпн ѣретеиѣнш̃ пем петепгѡм̃ ѣеп потѣѣаи иѣѡт̃ ѣеп  
гѣѡпн пѣеп катафрит̃ рѡс еретеишѡп ѣеп отѣхмалѡсѣ̃.

Отог натѡѡѣм̃ мпикаг̃ ѣеп потспѡѣ. отог пѡп̃р ѣеп пот-  
акаѡарсѣ̃.

Шеп пѣѣнос итепскипѣнс отог сенатамѡтѣн. же потѣѣнос  
пе, ѣшѣат̃ прѡм̃ ифартемс̃ иѣѡтѣн же тетепѡтѡш̃ ап  
ееромѡлотпн мпетепшпн еѡѣе фкотѣи ишѣер̃ ѣшѣат̃ ѣѣѡѡс  
ипикронос.

Пѣлѡпнос иѣѡот̃ сѣшѡтѡшѡт̃ ммѡт̃ ѣхеп пѡи ѡтсѣ̃ мпѡп̃ит̃  
еаѣтсаѣѡ ѣрѡот̃ ѣѡлѣгтѣн пѣѣнос иѣарѣарос.

Аѣерѡтѡ иже траѡанос пехач̃ же шѣ ппѡт̃. фѡи ишѣп̃и  
ммѡк ѡ игнаѡос ѣхеп пекпшѣт̃ иѣѡот̃п, кап исхе фтаѡ  
ап мпекшѣмши.

Пехач̃ иже игнаѡос. же отог от пе пгѡѣ етекрѡт̃ мпен-  
шѣмши ѣпгѡп иѣнтѣ.

Аѣерѡтѡ иже траѡанос пехач̃. же еѡѣе же тетепѡтѡшѡт̃ ап

ἁπενῶς φρη, οὐαε τφε, οὐαε πпор εῶотаѣ. пречшашу  
пешаи пиѣн.

Πεχαϋ ἦχε ιπναδιος. же отор нм пе еῶпаотωшт ἁφρη.  
φαг етшоп жеи оуехниа. отор етпокисѣе ἡтенесѣесис.  
фнетгюти ἁпечзмом ёболжеи откерос. отор еѣѣг ἁмоу  
ἡкекерос.

Епаотωшт ἁмоу ἡашу ἡриѣ. фнете...аре печотωпш. хωхеѣ  
ἡотснот ёпгρωѣ етопмотѣ ёроу жатепѣнпот же еклѣѣс.  
фнет ἁмоп шхом ἁмоу епер ёшѣѣ ἡтеѣтазис нем теѣеп-  
ерѣѣ пара пѣωшу ἡтефнет аѣѣаміоу отор етотарсарп  
паш ёѣохи ёпечмωт. паш тирот гашшемо пе етѣтсис  
ἡѣмеѣпотѣ ἡшототωшт паш ἁмататс.

Тфе же он. апаотωшт ἁмос ἡашу ἡриѣ гѣос потѣ. етгѣѣс  
ἁмоу ἡотминш ἡсоп гитен пѣпш. ѣаг ёта псречсѣпт.  
форш ёбол ἁфриѣ ἡоткамара отор аѣтахрос ἁфриѣ  
ἡотскипш.

Епаотωшт же он ἁппор ἡашу ἡриѣ. фаг етхохеѣ отор  
етмер отор етѣно ἡхѣу ἡппаѣос ешѣѣереѣпш ἡотминш  
ἡсоп.

Ἀλλὰ екхω ἁмос. же сше еотωшт ἁмωот сѣѣе потωпш  
етѣеріѣот. паш сахг отми ап пе.

Ста потаниотртос гар ѣ ἁпотωпш ёрѣот ап еѣрот отωшт  
ἁмωот гѣос потѣ алла еѣрот еротωпш ёпгρωми отор  
еѣрот ѣагаг ἡпкарпос еѣрот фог жеи поткерос отор ἡсе-  
маг пегѣот ἡотωпш нем пехѣрг.

Ἦσιот же он етатѣашот ἡганипш еѣрот еретмени ἡпке-  
рос нем пшѣѣ ἡписнот отор еѣрот шѣпш паш минш ἡпнет  
шѣнр жеи фюм.

Шоп глг отп жеи паш ἡшотωшт ἁмωот гѣос потѣ. отѣ  
пмωот фнет отмотѣ ёроу же поснѣωп.

Отѣ пхрѣм фаг ётетепмотѣ ёроу же нѣстос.

Отѣ пѣнр фаг ётетепмотѣ ёроу же нра. отѣ пкагг фаг  
ётетепмотѣ ёроу же димтир.



Ὁὐδὲ νικάρπος. καὶ τὴν οὐ καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ἐταφώσμιον ἐπταρο  
ἐρατὴ ἀπεικονίς ῥαπρεψίητ' ἢ οὐδὲ ἀναψύχον πε.

VIII. Δυσροῶ ἵκε τραγῆος. καὶ ἵππος καὶ ἰσχει σὺρρι. καὶ ἵππος πετακτᾶσθε φαπατολὴ ἐστὲμμεμμι ἵπποτῆ.

Нѣмъ ѿаръ еѡнасъѡтемъ ѣпаѣ саѡѣ паѣ ѣѡлоритоткѣ ѣтеѡѡтемъ  
ераѡпагоѣ ѣппоѡѣ.

Περαυ ηχε υπαδριος. κε οτορ εοηε οτ κχοит. ω ποτρο. κε  
тепѣсѣω ѣштемоушѣт ѣпнете сѣе ап еотѣшѣт ѣмѣот аѣѣа  
еотѣшѣт ѣфѣт ѣмни отоρ етопѣ фреѣсѣит ѣтѣе нем пѣагѣ  
отоρ фреѣсѣотѣот ѣгѣѣ пѣѣп ѣаѣтѣ ѣпатѣшѣпѣ.

Отъзъ пѣдомоуеиисъ ишири пепѣсъ иисъ пххс. фалъ варъ не псѣоти  
мни мнататъ. отъзъ фотѣпъ еѣолъ итепешемши. етфериѣотъ  
ѣепъ ралъ тома мни етотѣпъ еѣолъ.

ТѢРІСКІА ЖЕ ЙѠОС ЙТЕНІАЛНІОС ЁТЕНАШЕ ПЕСНОУѢ ОУАНОУѢ  
ТЕ. ОУОУ СМОУЕН ЙСОУІ ЛМОС ЖЕ СШОУТ ОУОУ СТАХРНУѢ  
АЛ. ОУОУ СОУІ ЁРАТЕ ЁЖЕН ГЛІ ЙРѠѠ СУТОУХНОУТ АЛ.

Τὴν γὰρ ἐμπροσθεν σὸν κατὰ περὶ τῆς φύσεως.

Синаштепротс кар ѡащ ѡриѣ соп мен схѡммос же ѡѣ  
ѡпорѣ етщоп ѣхеп птирѣ. соп оп же ѣ. ке соп же ѣ. ке  
соп же ѣ соп же стаого ѡганнищ ѡпорѣ ѡмоп рап ѡмоп  
нпѣ ѣрѡот.

Стаото де он прахιηιχφο нем ραντεαλογιᾱ ρανсоп де он  
сеотωшт ѡπαθος ѡτεпτεѣпωот ρως ποτѣ. отог птеѣпωот  
ѡпμερος ѡματатор ап. алла пкеатpиос он.

Соп же он пишши. отог ша ѣдриг липишн пем пмѣѡл  
лпатерпаратисѡе ѡтѡшт лмѡот пем ппомфѣлгз мппа  
лтефпехл.

Παι δε τῆροτ. πμ πε εἰπαυπῆτ ἄμοτ. γε ἡτετῶτ ἡγῆτ ἔχωτ.  
 μάλλον δε πμ πε εἰπαςῶτ ἡσωτ απ. γε εὑπαρμῆτ απ  
 ἔρωτ.

Իֆրի՛դ Կար ինիւտ ա՛տֆօրժօտ ձե՛օ՛ւ. Եաճֆա՛օտ ձե՛օ՛ւ ձեւ օտփօրիւ.  
Եժա՛տ մե՛տ ի՛րօմ ինիւտ չե քօրիօտ քե. ձեւ քա՛նօրօտ քրա՛-  
տօք քօրիօտ քաճֆօ՛օտ. ֆա՛լ քե իֆրի՛դ ինիւտ ա՛տ մե՛տ

ἰγραμινш ἰγραп. хе ганипотѣ не зеп пхипорот грей ёболзеп  
псотеи фѣ ἰмин ἰмагаты фгаёте ἰмон тегаρχи отзе  
хок.

Агеротω ἰхе траганоc отог пезаг. хе откети фпашгаг ап за  
текметсасигнт. ксѡи гар ἰсѡп зеп отметрото ехотωш  
ёсро ёрон зеп гансахи ἰкоте.

Ариотсиа хе оти фпот ἰппиотѣ серωшг гар ёрок ἰхе пнет  
акхотот ёзоти ёггап. зеп отметфлогарос. Сшѡп зе хпаер-  
отсиа ап. фпаерколагин ἰмон. отог ёпзаё ἰтатник ἰпи-  
онрион.

Пезаг ἰхе игнагис. хе шга ѳпат кѣроѣ зеп псахи. кхѡк  
ёбол ап ἰпигрһноти етекωш ἰмѡот.

Апок гар, апок отхристпапос фпаеротсиа ап ἰппиотѣ ἰпо-  
пирон. алла апаотωшт ἰфѣ ἰагаѳос. фпѡт ἰпаѳс ἰнс пхс  
фнет агеротωшг ёрог зеп фотωшг ἰпегеми. фнет аготωп  
ἰпаѳал еорпат ёпегшфнри. фгаг пе еѣшемшг ἰмог. отог  
егѣѡот паг. ἰѳог гар зеп отмеѳми пе фѣ. отог пѳс отог  
потро. отог птѳпатос ἰмагаты.

IX. Пезе траганоc. хе фпарокрк гизеп пхлѡх ἰѳеппи.  
акштем ерметаном.

Пезаг ἰхе игнагис. хе отпеѳпапег те фметанѡга ѡ потро  
ἰппетнакотот ёболзеп ппетгѡот ёзоти ёппеѳпапег. пи  
зе еѳнакотот ёболзеп ппеѳпапег ёзоти ёппетгѡот  
серѡотἰ ёггап.

От петесше пе ёѳохи ἰса петсоти отог петгагѡот ап ἰмон  
гѡг соти еѣметесѳнс.

Пезаг ἰхе траганоc. хе гѡки ἰтегѣсгс отог ἰтетепхос паг.  
хе сѡтем ἰса ппатократѡр отог ἰтекерѳсгἰ ἰппиотѣ  
ката пѡгма ἰѣснпкһнтос.

Пезаг ἰхе игнагис. хе апок ферроѣ затри ἰпѡгма ἰфѣ  
етхѡἰмос. хе ἰпотшѡп пак ἰхе ганипотѣ ἰшеммо ёвнл  
ёрог.

Отог хе фнетпашемшг ἰггап ке потѣ ἰшеммо етеготг ёбол.

Тпасаѡтем ап ѱса фетпгклнтос нем потро. есотасагн нн  
серпараномн.

Пномос гар ѱте ф̄т̄ хѡ лмос же ѱнексѣ про ѱотатпастне  
ѡен прап. отор он же ѱнексемн ѱтотк нем отмиш̄ ѡхен  
тоткакиѡ.

Пехаѡ ѱхе трапанос. же хѡш̄ ѱотрмот нем отремх ѡхен  
неѡшаш̄.

Пехе гпнаѡнос. же ѡсѣ пѱен еѡнаѡшп нн. еѡе фомолотѡ  
етѣ ѡѡтн ѡф̄т̄. сеѡѡт̄т нн ѡѡтн ѱпѱеχε. от̄ сеѡтаѡ  
пѡкатр гар ѱтепаѡснот ѱтефнот. семшѡ ап лпѡот еѡ  
наѡшп нап ѡѡл ката фрн̄т̄ етсѡнот.

Пехаѡ ѱхе трапанос. же фромн маасо ѡрок лмататк лопон  
ѱтекрѣ ѱпнетотасагн лмот пак. ѡшп лмон фнасерхрасѡе  
пак ѱрап ке ѡасапос етгѡот ѡроте паг.

Пехаѡ ѱхе гпнаѡнос же. нм еѡнафорхтеп саѡл ѱфагпн  
ѱтеф̄т̄.

Отрохрех пе. је от тартро је отрко. је отѡш̄. је откпѡг-  
нос. је отснѣ.

Парнт же ѡнт он. же отѡе фмот отѡе попѡ. лмон глг  
пашофорхг епсаѡл ѱфагпн ѱтеф̄т̄ нем фмететсѡнс  
етатхрнотт ѡхен тхом лпх̄с.

Пехаѡ ѱхе трапанос. же екметѣ ѡбро ѡрог ѡѡлгртеп текмет-  
гаг ѡа ѡсѣ пѱен. прѡмн гар отгѡон пе лмаѡро.

Пехаѡ ѱхе гпнаѡнос. еметѣ ап лмататѣ. алла фпаг̄т̄ ѡен  
отмеѡмн. же ѡен отѡро аѡро. отор фпаѡро.

Пехаѡ ѱхе трапанос. же алтѣ ѱтетепатхре неѡѡалатх ѡхен  
отше. отор ѱтетепгтѣ епштеко етсаѡтн отор ѱтетеп-  
штем ха глг паг ѡроѣ отор ѱсештем хаѣ ѡсе мѡот отѡе  
еотем ѡлк ѱт̄ ѱерѡот нем т̄ ѱехѡрг. же гпна ѱтатнѣ  
ѱпѡнрпн. менепса паг отор пагн̄т̄ ѱтефѡрх ѡѡл  
лпагѡпѡ.

Асеротѡ ѱхе фетпгклнтос. же апон он тиреп теперстменн  
ѱтеѡапофасѣ. аѡшошен гар тиреп нем паѡтѡкратѡр отор



ἡπερ ἀνεχέσσεε σερῶς τὰ ἡνιότῃ ἀλλὰ ἀφρομολογεῖν καὶ  
ἀποκ οὐχ ἰστανός.

Πεχαὺ ἦγε ἰγναῖος. καὶ ψμαρωοῦτ ἦγε φῆ φῶτ ἡπαῶς ἡν  
πῆς φῆετ ἀγατ ἡμῖνα δειν τεμμεθαγαῶς εὐπαύως  
σεριοῖσιν ἡνιόκατ ἡτεπερ ἡς περμενῖτ ἡνιόκ οὐοῖ  
ἡνιότος ἡμεῶρε ἡτε τεμμετῖοτ.

Χ. Οὐοῖ δειν πῆματ ἡνιόκατ ἀ τραῖος μοῦτ ἡτεπερ κλῆτος  
ἡμ πῖρεφκτος. οὐοῖ ἀτ ἡνιόκατ. εἰ πῆματ τῖρε  
ἡτεπερ μεῶς οὐοῖτ ἡρῶ. περμενῖτ τῖρε πε καὶ πῖρεσκο-  
πος ἡτεπερ τῖρε πατ ἡμ πῖρεκ.

Οὐοῖ δειν πῆματ οὐοῖκατ ἡγε ποῖο ἀτῖ ἡπεθοῖα  
ἰγναῖος. οὐοῖ εἰαῖκατ ἡρῶ πεχαὺ πατ. καὶ ἀποκ τῖρε-  
ψῖρετ καὶ εἰ κοῖς μενῖρε πατ ἡσῖος τῖρετ ἡμ πῖρε  
ἡμ πῖρε.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ φῖοτ σῶτεμ ἡσῖοι ρῖα εἰκαῖρ ἡβῶλ ἐπατ δειν  
τῖρετ εἰτῖ καὶ ἡβῖ. οὐοῖ ἡτεπερ καὶ ἡνιόκ.

Πεχαὺ ἦγε ἰγναῖος. καὶ καμῖτ καὶ οὐοῖ οὐμορφῖ ἡρῶ  
ἡνιόκ πε. φῖοτ καὶ τεμμενῖ κοῖ ἡσῖοι.

Σῖολ μεν κερκοῖακῖ ἡμοῖ δειν ρῖα. κερκοῖακῖ  
καὶ ἡρῶ δειν ρῖα εἰτῖ.

Πεκαῖ ρῖα καὶ ἡμαρῖοι πε καμῖτ ἡμοῖ ρῖα ἡοῖα  
ἡνιόκ.

Σῶτεμ ἡρῶ καὶ φῖοτ δειν οὐπαρρῖα. ἀποκ φῖοι ἀν ἡπῖρε  
ἡπαῖος ἡρεμῖοτ οὐοῖ ἡρεμῖοτ εὐθε ἡν πῆς παῶς  
φατ εἰμῖ ἡμοῖ οὐοῖ εἰδῖ ἡσῖοι οὐοῖ εἰδῖ ἡρῶ. ἡρῶ  
τῖρε πε πῖοι ἡμεθαῶμοτ οὐοῖ οὐσῶοι πε ἡτεπερ  
ἡνιόκ. οὐοῖ ἀποκ ἀποκ φῖοι τῖρετ οὐοῖ αἰφῶρῖ ἡπαμῖ  
τῖρετ παρῖ. εὐθε φατ τῖρεκατῖ ἡνιόκ ἡσῖοι τῖρετ  
οὐοῖ τῖρε εὐθε ἡνιόκ.

Πεχαὺ ἦγε τραῖος. καὶ εἰπῖ καὶ ἡβῶλ δειν τεμμετῖακῖ  
κοῖτ ἡτεπερ ἡβῶλ ἡσῖοι ἡμοῖ ἡ. ρῖα ἡτεπερ ρῖα  
σῶοι ἡβῶλ δειν περῖοι.

Δειν πῆματ πατ καὶ ἡγε πῖμακαρῖος ἰγναῖος ἐπῖοι ἡ.







ката отъшотъшотъ ите отпарѣ нем отакеосини. хс се деи  
пима етатсеитоту батен поѣ фал он етатшен деси немаф.  
етатменре паг еон ап. алла етатменре пхс. фал етадмотъ  
дарон отог аутоту.

Ψαυχος δε ον μενεσα οτκοτχι ζεν ταг еπιστολн ιουωт. хс  
 ιс гнппе аюгωрн ιωтєн. ѿннєпистолн ѿгє пмакарїос пча-  
 аюс етагсѣнтот шарон. пєм пкєхωотн тнрот етѣатотєн.  
 ката фрнѣ етарєтєн сѣаг пал.

Наѣ ететепнажемѡт етсѣнѡтѣ зен таѣ епистоли. оѡго ѣтетеп-  
 ѣрнѡт ѣмашѡ ѣѡд ѣзнѡт сѣтсѣѡ вар ѣѡѣ пинартѣ нем  
 ѣртѡпомѡн ѣте пепѡѣ ѣнс пѣс.

Θαί τε εμαρτηρίᾳ ὑπὸ μακρὸς οὗτος πλοῦτος ἰσχυρὸς. μενεῖσα  
περὶ τῶν ἐβόλ. αὐτοῖ ὑπὸ μετεπισκοπὸς ἡτε φρονεῖς ἀντιοχία  
ἡχε ἡρώπ. περὶ κελότατος οὗτος ἡεπδοξος.

Φερψμετι γε ὑπεροοῦ ἰταῶλτις οτορ ἰτεπνεος ἡμαμποῦ  
 πμαρττροс ἰτε πχс. πσοφос ππααλοс πсотай ἡπαῖот  
 ἐψατμοῦ ἐροу κατa πρωμεос. γε παпемос.

Ката премѣхнмъ де песотъ ꙗко неспнъ денъ ꙗко инсъ пенотъ.

Πιστὴν ἡτέριμακαριὸς ἡρώπ φησὶ ἀπὸ ἐφμα ἡπμακαριὸς  
ἡπμακαριὸς πᾶσι φησὶ.

Ш фотнѣ ѿф† ѿсофос ꙗпаѡлос фнет оꙗ ѡрату ѡроу.

Ш фнет аѣѡтѣ иѣстоли иатшнѣ.

III φησὶ ἀγχι ἐβολῆσεν ἥπυγῃ ἰαθμοῦρκ.

Ш фнет ерцаг нем паттелос.

III пшфнр љмнѣ. ѣте пшдорп љмѣс фнет ацотонрѣ ебоѣ љпнет  
Зеп пшкосмос.



V.

ARABIC EXTRACTS  
FROM  
IGNATIAN LETTERS.

EDITED BY W. WRIGHT, LL.D.



The Arabic text of these extracts has been edited by Mössinger (*Suppl. Corp. Ignat.* p. 13 sq.) from the MS *Vatic. Arab.* 101. He also gives various readings from other Vatican MSS.

An Ethiopic translation from the Arabic is edited by Dillmann in Cureton's *Corp. Ignat.* p. 257 sq. It is somewhat amplified.

The following text is taken from the Paris MS, *Bibl. Nat. Supplément* 51, f. 12 b, here designated P. The notes give the principal variants of Mössinger's text (M). All the MSS are very incorrect in point of grammar and diction. The Ethiopic translation is denoted by D.

An English translation is appended.

## ARABIC EXTRACTS.

## I.

وقال القديس اغناطيوس الشهيد بطريرك انطاكية وهو الثاني فيها بعد  
بطرس رئيس الكواريين في رسالته.

الله خالق الطبايع كلها هو<sup>1</sup> ظافر بطمس الطبيعة الثالث علي  
عرشها ويكوي الكل<sup>2</sup> وملؤها في احشاء العذري. ووحداية اللاهوت  
هي التي نتكلم<sup>3</sup> لأجلها هاهنا هذه التي هي في الابن وليس للاقانيم<sup>4</sup>.  
هو معلق علي الصليب ويغفر الذنوب<sup>5</sup> هو في المقبرة ويقدم الموتى  
هو خارج من المقبرة ويترك<sup>6</sup> الثياب فيها هو دخل<sup>7</sup> الي التلاميذ  
والابواب مغلقة واعطاهم<sup>8</sup> السلام. ثم الاب في الابن والابن في الاب  
والروح القدس هذه الثالث المتساوية الغير مفترقة ولا متغيرة ثلاثة  
اقانيم لاهوتية واحدة ربوبية واحدة جوهر واحد قوة واحدة مملكة  
واحدة ساجدة واحدة (fol. 13 a) تمجيد واحد تسبيح واحد يجب  
للتالث مجد واحد مشورة واحدة سلطان واحد عز واحد ثبات واحد

<sup>1</sup> وهو M.<sup>2</sup> كلا M.<sup>3</sup> تتكلم P.<sup>4</sup> الاقانيم M.<sup>5</sup> الخطايا M.<sup>6</sup> ويخلف M.<sup>7</sup> يدخل M.<sup>8</sup> يدفع لهم M.

فكر واحد ارادة واحدة للثالوث<sup>١</sup> المقدس. الاب هو اب وليس هو ابن  
والابن هو ابن وليس هو اب والروح القدس هو الروح القدس وليس<sup>٢</sup>  
ينتقل الي الابوة ولا الي البنوة. هذا<sup>٣</sup> الثالوث تام<sup>٤</sup> علي عرش المجد  
الذي هم<sup>٥</sup> مرتبطة بوحداية اللاهوتية الواحدة الذي هو النور الواحد  
المشرق من الثالوث ويملاً كل الخليقة وينور<sup>٦</sup> علي ما تحت الارض  
كما هو مكتوب اني املاً السماء والارض والذين هم اسفل<sup>٧</sup> الجحيم  
نظروا بمجدي<sup>٨</sup>. وانت ايها القائل ان اللاهوت متألّم ومايّة نحن  
نؤمن ان المسيح الله تألم بالجسد كالانسان وهو غير متألّم كالله  
وذاق الموت بالجسد وهو غير مايّت كالله. فاذا سمعت ان الله تألم  
عنا وان الله الكلمة مات لأجلنا فافهم انا نوصل الطبايع الي وحدانية  
اللاهوت والناسوت ونسميها بهذا الاسم الواحد اللايق بالله كما أنك  
انت ايضا من طبيعتين نفس وجسد وتسمّا بهذا الاسم الواحد اللايق  
بالانسان. ونفسك غير مواتة (fol. 13 b) بالطبع<sup>٩</sup> ونفسك ليس هي  
لاهوت بل هي غير الجسد. والكرامة التي نشتهي ان نعطيها<sup>١٠</sup> لأنفسنا  
التي هي انها لا تموت كيف لا تشتهي انت ان تعطيها<sup>١١</sup> لللاهوت  
الواحد الذي في الثالوث هذا الذي هو في الابن الواحد ربنا يسوع  
المسيح. اما تعلم أنك اذا قلت ان اللاهوت مات فأنت قاتل

١ P تام. ٢ بل هذا M. ٣ لا M. ٤ في الثالوث M.

٥ مجدي M. ٦ والذي اسفل M. ٧ ينورون M. ٨ لهم M.

٩ تدفعها M. ١٠ تدفعها M. ١١ طبيعي M.



الثالوث وجسد الرب في المقبرة وصيرته مثل جثة بتمام لانه  
 جودر واحد للثالوث<sup>1</sup> الذي هو اللاهوتية الواحدة. فاين الآن الذي  
 ظفر بالموت وسبا<sup>3</sup> الجحيم وانت تصيره مثل واحد لا عزاء له<sup>4</sup> مع  
 الموتى ولا حركة<sup>5</sup>. لكن بالكثر قد تجد آخرين في الثاوماخوسيين<sup>6</sup> هكذا  
 يظنوا بالجسد الذي بناه الله له من<sup>7</sup> لحم ودم العذري كما يعرف  
 هو كصانع انه جسد بلا نفس وقالوا ان اللاهوت هي نفسه. فهل  
 تري خرجت منه اللاهوتية ومات الجسد بالجملة. فليفتضح<sup>8</sup> الآن  
 من يقول هذا الكفر هكذا ويسمعوا قول الرب ان نفسي حزينة حتي  
 الي<sup>9</sup> الموت. علي من يا رب علي الشعب الذي يهلك :

والذي سبي<sup>3</sup> M. الان الظافر<sup>2</sup> M. في الثالوث<sup>1</sup> M.

وغير متحرك<sup>5</sup> M. عز<sup>4</sup> So P; M has بلا عزاء له; but D evidently read عز.

but تفسيره مكرني الله M. الثاوماخوسيين M. الثاوماخوسيس<sup>6</sup> P. في<sup>7</sup> P. محاربي الله. the note on p. 29 shows that we should read

الي<sup>9</sup> M omits. فليفتضح<sup>8</sup> M.

## 2.

وقال هذا القديس اغناطيوس الشهيد بطريرك انطاكية في رسالته  
الثالثة عشر.

(fol. 14 a) حقاً ولد المسيح حقاً نما<sup>1</sup> حقاً اكل وشرب حقاً صلب  
حقاً تألم ومات<sup>2</sup> وقبر وقام من الموت. من امن بهذا انه هكذا فهو  
مغبوط ومن ازدري بهذا فانه غريب من الحياة المغبوطة التي  
نحن نترجها. والذين يقسمون المسيح الواحد الي طبيعتين من  
بعد الاتحاد فانهم يكسبوا مع اليهود قاتلي الله. هؤلاء الذين قالوا  
له بنفاق ليس لأجل فعل حسن نريد نرجمك بل لأجل التجديف  
لأنك انسانا وتجعل نفسك الها. ويكونوا مع هؤلاء متساويين<sup>3</sup> هكذا  
اعني الذين يفكروا ضعفا لابن الله الكلمة الذين هم اصحاب  
الطبيعتين ❖

<sup>1</sup> This clause is not in M.

<sup>2</sup> Wanting in M.

<sup>3</sup> M ويكونون واحدا ترانت (sic) معا (sic) هؤلاء M

*The holy Ignatius, the Martyr, Patriarch of Antioch, being the second therein after Peter the chief of the Apostles, says in his Epistle:*

GOD, the Creator of all natures, He it is that possesseth the ordering of nature, (being) the Trinity on Its throne; and He compriseth the universe (*lit.*, the whole); and the fullness thereof (*i.e.*, of the Trinity) was in the womb of the Virgin. But the unity of the Godhead (with Manhood) is that of which we speak here, that which is in the Son, and does not belong to the (other) Persons. He is hung upon the Cross, and forgiveth sins; He is in the grave, and raiseth up the dead; He cometh forth from the grave, and leaveth the clothes therein; He went in to His disciples while the doors were shut, and gave them (the salutation of) peace. So the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Father, and the Holy Spirit, this is the Trinity, equal, indivisible, and immutable; three Persons, one Godhead, one Lordship, one essence: one power, one kingdom, one adoration, one glorification, one praise, is due to the Trinity; one glory, one counsel, one dominion, one might, one permanence, one thought, one will, belongeth to the Holy Trinity. The Father is Father, and not Son; and the Son is Son, and not Father; and the Holy Spirit is the Holy Spirit, and changeth not unto Fatherhood nor Sonship. This Trinity is perfect on the throne of glory, being bound together by the unity of the one Godhead, which is the one light that shineth from the Trinity and filleth all creation and giveth light upon that which is beneath the earth, as it is written: *Behold I fill the heavens and the earth, and they that are in the depth of hell look upon my glory.* But as for thee that sayest that the Godhead suffered and died, we believe that the Christ God suffered in body as a man, while he is impassible as God; and that he tasted death in the body, while he is undying as God. Therefore, when thou hearest that God suffered for us, and that God the Word died on our behalf, understand that we join the Natures into a unity of Godhead and Manhood, and name them by this one name which beseemeth God, just as thou thyself art likewise (made up) of two natures, soul and body, and named by this one name which beseemeth man. And thy soul is immortal by nature, but thy soul is not Deity, yet is different from the body. And the honour which we desire to give unto our souls, namely that they die not, how dost thou not desire to give it to the one Godhead which is in the Trinity, that which is in the only (begotten) Son our Lord Jesus



Christ? Dost thou not know that, when thou sayest that the Godhead died, thou slayest the Trinity and the body of the Lord in the grave, and makest it utterly like a dead body? because to the Trinity (belongeth) one essence, which is the one Divinity. Where then now is He that conquered Death and led Hell captive? since thou makest him like one that hath no power<sup>1</sup> along with the dead, and no motion. Nay more, thou mayest find others among the Theomachi, who think thus of the body which God framed for Him of the flesh and blood of the Virgin, as He knoweth (how) as a maker, that it was a body without a soul, and they say that the Godhead was its soul. Dost thou think then that the Godhead went out of it, and the body died altogether? Let them be put to shame now who thus speak this blasphemy, and let them hear the word of the Lord, *Verily my soul is sorrowful even unto death.* For whom, O Lord? For the people that perisheth.

*And this holy Ignatius, the Martyr, Patriarch of Antioch, says in his thirteenth Epistle:*

CHRIST was really born, He really grew up, He really ate and drank, He was really crucified, He really suffered and died and was buried and rose from the dead. Whosoever believeth this that it is so, is blessed; and whosoever despiseth this, is a stranger to the blessed life, which we hope for. And they who divide the one Christ into two Natures after the union, shall be reckoned with the Jews, the murderers of God. These are they who said to him with hypocrisy, *We wish not to stone thee because of a good work, but because of blasphemy, because thou art a man and makest thyself a God.* And thus shall they be equal unto these, I mean those who think that there is weakness in the Son of God, the Word, who are the holders of the two Natures (the Dyophysites).

<sup>1</sup> Reading عَزَّ with D, which has *za-'albōtū khayl*.

VI.

PRAYER OF HERO.

## I. LAUS HERONIS.

The Latin Version of the 'Prayer of Hero,' which in the MSS is found appended to the Latin translation of the Ignatian Epistles in the Long Recension. It was first printed by Baronius (*Ann. Eccl.* sub ann. 110) from a Vatican MS (probably *Palat.* 150; see Zahn, p. 297). Ussher (*Ign. et Polyc. Ep.* p. 191) likewise printed it, making use (besides the edition of Baronius) of three MSS, *Magd.* 78, *Ball.* 229, and *Petav.*, from which also he gave various readings (*Ign. et Polyc. Mart.* p. 131 sq.). Much later Dressel (*Patr. Apost.* p. xxi) edited it from *Reg.* 81 and *Palat.* 150. Though it has been reprinted many times, these three are apparently the only editors who have had recourse to MSS. I have only given the various readings where they are of interest.

## II. THE PRAYER IN GREEK.

In this attempt at a restoration of the original, I have chiefly followed the Coptic Version (see p. 364 sq.), which is printed at length above (p. 881) and is somewhat fuller than the Latin. At the same time I have sought assistance from the Latin, more especially in determining the form of the sentences.



# I.

## LAUS HERONIS.

Sacerdos et assessor sapientissime Dei, Ignati, immaculata stola indute, perenni fonte saturate, cum angelis laudem canens, primogeniti certe amice, a peccatis liberate, a diabolo separate : agonista constitutus in stadio veritatis, adquisisti pretiosam  
5 salutem ; confudisti Traianum et senatum Romae, prudentiam tunc non habentem ; domesticus factus es Christo in dilectione et fide et vita. Memor esto mei, filii tui Heronis, ut et ego de hac vita exiens sancte sanctis connumerer et dignum nomen merear adipisci et de iniusta statione atque a Deo aliena extra-  
10 neus inveniar. Ter quaterque beate, qui ad talia pervenisti, pater Ignati, currus Israel et equester eius ; evasisti mortem fugiendo, et de terris ad caelestia evolasti ; coronam deificam et magnam meruisti et in amabili Dei agone vicisti. Memento eius, quem nutristi, beate martyr, et praesta mihi colloquium, sicuti et  
15 prius faciebas.

I. *assessor*] Reg., Pet., with the Coptic ; *assertor* cæt.

*sapientissime*] Zahn's conj., and so the Coptic ; *sapientissimi* MSS.

II. *equester*] Pal., Magd. ; *auriga* cæt. (from the Vulg. of 2 Kings ii. 12, xiii. 14).

# 2.

Εὔχῃ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἡρώνου ὃς διεδέξατο τὸν μακάριον Ἰγνάτιον  
τὸν Θεοφόρον.

Ἱερεὺ καὶ παραστάτα Θεοῦ, Ἰγνάτιε σοφέ, στολὴν  
ἄσπιλον ἐνδεδυμένε, ἐκ πηγῆς αἰννάου πεπληρωμένε, συν-  
εορταστὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἰκεῖς ὄντως τοῦ πρωτοτόκου, ὃν  
ἐδήλωσεν τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὃν ἐξερύσατο ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν

τοῦ κόσμου, ἀποχωρίσας τοῦ διαβόλου· ἀθλητὰ γενναῖε, ὁμολογητὰ σοφέ, ὁ ἀγωνίσας ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ τῆς εὐσεβείας, ὁ ἀπολαβὼν τὴν ἀσύγκριτον σωτηρίαν· ἀληθῶς ἐνίκησας ἐν ἰσχύϊ, ὃ μυσταγωγὲ ἱερέ, διδάσκαλε τῶν δογματῶν τῆς ἀληθείας· ἐβάστασας ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐν δυνάμει ἀκαταλύτῳ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐδυσώπησας τὸν Τραϊανὸν [καὶ τὸν σύγκλητον] μετὰ τῆς γερουσίας τῆς ἀνοήτου τῶν Ῥωμαίων· οἰκέϊος ἐγένου τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ τῆς ζωῆς.

Μνήσθητι τοῦ παιδός σου Ἡρωνος, ἵνα καὶ γὰρ ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τούτου ἅγιος ἀγίοις συναριθμηθῶ, ἀξιωθεὶς τῆς ἀγαστῆς ζωῆς, καὶ εὗρεθῶ μακρὰν τῆς μερίδος τῶν ἀποστάντων ἀπὸ Θεοῦ.

Ἀληθῶς εἶ μακάριος, πάτερ Ἰγνάτιε, ὅτι μετωκίσθης ἐν δόξῃ, ἄρμα Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἵππευς αὐτοῦ· ἐξέφυγες ἐκ θανάτου καὶ ἐξέενευσας τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας καὶ ἐκταράττοντας τὴν σὴν ναῦν, [ἐφορμίσας] εἰς τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἀόχλητον· καταφρονήσας τῆς γῆς, ἀπῆλθες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν· καὶ ἐν τῷ νικῆσαί σε ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀγῶνι τῷ εὐαρέστῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπήνεγκας τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἄθλου ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ.

Μνήσθητι ἐμοῦ ὃν ἐξέθρεψας, Ἰγνάτιε μακάριε, μάρτυς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ φανέρωσόν μοι σεαυτὸν καὶ δίδασκέ με, καθὼς καὶ ἐποίησας τὸ πρότερον.

S. POLYCARP.





## THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP.

### I.

THE Epistle of Polycarp was written in reply to a communication from the Philippians. They had invited him to address words of exhortation to them (§ 3); they had requested him to forward by his own messenger the letter which they had addressed to the Syrian Church (§ 13); and they had asked him to send them any epistles of Ignatius which he might have in his hands (*ib.*).

This epistle is intimately connected with the letters and martyrdom of Ignatius himself. The Philippians had recently welcomed and escorted on their way certain saints who were in bonds (§ 1). From a later notice in the epistle it appears that Ignatius was one of these (§ 9). Two others besides are mentioned by name, Zosimus and Rufus (*ib.*). As these persons are not named elsewhere by any trustworthy authority in connexion with the history of Ignatius, and as some such mention of them in the epistles of Ignatius himself would probably have been found if they had formed part of his company, when those epistles were written, it may be supposed that they joined him afterwards at Philippi. A not improbable conjecture makes them Bithynian Christians who had been sent by Pliny to Rome to be tried there (see the note on § 9). In this case they would be placed under the same escort with Ignatius at Philippi, and proceed with him to Rome in the custody of the 'ten leopards' (Ign. *Rom.* 5). It is clear that Ignatius—probably by word of mouth—had given to the Philippians the same injunction which he gave to the churches generally (*Philad.* 10, *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 7), that they should send letters, and (where possible) representatives also, to exhort the Church of Antioch

and to congratulate it on the restoration of peace. Hence the request of the Philippians, seconded by Ignatius himself, that Polycarp would forward their letter to Syria. It is plain likewise, that they had heard, either from Ignatius himself or from those about him, of the epistles which he had addressed to the Churches of Asia Minor, more especially to Smyrna. Hence their further petition that Polycarp would send them such of these letters as were in his possession. The visit of Ignatius had been recent—so recent indeed, that Polycarp, though he assumes that the saint has suffered martyrdom, is yet without any certain knowledge of the fact. He therefore asks the Philippians, who are some stages nearer to Rome than Smyrna, to communicate to him any information which they may have received respecting the saint and his companions (see the notes on § 13 ‘de ipso Ignatio,’ etc.).

Beyond these references to Ignatius there is not much of personal matter in the letter. Polycarp refers, as he could hardly help referring, to S. Paul’s communications with the Philippians, both written and oral (§§ 3, 11). He mentions more especially the fame of the Philippian Church in the primitive days of the Gospel, and he congratulates them on sustaining their early reputation (§§ 1, 11). Incidentally he states that the Philippians were converted to the Gospel before the Smyrnæans (§ 11)—a statement which entirely accords with the notices of the two churches in the New Testament.

The fair fame of the Philippian Church however had been sullied by the sin of one unworthy couple. Valens and his wife—the Ananias and Sapphira of the Philippian community—had been guilty of some act of greed, perhaps of fraud and dishonesty. Valens was one of their presbyters, and thus the church was more directly responsible for his crime. Polycarp expresses himself much grieved at this incident. He trusts that the offenders may repent, but deprecates too great severity in their treatment. Though the incident itself is only mentioned in one passage, it has plainly made a deep impression on Polycarp. The sin of avarice is denounced again and again in the body of the letter (see the note on § 4).

The letter is sent by the hand of one Crescens, who had approved himself by his conduct during his residence at Smyrna. The sister of Crescens also, who purposes visiting Philippi, is commended to them (§ 14).



## 2.

The following is an *Analysis* of the epistle :

‘POLYCARP and his presbyters to the CHURCH OF PHILIPPI, mercy and peace.’

‘I rejoiced to hear how you welcomed and escorted the saints in their fetters. You have fitly sustained your old reputation. Seeing not, ye believe, and are saved by grace (§ 1). Be diligent therefore. Remember that Christ will come in power to judge all mankind. Ye shall then be raised with Him, if ye abstain from all sin, and requite not evil with evil. The kingdom of heaven is promised to the poor and the persecuted (§ 2). I should not have written thus, if ye had not invited me. I cannot tread in the footsteps of the blessed Paul, who taught you both by word of mouth and by letter. His letters will edify you in faith, love, and hope (§ 3).’

‘Love of money is the root of all evil. Walk in righteousness yourselves. Teach your wives to cherish their husbands, to be kindly to all, and to train up their children in piety. Let the widows be sober-minded, remembering that they are God’s altar, and that their offerings are scanned by His all-seeing eye (§ 4). Let the deacons also be blameless and follow Him who was the chief deacon. Let the younger men likewise bridle themselves and restrain their lusts. No profligate person shall inherit the kingdom. Let them also render obedience to the presbyters and deacons (§ 5). The presbyters themselves must be pitiful and tender towards the weak and helpless, not wrathful, but forgiving as they hope to be forgiven. We all shall stand before the judgement seat of Christ. Avoid false and hypocritical brethren (§ 6). To deny Jesus Christ, to reject the testimony of the cross, to pervert God’s oracles—these are the works of Antichrist, of Satan. Let us avoid such and cling to the doctrine once delivered, praying God to keep us from temptation (§ 7). Let us hold fast to Jesus Christ, who is our righteousness and our redemption. Let us take Him for our pattern and imitate His patience amidst suffering (§ 8). You have seen bright examples of such patient endurance in Ignatius, Zosimus, and Rufus, yea in Paul himself and the other Apostles. They have received their reward, for they loved not the present world (§ 9). Be steadfast in the faith, and kindly one to another. Give no occasion to the heathen to blaspheme (§ 10).’

‘I am much grieved about your presbyter Valens. Beware of avarice, which is idolatry. The covetous man therefore is judged as a heathen. I cannot suppose you guilty of such sin—you whom the blessed Paul commendeth. May God grant repentance to Valens and his wife; and do ye deal gently with them, treating them as erring members (§ 11). The Scriptures warn us against excess of wrath and severity. Remember this.’

‘May God the Father, and the eternal High Priest, Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and gentleness and patience and purity; and may He give you your lot and portion among the saints—you and all who believe in His resurrection. Pray for all men. Pray for kings and rulers. Pray for your persecutors (§ 12).’

‘I will do as I was requested by you and by Ignatius. I will see that your letter is conveyed to Syria. I send you herewith the letters addressed by Ignatius to us, with others, as ye requested me. Read them for your edification. Send me the latest news of Ignatius and his companions (§ 13).’

‘I send this letter by the hand of Crescens, who will approve himself to you, as he has to us, by his conduct. I commend to you his sister also, who will pay you a visit. Farewell in Christ (§ 14).’

### 3.

The authorities for the text are as follows.

#### (i) GREEK MANUSCRIPTS (G).

Where there is no variation in the MSS, the existing form of the Greek text is given as G. Where variations occur, the several MSS are designated by the letters attached to them in the following list.

1. *Vaticanus* 859 (v).
2. *Ottobonianus* 348 (o).
3. *Florentinus Laur.* vii. 21 (f).
4. *Parisiensis Graec.* 937 (p).
5. *Casanatensis* G. v. 14 (c).
6. *Barberinus* 7 (b).
7. *Neapolitanus Mus. Nat.* II. A. 17 (n).
8. *Salmasianus* (s).

All these eight mss belong to the same family, as appears from the fact that the Epistle of Polycarp runs on continuously into the Epistle of Barnabas without any break, ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τὸν λαὸν τὸν κενὸν (καινὸν) κ.τ.λ.; the mutilated ending of Polycarp § 9 ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ being followed by the mutilated beginning of Barnabas § 5 τὸν λαὸν τὸν καινὸν κ.τ.λ. Within this family however the mss fall into two subdivisions: (1) *τῳφ*, all mss in which the Epistle of Polycarp is attached to the pseudo-Ignatian letters; and (2) *cbn* (to which we may probably add *s*), where it stands alone. In the first subdivision, *οφ* have no independent authority, being derived directly or indirectly from *τ*, and their readings are only given for the sake of exhibiting the connexion. Of the two subdivisions the former is slightly superior to the latter.

## (ii) LATIN VERSION (L).

The character of this version has been considered already. In the earlier part of the epistle it is sometimes useful for correcting the text of the extant Greek mss; for, though very loose and paraphrastic, it was made from an older form of the Greek than these. But the two are closely allied, as appears from the fact that this version is always found in connexion with the Latin of the pseudo-Ignatian letters and seems to have been translated from the same volume which contained them. For the latter part of the epistle, from § 10 onward, it is the sole authority; with the exception of portions of § 12, which are preserved in Syriac in passages of Timotheus and Severus or elsewhere, and nearly the whole of § 13, which is given by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*. On this account a reference to individual mss of the Latin Version is sometimes necessary. The mss of which collations have been made for this part either by myself or by others are:

1. *Reginensis* 81 (r).
2. *Trecensis* 412 (t).
3. *Parisiensis* 1639, formerly *Colbertinus* 1039 (c).
4. *Bruxellensis* 5510 (b).
5. *Oxon. Balliolensis* 229 (o).
6. *Palatinus* 150 (p).
7. *Laurentianus* xxiii. 20 (l).
8. *Vindobonensis* 1068 (v).
9. *Oxon. Magdalenensis* 78 (m).

The collations of *rp* are taken from Dressel; the other mss, *tebolvm*, I collated myself for this portion. Mere variations of spelling and



obvious clerical errors are not recorded. It did not seem necessary to give the readings of the other two Brussels mss, which I collated for this part, as they so closely resemble *Bruxellensis* 5510. One reading however of *Bruxellensis* 703 is mentioned in § 13, on account of its interest, though of no authoritative value.

It will have been seen that, so far as regards the Greek and Latin mss, the Epistle of Polycarp is closely connected with the Long Recension of the Ignatian Epistles. This fact, if it had stood by itself, would have thrown some discredit on the integrity of the text. It might have been suspected that the same hand which interpolated the Ignatian Epistles had tampered with this also. From the point of view of internal evidence, I have already disposed of this suspicion in the general introduction, when discussing the genuineness of the Epistle of Polycarp. As regards external evidence, the quotations of Eusebius, Timotheus, and Severus, with the other Syriac fragments, are a highly important testimony. They show that, wherever we have opportunity of testing the text of the Greek and Latin copies, its general integrity is vindicated.

## 4.

The earliest *printed text* of the Epistle of Polycarp was the Latin Version, included by J. Faber Stapulensis with his edition of the Ignatian Letters according to the Long Recension (A.D. 1498). This was reprinted several times. The Latin Version was also included in the *Micropresbyton* (Basil. 1550) and elsewhere. It is not known what ms or mss Faber Stapulensis used.

The Greek text was first published by P. Halloix in his *Illustrium Ecclesiae Orientalis Scriptorum...Primo Christi Saeculo...Vitae et Documenta* i. p. 525 sq. (Duaci 1633). Before this however Fr. Turrianus 'longe prolixiorem [Polycarpi epistolam] illa [i.e. Latina], quae habetur typis excusa, apud se Graece esse scriptam, cum viveret, testatus est,' as we learn from Baronius (*Martyrol. Roman.* Jan. 26). The copy of Turrianus, like all the known Greek mss, contained the Epistles of Polycarp and Barnabas attached together; and hence he fell into the error of supposing that he possessed this epistle in a much longer form than the Latin.

The sources of the text of Halloix were twofold, as he himself states; (1) 'Ex ipsius jam laudati Turriani apographo eam [epistolam] ante plurimos annos Romae descripsit noster Jacobus Sirmondus, atque

illud ipsum exemplar tunc a se descriptum nuper ad me misit ; (2) ego cum altero exemplari Andreae Schotti collatum jam nunc in lucem emitto.' Halloix mentions at the same time on the authority of a letter from Louis Crésol that there were two other MSS at Rome, resembling these ; one in the Vatican Library, the other then in the possession of the Duke Altemps, but formerly of Card. Colonna ; but he did not make any use of them. These are identified with *Vatic.* 859 (v) and *Ottob.* 348 (o) respectively. Halloix was not misled like Turrianus, but saw where the Epistle of Polycarp ended, and printed it accordingly.

A few years later (A.D. 1644) Ussher also printed the Greek text of this epistle in the same volume with his Ignatius. His own words will best explain whence he derived his text ; 'Duas hasce imperfectas Polycarpi et Barnabae epistolas, ex Andreae Schotti apographo sua manu descriptas, vir clarissimus Claudius Salmasius...Isaaco Vossio...tradidit' (Ussher's *Judic. de Barnaba*, reprinted in Cotelier *Patr. Apost.* i. p. 12, ed. Cleric. 1724 ; see also Voss *Epist. Ignat.* p. 309, Amstel. 1846). This transcript, he informs us (*Polyc. et Ignat. Epist.* p. 1, Oxon. 1644), he used for his text of Polycarp, comparing it with the edition of Halloix. Thus the only Greek authority accessible to him was one of those already employed by his predecessor. He made use however of three Latin MSS, *Balliol.* 229, *Magdal.* 78, and *Petav.*

There is every reason to think that these two Greek copies—that of Turrianus, and that of Andrew Schott (the latter transcribed by Saumaise and thus transmitted through I. Voss to Ussher)—were closely allied to each other, and probably derived from the same MS. They evidently belonged, as Zahn has pointed out, to the same family with *b<sup>cn</sup>*. Gebhardt (*Patr. Apost.* i. ii. p. xxii) goes a step farther and without hesitation identifies the common source of these transcripts with our *Casana-tensis*. If this be so, the transcripts must have been carelessly made ; e.g. § 5 πρὸς πάντα προγοοῦντες for πρὸ παντὸς προνοοῦντες. Moreover Young in Ussher (p. 4) gives as readings of the MS (apparently meaning Ussher's *Salmasianus*) § 3 προσεπηλακίσατε and § 5 δῖλογοι, whereas *c* has προεπηλακίσασθε and δῖγλωσσοι. Ussher seems to have transcribed the text of Halloix, but he corrects the readings of his predecessor in his notes.

After Ussher's edition nothing was done for the text of Polycarp until quite recent times. The Epistle to the Philippians appeared in the editions of the *Patres Apostolici*, by Cotelier, Leclerc, Russel, and others ; but no new authorities were collated. It was also published in Lemoyne's *Varia Sacra* i. p. 1 sq. (ed. 1, 1685) and in Routh's *Script.*

*Eccles. Opusc.* i. p. 1 sq. (ed. 1, 1832). But Lemoyne, though he had in his possession a transcript of the Florentine MS (f), appears to have made no use whatever of it, but to have copied the text of Halloix; and Routh satisfied himself with culling a reading or two from the Latin MS (*Magdal.* 78) which was at hand in his own College Library.

With the present generation a new epoch began. First Jacobson for his *Patres Apostolici* (ed. 1, 1838) collated the Greek MSS *Laur.* vii. 21 (f) and *Paris.* 937 (p) and the Latin MS *Laur.* xxiii. 20 (l). Then Dressel added still more largely to the materials for a text, collating the four Greek MSS *Vatic.* 859 (v), *Ottob.* 348 (o), *Casan.* G. v. 14 (c), *Barber.* 7 (b), and the two Latin MSS *Palat.* 150 (p) and *Reg.* 81 (r), all six at Rome, besides recollating in the more important passages, either himself or through his friends, the Florentine Greek MS *Laur.* vii. 21 (f). These aids he used for his own edition (ed. 1, 1857). The materials thus collected were employed with greater effect by Zahn (1876), who produced a better text of this epistle than any existing heretofore. After Zahn's text was in type, Gebhardt communicated to him a collation of *Neapol.* II. A. 17 (n), which he had procured; and Zahn accordingly gives the most important of these readings in his preface (p. 270), but they were not received in time to be available for his text and critical apparatus. The subsequent text of Funk (*Patr. Apost.* 1878) follows on the same lines with Zahn. There is not indeed much scope for improvement, or even for variation, where the materials belong so exclusively to the same family. Of the collations and recollations which I have made for the present edition, mention has been made already in the general introduction.

The portions extant only in the Latin Version were retranslated into Greek by Zahn for his edition. Funk adopted Zahn's Greek with a few emendations (p. 277). Some years before Zahn's edition appeared, I had myself retranslated these portions into Greek, and this retranslation I now publish. It is entirely independent of Zahn's; and for this reason the very general agreement of the two may perhaps be accepted as a presumption that they fairly represent the original of Polycarp.



## ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΣΙΟΥΣ.

ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Φιλίππους· ἔλεος

προς φιλιππησιους] τοῦ ἁγίου πολυκάρπου ἐπισκόπου σμύρνης καὶ ἱερομάρτυρος πρὸς φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολή G; *incipit epistola beati polycarpi smirnaeorum ecclesiae episcopi ad philippenses confirmantis fidem eorum* L (with variations).

2 Φιλίππους] v; φιλιπποις ο (?) fp\* (but -πους p\*\*) cbn; dub. L.

‘POLYCARP and the elders who are with him, to the CHURCH OF PHILIPPI, mercy and peace from God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.’

1. οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.] Polycarp evidently writes here as a bishop (ἐπίσκοπος) in the later and fuller sense of the title, surrounded by his council of presbyters; and he is so styled in Ign. *Magn.* 15, *Smyrn.* 12, *Polyc.* inscr. Similarly Arsenius, writing to Athanasius, commences Ἀρσένιος ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ποτε ὑπὸ Μελίτιον τῆς Ὑψηλιτῶν πόλεως ἅμα πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις, Athan. *Apol. c. Arian.* 69 (*Op.* i. p. 146). To this mode of address Theodore of Mopsuestia on Phil. i. 1 alludes, τὸ σὺν ἐπισκόποις λέγει, οὐχ ὥς τινες ἐνόμισαν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς σὺν πρεσβυτέροις γράφειν εἰώθαμεν (Cramer's *Catena* p. 232); for the context seems to require σὺν πρεσβυτέροις (see *Philippians* p. 96 sq.), though Swete (*Theod. Mops. Comm.* i. p. 200) prefers to retain *συμπρεσβυτέροις*.

The opening of this epistle is taken, with minor changes, from the

beginning of the letter of Clement of Rome, from which also Polycarp borrows freely in other parts.

2. παροικούσῃ Φιλίππους] ‘sojourning in Philippi’; comp. Clem. Rom. 1 Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Κόρινθον. For the idea of the expression, as denoting that the Christians are aliens in this world, see the note there. The verb has the accusative, as here, in Clem. Rom. *l. c.*, *Mart. Polyc.* 1, Dionys. Cor. in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23 (comp. Isocr. *Paneg.* p. 74 D Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἀσίαν παροικοῦσιν). Another possible construction would be παροικεῖν ἐν, as in *Mart. Polyc.* 1, *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* 1 (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1). But the simple dative Φιλίπποις, though adopted by some editors, is out of place here, since παροικεῖν τινι signifies ‘to dwell by the side of’, ‘to be neighbour to’, ‘to border upon’, as in Thucyd. i. 71, iii. 93, Plut. *Mor.* p. 4 A.

ἔλεος κ.τ.λ.] For this form of salutation see the note on Ign. *Smyrn.* 12.

ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ Θεοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πληθυνθείη.

I. Συνεχάρην ὑμῖν μεγάλως ἐν Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, δεξαμένοις τὰ μιμήματα τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης καὶ προπέμψασιν, ὡς ἐπέβαλεν ὑμῖν, τοὺς ἐνειλημένους 5 τοῖς ἀγιοπρεπέσιν δεσμοῖς, ἅτινά ἐστιν διαδήματα τῶν ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐκλελεγμένων· καὶ ὅτι ἡ βεβαία τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ρίζα, ἐξ ἀρχαίων

1 ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν c. Ἰησοῦ] txt vofp L; præf. κυρίου c8b8n. 3 Κυρίῳ] c8n; τῷ κυρίῳ vofp. 4 δεξαμένοις] G; *suscipiens* (δεξάμενος) [L]. 5 ἐπέβαλεν] fpc8b8n; ἐπέβαλλεν vo; *deciuit* L. ἐνειλημένους] pc; *implicati sunt* L; ἐνειλημμένους vofn; ἐνειλημμένοις b. 6 ἀγιοπρεπέσιν] vo; ἀγιοπρεπέσι fpn. 8 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν p. ἀρχαίων] ἀρχέ-

I. 'I rejoiced to hear that ye received and escorted on their way the saintly followers of Christ, whose fetters are their diadems; and that the root of your faith, famous from the beginning, still bears fruit unto Jesus Christ, who died and was raised again for us; in whom, though ye never saw Him, ye believe with joy unspeakable, being saved by grace and not by works.'

3. Συνεχάρην] Comp. Phil. iv. 10 ἐχάρην δὲ ἐν Κυρίῳ μεγάλως ὅτι κ.τ.λ. with Phil. ii. 17 χαίρω καὶ συγχαίρω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν. The reminiscences of S. Paul's Epistle addressed to the same church are numerous, besides one direct reference to it (§ 3). See the analogous cases of Clement writing to the Corinthians and of Ignatius to the Ephesians.

4. δεξαμένοις κ.τ.λ.] 'since ye welcomed those copies of the true Love'. The reference is doubtless to Ignatius and his companions, to whom the Philippians showed attention when halting there on their way to Rome; see below §§ 9, 13. Comp. *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 5.

τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης] They were

imitators of Christ who is the true Love. This mode of expression seems to have been characteristic of the Asiatic school of S. John: e.g. Papias in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39 ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας. This type of phraseology would be suggested by S. John himself; e.g. Joh. xiv. 6, 1 Joh. iv. 8, 16.

5. προπέμψασιν] 'escorted them in their journey'; comp. Acts xv. 3 προπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, and so frequently in the New Testament. It was a common act of brotherly courtesy in the early Church.

ἐπέβαλεν] 'it pertained to you', 'it was your part', as e.g. Luke xv. 12 τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας.

ἐνειλημένους] 'entwined', as e.g. Plut. *Vit. Brut.* 45 ἐνείλουμένον... τοῖς ὄπλοις, Philostr. *Her.* p. 314 ἐνειληθῆναι τῇ λεοντῇ, Artemid. *Oneir.* i. 54 ἐν τῇ χλαμύδι τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνειλημένην ἔχειν, Dion. Chrys. *Or.* xxiii. (p. 513) σπαργάνους ἐνείλουντας. It is strange therefore that the editors generally should have read ἐνειλημμένους, and still more strange that Ussher should have substituted ἐνειλημμένους for ἐνειλημένους in his table of *corri-*

καταγγελλομένη χρόνων, μέχρι νῦν διαμένει καὶ καρπο-  
 10 φορεῖ εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ὃς ὑπέ-  
 μεινεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἕως θανάτου καταν-  
 τῆσαι, ὃν ἤγειρεν ὁ Θεὸς ἄγας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ  
 ᾄδου· εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε χαρὰ ἀνεκλά-  
 λήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν  
 15 εἰσελθεῖν, εἰδότες ὅτι χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι, οὐκ  
 ἐξ ἔργων, ἀλλὰ θελήματι Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ων p. 13 ᾄδου] θανάτου p alone (with Acts ii. 24). πιστεύετε] txt G;  
 add. πιστεύοντες δὲ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε edd. (not Zahn) after Halloix, from 1 Pet. i. 8. So  
 also add. *credentes autem gaudebitis* (ἀγαλλιάσασθε) L. ἀνεκκλήτῳ] ἀνεκκλαλεί-  
 τω (-τῳ) vo. 14 πολλοί] πολλὰ c. 16 θελήματι] θελήματος b.

*genda*; for ἐλλαμβάνεσθαι is a some-  
 what rare word and unsuitable here.  
 Zahn unnecessarily substitutes ἐνεί-  
 λιγμένους.

6. ἀγιοπρεπέσιν] See the note on  
 Clem. Rom. 13, where the word oc-  
 curs.

διαδήματα] ‘*the diadems*’, the sym-  
 bols of royalty, since εἰ ὑπομένομεν,  
 καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ (2 Tim. ii.  
 12, quoted below, § 5); comp. *Clem.*  
*Hom.* xiii. 20 ἀλήθειαν εὖρες, τὸ διά-  
 δημα τῆς αἰδίου βασιλείας. See also  
 Ign. *Ephes.* 11 τὰ δεσμὰ περιφέρω,  
 τοὺς πνευματικοὺς μαργαρίτας, with the  
 note.

8. καὶ ὅτι] A somewhat awk-  
 ward construction which recurs  
 several times in this epistle §§ 2, [4],  
 5, [9].

ἐξ ἀρχαίων κ.τ.λ.] ‘*from primitive  
 times*’. The ἀρχαῖοι χρόνοι are the  
 earliest days of the Gospel; comp.  
 Acts xv. 7 ἀφ’ ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων, xxi. 16  
 ἀρχαίῳ μαθητῇ. Such a good report  
 of the Philippians we have in Phil.  
 iv. 15 ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου κ.τ.λ.  
 For the expression comp. Rom. i. 8  
 ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν καταγγέλλεται ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ  
 κόσμῳ.

9. καρποφορεῖ] See Col. i. 6, which

passage Polycarp perhaps had in his  
 mind.

12. ὃν ἤγειρεν κ.τ.λ.] An inexact  
 quotation from Acts ii. 24 ὃν ὁ Θεὸς  
 ἀνέστησεν λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου,  
 where the expression ὠδῖνες θανάτου  
 is derived from the LXX, 2 Sam.  
 xxii. 6, Ps. xviii (xvii). 5, cxvi (cxiv).  
 3, ὠδῖνες being a mistranslation of  
 the ambiguous Hebrew יָצַח, which  
 differently vocalized means ‘pains’ or  
 ‘fettters’. It is especially appropriate  
 however in this case, where death is  
 the portal of life; see Ign. *Rom.* 6.  
 The expression ὠδῖνες ᾄδου also oc-  
 curs, Ps. xviii (xvii). 6.

13. εἰς ὃν κ.τ.λ.] A loose quota-  
 tion from 1 Pet. i. 8 ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες  
 ἀγαπάτε, εἰς ὃν ἄρτι μὴ ὁρῶντες, πισ-  
 τεύοντες δέ, ἀγαλλιᾶσθε χαρὰ ἀνεκ-  
 κλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῳ.

14. εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ κ.τ.λ.] Probably  
 an adaptation of the words in the  
 immediate context of the passage  
 just quoted, 1 Pet. i. 12 εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυ-  
 μοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύβαι. It would  
 be suggested by Matt. xiii. 17, Luke  
 x. 24.

15. εἰδότες ὅτι] ‘*knowing, being  
 assured, that*’. Polycarp seems to  
 use this as a form of quotation. In



II. Διὸ ἀναζωσάμενοι τὰς ὁσφύας δουλεύσατε τῷ Θεῷ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, ἀπολιπόντες τὴν κενὴν ματαιολογίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πλάνην, πιστεύσαντες εἰς τὸν ἐγείραντα τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόντα αὐτῷ δόξαν 5 καὶ θρόνον ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ· ᾧ ὑπετάγη τὰ πάντα ἐπουράνια καὶ ἐπίγεια, ᾧ πᾶσα πνοὴ λατρεύει, ὃς ἔρχεται κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, οὗ τὸ αἷμα ἐκζητήσῃ ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπειθούντων αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ

1 τὰς ὁσφύας] txt bcn; add. ἡμῶν vofp; add. *vestros* L. 2 ἀπολιπόντες] ἀπολειποντες vofp (all paroxytone, as an aorist, so that it is a mere itacism). 5 δόξαν καὶ θρόνον] θρόνον καὶ δόξαν fp alone. 6 ὑπετάγη] ὑπετείη b (Dressel, but the contraction of ὑπετάγη would closely resemble ὑπετείη). 7 λατρεύει] v; *servit* (v.l. *deservit*) L; λατρεύσει ofbcn;

§ 4 it introduces words from 1 Tim. iv. 7; in § 5, from Gal. vi. 7. In the fourth and only remaining passage in which it occurs, § 6 εἰδότες ὅτι πάντες ὀφειλέται ἐσμὲν ἁμαρτίας, the words thus introduced do not occur in any Canonical book, but may have been taken from some writing of the Apostles or their immediate successors no longer extant. In point of expression they rise above the ordinary level of Polycarp's own language.

χάριτι κ.τ.λ.] A broken quotation from Ephes. ii. 5, 8, 9.

II. 'Therefore be strenuous. Serve God and forsake all vain and erroneous teaching. Believe on Him who raised Jesus Christ to be the judge of quick and dead, subjecting all things to Him. He will raise us also, if we obey His commandments and remember the warnings of Christ who bade us do as we would be done by and promised the kingdom of heaven to those who follow after righteousness.'

I. Διὸ ἀναζωσάμενοι κ.τ.λ.] From

1 Pet. i. 13; comp. Ephes. vi. 14, Is. xi. 5. See the note on Clem. Rom. 57 κάμψαντες κ.τ.λ.

δουλεύσατε κ.τ.λ.] The words δουλεύσατε...ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ occurs in Clem. Rom. 19.

3. ματαιολογίαν] The word occurs in 1 Tim. i. 6, and the corresponding adjective ματαιολόγος in Tit. i. 10. It is not improbable that Polycarp is here quoting Clem. Rom. 9 ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιοπονίαν κ.τ.λ. (see the note there). If so we should perhaps read ματαιοπονίαν here.

τῶν πολλῶν] See the note on the parallel passage § 7 ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολλῶν.

4. πιστεύσαντες κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. i. 21 τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς [v. l. πιστεύοντας] εἰς Θεὸν τὸν ἐγείραντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα (comp. Ephes. i. 20). The addition καὶ θρόνον is perhaps suggested by Clem. Rom. 59 (65) δόξα...θρόνος αἰώνιος. So just above (see the note on δουλεύσατε κ.τ.λ.) an expression from Clement is appended to a scriptural

10 ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγερεῖ, ἐὰν ποι-  
 ῶμεν αὐτοῦ τὸ θέλημα καὶ πορευόμεθα ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν ἃ ἡγάπησεν, ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης  
 ἀδικίας, πλεονεξίας, φιλαργυρίας, καταλαλιᾶς, ψευδο-  
 μαρτυρίας· μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἢ  
 15 λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας ἢ γρόνθον ἀντὶ γρόνθου ἢ  
 κατάραν ἀντὶ κατάρας, μνημονεύοντες δὲ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ  
 Κύριος διδάσκων· μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· ἀφί-  
 ετε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν· ἐλεᾶτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε·

λατρεύση p. 11 πορευόμεθα] vo (as I read o) f; πορευόμεθα pchb. 14 ἢ  
 λοιδορίαν] οὐ λοιδορίαν b alone. 15 λοιδορίαν] λοιδορίαν vo. λοιδορίας]  
 λοιδορίας vo. 16 μνημονεύοντες] G. The older edd. have μνημονεύσαντες after  
 Halloix, but there is no authority for it. ὧν] ὃν c. 18 ἐλεᾶτε] vofpbh.  
 In cs the words ἐλεᾶτε...ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν are omitted by homœoteleuton.

quotation.

6. ᾧ ὑπετάγη κ.τ.λ.] A combi-  
 nation of 1 Cor. xv. 28 ὅταν δὲ ὑποταγῇ  
 αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, or Phil. iii. 21 ὑποτάξαι  
 αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, with Phil. ii. 10 πᾶν  
 γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ  
 καταχθονίων.

7. πᾶσα πνοή] 'every living  
 thing', as in 1 Kings xv. 29, Ps. cl.  
 6, Is. lvii. 16.

8. κριτῆς κ.τ.λ.] Acts x. 42. See  
 the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 1.

τὸ αἷμα ἐκζητήσει] A not uncom-  
 mon biblical phrase; Gen. xlii. 22,  
 2 Sam. iv. 11, Ezek. iii. 18, 20, xxxiii.  
 6, 8, Luke xi. 50, 51.

9. ὁ δὲ ἐγείρας κ.τ.λ.] A loose  
 quotation from 2 Cor. iv. 14 ὁ ἐγείρας  
 τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σὺν Ἰησοῦ  
 ἐγερεῖ; comp. 1 Cor. vi. 14, Rom.  
 viii. 11.

14. μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κ.τ.λ.] From  
 1 Pet. iii. 9.

15. γρόνθον κ.τ.λ.] 'blow for blow',  
 properly 'fist for fist'; a word found  
 chiefly in grammarians and scholiasts,  
 who give it as an equivalent to πνυγμή,  
 κόνδυλος; see the note of Hemster-

huis on Lucian. *Contempl.* 2 (i. p.  
 491). So Moeris p. 208 (Bekker)  
 πύξ Ἀττικοί, γρόνθος Ἕλληνες. In  
 Judges iii. 16, Aquila and Symma-  
 chus have γρόνθου παλαιστικίου, where  
 the LXX render σπιθαμῆς.

16. μνημονεύοντες δὲ κ.τ.λ.] Comp.  
 Acts xx. 35 μνημονεύειν τῶν λόγων τοῦ  
 Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι εἶπεν κ.τ.λ. Clement  
 (l. c.) introduces the same sayings,  
 which are here quoted by Polycarp,  
 in a similar way, μάλιστα μεμνημένοι  
 τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οὓς ἐλά-  
 λησεν.

17. μὴ κρίνετε κ.τ.λ.] The first  
 and fourth sentences, μὴ κρίνετε κ.τ.λ.  
 and ᾧ μέτρῳ κ.τ.λ., occur in the  
 canonical Gospels, Matt. viii. 1, 2,  
 Luke vi. 36—38. The second and  
 third, ἀφίετε κ.τ.λ. and ἐλεᾶτε κ.τ.λ.,  
 do not occur there, but are found in  
 Clem. Rom. 13, whence probably  
 Polycarp derived them: see the note  
 there.

18. ἐλεᾶτε] This form occurs in  
 the best MSS in Rom. ix. 16, and  
 appears as a various reading in Rom.  
 ix. 18, Jude 22. These are the only

ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν· καὶ ὅτι μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ.

III. Ταῦτα, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἑμαυτᾷ ἐπιτρέψας γράφω ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς προ- 5 ἐπεκαλέσασθέ με. οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ οὔτε ἄλλος ὅμοιος ἐμοὶ δύναται κατακολουθῆσαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου, ὃς γενόμενος ἐν ὑμῖν κατὰ πρόσω-

1 ᾧ] G; *qua enim* L. The older edd. have ἐν ᾧ (as in Matt. vii. 2). ἀντι-  
μετρηθήσεται] ἀντιμετριθήσεται n. 2 πτωχοὶ] G; *add. spiritu* L from  
Matt. v. 3. 3 τοῦ Θεοῦ] G; *caelorum* L. In ο τῶν οὐράνων is written  
first and corrected to τοῦ θεοῦ. 5 προεπεκαλέσασθέ με] Halloix; *provocastis*

passages in the N. T. which afford an opportunity of weighing the respective authorities for the forms ἐλεεῖν and ἐλεᾶν.

2. μακάριοι] From Matt. v. 3, 10; but in omitting τῷ πνεύματι Polycarp follows Luke vi. 20, as also in substituting τοῦ Θεοῦ for τῶν οὐρανῶν: comp. Clem. Hom. xv. 5 ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν πιστοὺς πένητας ἐμακάρισεν. In selecting these two beatitudes Polycarp is guided by the fact that to these two alone the promise of the kingdom of heaven is attached.

III. 'I write these things, not of my own motion, but in answer to your invitation. I am not equal to the blessed Paul who taught you both in person and by letter. From his letters you may learn to build yourself up in faith, hope, and love. Faith is the mother of us all; Love leads the way, and Hope follows. Observing these ye will fulfil the commandment. Whosoever has love is far from sin.'

4. οὐκ ἑμαυτῷ ἐπιτρέψας] 'not giving way to myself', 'not following my own inclination', according to the ordinary sense which attaches

to ἐπιτρέπειν τινί.

5. προεπεκαλέσασθέ] See the introduction, p. 899. The conjectural reading of Zahn, προεπελακτίσασθε, 'ye spurred me on', is ingenious; but as neither προεπιλακτίζειν nor even ἐπιλακτίζειν occurs elsewhere, and as the middle voice is out of place in this verb, we are obliged to fall back on the simpler and better supported reading προεπεκαλέσασθε.

7. κατακολουθῆσαι] 'to follow close upon', 'to tread in the footsteps of', as in Luke xxiii. 55, Acts xvi. 17.

τῇ σοφίᾳ] So 2 Pet. iii. 15 Παῦλος κατὰ τὴν δοθείσαν αὐτῷ σοφίαν κ.τ.λ.

τοῦ μακαρίου] So again § 11, and in Clem. Rom. 47 this epithet is applied to S. Paul. It is however in no way peculiar to him, being used of Ignatius and others (§ 9) and of Polycarp himself (*Mart. Polyc.* i, 19, 21, 22, *Iren. Ep. ad Florin.* in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20). See the note on Clem. Rom. l. c.

8. κατὰ πρόσωπον] 'in presence of', opposed to ἀπὸν in the next sentence; comp. 2 Cor. x. 1 ὃς κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν ταπεινὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀπὸν δὲ θάρρῳ εἰς ὑμᾶς.



πον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐδίδαξεν ἀκριβῶς καὶ βεβαίως  
 10 τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον, ὃς καὶ ἀπὼν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν  
 ἐπιστολάς, εἰς αὐς εἰς ἐγκύπτητε, δυνηθήσεσθε οἰκοδο-  
 μῆσθαι εἰς τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν· ἥτις ἐστὶν  
 μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν, ἐπακολουθούσης τῆς ἐλπίδος,  
 προαγούσης τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς εἰς Θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ  
 15 εἰς τὸν πλησίον. εἰς γὰρ τις τούτων ἐντὸς ἧ, πεπλή-

L; πρὸ ἐπελακίσασθέ με γ; προεπελακίσασθέ με ο; προεπιλακίσασθέ με β; προεπηλακί-  
 σασθέ με ρσν; προσεπηλακίσάτε με s. 6 γὰρ] twice in c. 9 ἀνθρώπων]  
 ἂν (sic) ἀνθρώπων b. 11 δυνηθήσεσθε] δυνηθήσεσθαι p. 12 δοθεῖσαν]  
 δοθήσαν vo. 13 ἡμῶν] νοσφbc L; ἱμῶν ns (but ?), and so some edd. 14 εἰς  
 Θεὸν] πρὸς θεὸν p alone.

11. ἐπιστολάς] For the plural used to designate a single letter see the passages collected in *Philippians* p. 138 sq. So for instance it is used by Maximus, speaking of Polycarp's own epistle; Dion. Areop. *Or.* 11. p. 93 (ed. Corder.) ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολάς ὁ αὐτὸς θεῖος Πολύκαρπος πρὸς Φιλιππίους. On the whole therefore it seems most probable that Polycarp refers solely to the extant canonical Epistle to the Philippians. He may however have *assumed* that the Philippians were still in possession of other letters written by the Apostle; for it is not probable that any such were actually extant when he wrote. Otherwise they would probably have been preserved. The interpretation which supposes him to include the Epistles to the Thessalonians does not commend itself. See the note on ἐπιστολάς as used below, § 13.

ἐγκύπτητε] See the note on Clem. Rom. 40.

12. εἰς] This preposition is used after οἰκοδομῆσθαι in 1 Cor. viii. 10.

πίστιν κ.τ.λ.] We have here S. Paul's triad of Christian graces (1 Cor. xiii. 13).

η ις κ.τ.λ.] From Gal. iv. 26 ἡτις

ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν, in which passage the insertion of πάντων in some texts may have been due to the influence of Polycarp's quotation here. Comp. *Mart. Justin. et Soc.* 4 ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἡμῶν πατὴρ ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ μήτηρ ἡ εἰς αὐτὸν πίστις, quoted by Jacobson and others.

14. προαγούσης] 'going before', in reference to ἐλπίς, not to πίστις, for πίστις precedes ἀγάπη; Ign. *Ephes.* 14 ἀρχὴ μὲν πίστις, τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη (comp. ib. § 9). The proper sequence is 'faith, love, hope', as in 1 Thess. i. 4, Col. i. 4, 5 (comp. Ign. *Polyc.* 6), though this order is sometimes disturbed for a special reason, as in 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

15. τούτων ἐντὸς ἧ] i.e. 'is occupied in these'; comp. Plut. *Vit. Hom.* 6 φανεῖται πάσης λογικῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ τέχνης ἐντὸς γενόμενος, Damoxenus in Athen. iii. p. 102 E πᾶς ὁ φύσεως ἐντὸς 'every student of nature', on which passage Meineke (*Fragm. Com.* iv. p. 534) quotes Sext. Empir. *Adv. Mathem.* i. 155 καὶ ἰδιώται καὶ οἱ παιδείας ἐντὸς.

πεπλήρωκεν κ.τ.λ.] A reminiscence of Rom. xiii. 8, 10; comp. Gal. v. 14.

ρωκεν ἐντολὴν δικαιοσύνης· ὁ γὰρ ἔχων ἀγάπην μακραί  
ἐστὶν πάσης ἀμαρτίας.

IV. Ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαργυρία.  
εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰσενέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον,  
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι ἔχομεν, ὅπλισώμεθα τοῖς 5  
ὅπλοις τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ διδάξωμεν ἑαυτοὺς πρῶτον  
πορεύεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐντολῇ τοῦ Κυρίου· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς  
γυναῖκας ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ δοθείσῃ αὐταῖς πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ

3 χαλεπῶν] G; *malorum* (κακῶν) L from 1 Tim. vi. 10. 5 οὐδὲ] οὐδ'  
fr. ὅπλισώμεθα] ὀπλησώμεθα νο\* (but corr ο\*\*). 6 διδάξωμεν] νοφρ;  
διδαξώμεθα cbn. 8 δοθείσῃ] δοθήσει νο. 12 περὶ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου  
πίστιν ἐντυγχανούσας] om. b. 13 ἀδιαλείπτως] ἀδιαλήπτως b. 14 διαβολῆς  
νο\*bcn; διαβολικῆς ο\*\*fr; *diabolicis* (*detractiōnibus*) L. Here, as elsewhere, the

IV. 'Above all things avoid covetousness. We brought nothing into the world and can carry nothing out. Let us therefore put on the armour of righteousness. Teach your wives to live in faith and love and purity, cherishing their husbands, and showing kindness to all men, and to train their children in godliness. Let the widows pray without ceasing and avoid all malice and covetousness, remembering that they are God's altar and that the offerings there made are scanned by His all-seeing eye, which the most secret thoughts cannot escape.'

3. Ἀρχὴ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] Taken from 1 Tim. vi. 10 *ρίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶν ἡ φιλαργυρία*.

φιλαργυρία] The mention of covetousness seems very abrupt; but its introduction is explained by the sin of Valens mentioned below, § 11. Hence the repeated warnings against φιλαργυρία, not only here and just below, but also §§ 2, 6.

4. οὐδὲν εἰσενέγκαμεν κ.τ.λ.] This quotation is from the context of the last; 1 Tim. vi. 7 *οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰσενέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον [δῆλον] ὅτι οὐδὲ*

*ἐξενεγκεῖν τι δυνάμεθα*. It has a parallel in Seneca *Ep. Mor.* cii. 25 'non licet plus efferre quam intuleris'.

5. ὅπλισώμεθα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Ephes. vi. 13 sq., Rom. xiii. 12. The expression ὅπλα δικαιοσύνης occurs in Rom. vi. 13.

7. τὰς γυναῖκας] sc. διδάξωμεν (or rather διδάξατε) πορεύεσθαι ἐν τῇ κ.τ.λ.

8. ὑμῶν] If the reading be correct, we may with Zahn and others infer from the occurrence of ὑμῶν, where we should expect ἡμῶν, that Polycarp was unmarried.

9. στεργούσας] Clem. Rom. 1 *στεργοῦσας καθηκόντως τοὺς ἄνδρας ἑαυτῶν*. The word is changed into ἀγαπώσας in the next clause, because the relations are less intimate in the latter case; comp. Dion. Cass. xlv. 48 *ἐφιλήσατε αὐτὸν ὡς πατέρα καὶ ἡγαπήσατε ὡς εὐεργέτην*, Xen. *Mem.* ii. 7. 12 *αἱ μὲν ὡς κηδεμόνα ἐφίλου*, ὁ δὲ ὡς ὠφελίμους ἡγάπα, passages quoted in Trench's *New Testament Synonymys* § xii (p. 40).

10. ἀληθεία] 'fidelity, constancy'; comp. Ign. *Polyc.* 7 *εἰδὼς ὑμῶν τὸ σύντονον τῆς ἀληθείας*, with the note.

πάντας ἐξ Ἰσοῦ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Clem.

καὶ ἀγνεῖα, στεργούσας τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας ἐν πάσῃ  
 10 ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ἀγαπώσας πάντας ἐξ ἴσου ἐν πάσῃ ἐγκρα-  
 τεῖα, καὶ τὰ τέκνα παιδεύειν τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου  
 τοῦ Θεοῦ· τὰς χήρας σωφρονούσας περὶ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου  
 πίστιν, ἐντυγχανούσας ἀδιαλείπτως περὶ πάντων, μα-  
 15 κρὰν οὔσας πάσης διαβολῆς, καταλαλιᾶς, ψευδομαρ-  
 τυρίας, φιλαργυρίας, καὶ παντὸς κακοῦ· γινωσκούσας  
 ὅτι εἰς θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πάντα μωμοσκο-

corrector of o has had L before him, and fp have followed o.

16 θυσιασ-

τήριον] θυσιαστήρια c alone, and so the earlier edd.

πάντα μωμοσκοπεῖται]

vs; πανταμῶμω (sic) σκοπεῖται c; πάντα μωμοσκοπεῖται (sic) n; πάντα μῶμω σκο-  
 πεῖται f (with μόμος in the marg.) o (μῶμος o\*\* in marg.) b; πάντα μόμος σκοπεῖται p.

Rom. 21 [αἱ γυναῖκες] τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτῶν  
 μὴ κατὰ προσκλίσεις ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς  
 φοβουμένοις τὸν Θεὸν ὁσίως ἴσῃν παρ-  
 εχέτωσαν· τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ  
 παιδείας μεταλαμβάνετωσαν.

11. τὴν παιδείαν κ.τ.λ.] Clem.  
 Rom. 21 τοὺς νέους παιδεύσωμεν τὴν  
 παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου τοῦ Θεοῦ: comp.  
 Ecclus. i. 27 σοφία καὶ παιδεία φόβος  
 Κυρίου.

12. τὰς χήρας] It seems clear that  
 Polycarp is here referring to the  
 office or order of widows, both from  
 the expressions used (περὶ τὴν τοῦ  
 Κυρίου πίστιν, ἐντυγχανούσας ἀδιαλείπ-  
 τως, θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ) and from the  
 position which they occupy imme-  
 diately before the deacons and priests.  
 See the notes on Ign. *Smyrn.* 13.

σωφρονούσας κ.τ.λ.] Their re-  
 ligion must not be a frenzy of fanati-  
 cism, but a calm confidence. It  
 would appear from this expression  
 that they were entrusted with some  
 functions of teaching.

13. ἐντυγχανούσας κ.τ.λ.] 1 Tim.  
 v. 5 ἡ δὲ ὄντως χήρα...προσμένει ταῖς  
 δεήσεσιν καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς νυκτὸς καὶ  
 ἡμέρας.

14. διαβολῆς] So 1 Tim. iii. 11

γυναῖκας [διακόνους] ὡσαύτως σεμνάς,  
 μὴ διαβόλους; comp. Tit. ii. 3.

16. θυσιαστήριον] Comp. *Apost.*  
*Const.* ii. 26 αἱ τε χῆραι καὶ [οἱ] ὀρ-  
 φανοὶ ὑμῶν εἰς τύπον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου  
 λελογίσθωσαν ὑμῖν, αἱ τε παρθένοι εἰς  
 τύπον τοῦ θυμιατηρίου τετιμῆσθωσαν  
 καὶ τοῦ θυμιάματος, iv. 3 θυσιαστήριον  
 γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ λελογισμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ  
 τιμηθήσεται, ἀόκνως ὑπὲρ τῶν διδόντων  
 αὐτῷ διηνεκῶς προσευχόμενος (of the  
 orphans, the aged, etc., who are sup-  
 ported by the alms of the Church),  
 Tertull. *ad Ux.* i. 7 'cum viduam  
 adlegi in ordinem, nisi univiram, non  
 concedat; aram enim Dei mundam  
 proponi oportet,' Method. *Symf.* v.  
 6 sq. (p. 27 sq., Jahn) θυσιαστήριον  
 ἀναίμακτον εἶναι παρεδόθη Θεοῦ τὸ  
 ἄθροισμα τῶν ἀγνῶν· οὕτω μέγα τι  
 χρῆμα καὶ ἔνδοξον ἡ παρθενία φαίνεται  
 (accordingly he proceeds to give a  
 spiritual meaning to all the direc-  
 tions respecting the altar in Exod.  
 xxx. 1 sq., as applying to virginity),  
 Ps-Ign. *Tars.* 9 τὰς ἐν σεμνότητι  
 χήρας ὡς θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ. See also  
 more or less analogous figurative  
 meanings of θυσιαστήριον in Ign.  
*Ephes.* 5, *Magn.* 7, *Trall.* 7, *Rom.* 2,



πεῖται, καὶ λέληθεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε λογισμῶν οὔτε ἐννοιῶν, οὔτε τι τῶν κρυπτῶν τῆς καρδίας.

V. Εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι Θεὸς οὐ μκκτηρίζεται, ὀφείλομεν ἀξίως τῆς ἐντολῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δόξης περιπατεῖν. ὁμοίως διάκονοι ἄμεμπτοι κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ τῆς δικαιο- 5  
σύνης, ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων· μὴ διάβολοι, μὴ δίλογοι, ἀφιλάργυροι, ἐγκρατεῖς περὶ πάντα, εὐσπλαγχοι, ἐπιμελεῖς, πορευόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Κυρίου, ὃς ἐγένετο ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ. ὃ εἰ ἐὰν εὐαρεστήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, ἀποληψόμεθα 10

1 λέληθεν] λέλυθεν n.

ἔτι b; *neque aliquod* L.

Χριστοῦ] GL Sev (Cureton *C. I.* p. 214); ἐν Χριστῷ Halloix, followed by many subsequent edd.

7 δίλογοι] νοῖον; δίγλωσσοι bc; *detractores* L.

8 εὐσπλαγχοι] εὐσπλαγχοι f.

10 ἀποληψόμεθα] ἀπολειψόμεθα vo\*, but corr. o\*\*, and hence sp have it correctly.

2 οὔτε τι] οὔτε τι vc; οὐ τέ τι ofps; οὔτε τι n; οὔτ

3 μκκτηρίζεται] μοικτειρίζεται vo\*fp.

6 καὶ

11 καθὼς] καθὰ b alone.

12 πολιτευσόμεθα]

*Philad.* 4, with the notes, especially on the first passage (p. 44).

They themselves are the altar; their thoughts, words, and deeds, more especially their prayers, are the sacrifices offered. Every such sacrifice is inspected by God Himself. He detects the blemishes, and rejects the faulty offerings. For the image of the sacrifice see the notes on *Phil.* ii. 17, iv. 18, *Clem. Rom.* 41, 44.

μωμοσκοπεῖται] ‘are examined with a view to detecting blemishes’; comp. *Clem. Rom.* 41 προσφέρεται... ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον μωμοσκοπηθὲν τὸ προσφερόμενον, with the note.

1. καὶ λέληθεν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Clem. Rom.* 21 οὐδὲν λέληθεν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐννοιῶν ἡμῶν οὐδὲ τῶν διαλογισμῶν ὧν ποιούμεθα, with the notes on the context there.

2. τῶν κρυπτῶν κ.τ.λ.] 1 *Cor.* xiv. 25; comp. 1 *Cor.* iv. 5.

V. ‘Let us remember that God is not mocked, and let us walk holily. The deacons must be blameless, not tale-bearers nor covetous, but sober, compassionate, diligent, after the pattern of Christ, who was the chief of deacons. We must please God in the present life, that He may bestow upon us the future life. They that are true citizens of Christ’s kingdom now shall themselves be kings with Him hereafter. The younger men also must be chaste and restrain their passions. Lust warreth against the spirit. No profligate person shall inherit the kingdom of God. Let them also be subject to the presbyters and deacons. The virgins too must keep their conscience blameless and pure.’

3. Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.] From *Gal.* vi. 7.

5. ὁμοίως διάκονοι] The instructions here given are suggested by 1 *Tim.* iii. 1—13 διακόνους ὡσαύτως κ.τ.λ., from which passage also the

καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα, καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγεῖραι ἡμᾶς  
 ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν πολιτευώμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ, εἶγε πιστεύομεν. ὁ-  
 μοίως καὶ νεώτεροι ἄμεμπτοι ἐν πᾶσιν, πρὸ παντὸς  
 15 προνοοῦντες ἀγνείας καὶ χαλιναγωγοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ  
 παντὸς κακοῦ. καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀνακόπτεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι πᾶσα ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ  
 πνεύματος στρατεύεται, καὶ οὔτε πόρνοι οὔτε μα-  
 λᾶκοι οὔτε ἀρσενοκοῖται βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρο-  
 20 νομήσουσιν, οὔτε οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἄτοπα. διὸ δέον

πολιτευόμεθα b.

13 συμβασιλεύσομεν] sp (comp. 2 Tim. ii. 12); *regnabimus*

L; συμβασιλεύσωμεν vobcn.

14 πᾶσιν] vo; πᾶσι fpbcn.

πρὸ παντὸς προ-

νοοῦντες] πρὸς πάντα προνοοῦντες s.

15 ἀγνείας] *ignorantiam* (ἀγνοίας)

L.

16 ἀνακόπτεσθαι] G; *abscindi* L. Halloix has ἀνακύντεσθαι, and is fol-

lowed by some later edd.

17 ἐν] τῶν ἐν v (Dressel) alone.

19 ἀρσeno-

κοῖται] ἀρσenoκείται c.

κληρονομήσουσιν] κληρονομίσουσιν p.

words are in part borrowed.

6. ὡς Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Ign. *Smyrn.* 10 ὡς διακόνους [Χριστοῦ] Θεοῦ, with the note. See also the note on *Magn.* 6 (p. 120).

7. δίλογοι] Perhaps ‘*tale-bearers*,’ rather than ‘*double-tongued*’ (δί-γλωσσοι), as it is generally taken. So too in 1 Tim. iii. 8.

8. εὐσπλαγχνοι] ‘*tender-hearted*,’ as below § 6; comp. Ephes. iv. 32, 1 Pet. iii. 8. The classical meaning of εὐσπλαγχνία is ‘*courage*,’ Eur. *Rhes.* 192.

9. διάκονος πάντων] Matt. xx. 28 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονῆσαι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι. The expression itself is taken from Mark ix. 35, πάντων διάκονος, where however it is not directly applied to our Lord.

12. ἐὰν κ.τ.λ.] i.e. ‘If we perform our duties as simple citizens of His kingdom, we shall be promoted to a share of His sovereignty.’

πολιτευώμεθα κ.τ.λ.] Clem. Rom.

21 ἐὰν μὴ ἀξίως αὐτοῦ πολιτευόμενοι τὰ καλὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ποιῶμεν, a passage which Polycarp evidently has in his mind; comp. Phil. i. 27.

13. καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν] From 2 Tim. ii. 12, where S. Paul seems to be quoting from some Christian hymn or formula.

15. χαλιναγωγοῦντες] See James i. 26, iii. 2, *Hermas Mand.* xii.

16. ἀνακόπτεσθαι] ‘*to be checked, held back*.’ This is doubtless the right reading; see the note on Gal. v. 7.

τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν] 1 Pet. ii. 11 ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, αἵτινες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, Gal. v. 17 ἡ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος.

18. οὔτε πόρνοι κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

20. τὰ ἄτοπα] ‘*perverse things, iniquities*.’ For ἄτοπα (ἄτοπον) ποιεῖν (πράττειν) see Job xxvii. 6, xxxiv. 12,

ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων, ὑποτασσομένους τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ὡς Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ· τὰς παρθένους ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ ἀγνῇ συνειδήσει περιπατεῖν.

VI. Καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ εὖσπλαγχοι, εἰς πάντας ἐλεήμονες, ἐπιστρέφοντες τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα, ἐπι- 5 σκεπτόμενοι πάντας ἀσθενεῖς, μὴ ἀμελοῦντες χήρας ἢ ὀρφανοῦ ἢ πένητος, ἀλλὰ προνοοῦντες αἰεὶ τοῦ καλοῦ ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης ὀργῆς, προσωποληψίας, κρίσεως ἀδίκου, μακράν

5 ἀποπεπλανημένα] ἀποπλανημένα νο.  
ληψίας νο.

11 ὀφειλέται] ὀφίλειταις c (but s erased).

9 προσωποληψίας] προσοπω-  
15 δεῖ] δι᾽ ν.

Prov. xxx. 20 (xxiv. 55), 2 Macc. xiv. 23, Luke xxiii. 41.

2. ὡς Θεῷ κ.τ.λ.] See the note on Ign. *Magn.* 6. The contrast to the language of Ignatius is not less significant than the resemblance. It is the 'bishops,' not the presbyters, who stand in God's place in Ignatius. Either therefore there was no bishop at Philippi when Polycarp wrote, or Polycarp did not think fit to separate his claims to allegiance from those of the presbyters.

VI. 'The presbyters also must be tender and pitiful, bringing home the strayed sheep, watching over the sickly, taking care of the widow and orphan and the poor man. Let them have regard to what is good in the sight of God and men, shunning all unrighteousness and malice, abstaining from covetousness, not credulous or harsh in their judgments of others, as conscious of their own infirmities. We must forgive, if we would be forgiven; for all alike will stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. So then let us serve Him in all godliness according to the teaching of the Apostles and the Prophets, holding aloof from all false brethren and hypo-

crites and deceivers.'

5. τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα] sc. πρόβατα 'the strayed sheep'; Ezek. xxxiv. 3, 4 τὰ πρόβατά μου οὐ βόσχετε, τὸ ἡσθενηκὸς οὐκ ἐνισχύσατε...καὶ τὸ πλανώμενον οὐκ ἐπεστρέψατε (v. l. ἀπεστρέψατε), 1 Pet. ii. 25 ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενα, ἀλλ' ἐπεστράφητε νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ποιμένα κ.τ.λ., comp. Ecclus. xviii. 13 διδάσκων καὶ ἐπιστρέφων ὡς ποιμὴν τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ. The word πρόβατα therefore would naturally be supplied by the readers of the letter. So too Iren. i. 8. 4; αὐτὸν ἐληλυθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ πεπλανημένον, *Apost. Const.* ii. 20 κατευθύνων τὸ πεπλανημένον, ἐπιστρέφων τὸ ἀφεστὸς, and again ζητῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ πεπλανημένον. The strayed and lost sheep of the parable (Matt. xviii. 12 sq., Luke xv. 4 sq.) had an important place in some Gnostic systems (Iren. i. 8. 4, i. 16. 1; Hippol. *Hær.* vii. 52, p. 218); and Simon Magus more especially brought it into prominence by identifying it with his Helena (Hippol. *Hær.* vi. 19, p. 174).

ἐπισκεπτόμενοι] Ezek. xxxiv. 11 ἐκζητήσω τὰ πρόβατά μου καὶ ἐπισκέψομαι αὐτά; comp. Zech. x. 3. It



10 ὄντες πάσης φιλαργυρίας, μὴ ταχέως πιστεύοντες κατὰ  
 τινος, μὴ ἀπότομοι ἐν κρίσει, εἰδότες ὅτι πάντες ὀφει-  
 λέται ἐσμέν ἁμαρτίας. εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα τοῦ Κυρίου ἵνα  
 ἡμῖν ἀφῇ, ὀφείλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέναι· ἀπέναντι γὰρ  
 τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἐσμέν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ πάντας  
 15 δεῖ παραστῆναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἕκαστον  
 ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δοῖναι. οὕτως οὖν δουλεύσωμεν  
 αὐτῷ μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας, καθὼς αὐτὸς  
 ἐνετείλατο καὶ οἱ εὐαγγελιστάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἀπόστολοι καὶ  
 οἱ προφήται οἱ προκηρύξαντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ Κυρίου

16 ἑαυτοῦ] bcn; αὐτοῦ vofp.  
 προφήται (om. οἱ) fp.

18 ἡμᾶς] bcns L; ὑμᾶς vofp.

19 οἱ προφήται]

has therefore a *pastoral* significance.

6. χήρας ἢ ὀρφάνου] See the note on Ign. *Smyrn.* 6.

7. προνοῦντες κ.τ.λ.] 2 Cor. viii. 21 προνοοῦμεν γὰρ καλὰ οὐ μόνον ἐνώπιον Κυρίου ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώπιον ἀνθρώπων; comp. Rom. xiii. 17. For the genitive after προνοεῖν comp. 1 Tim. v. 8, and above § 5.

11. ἀπότομοι] ‘sharp,’ ‘hasty.’ So κρίσις ἀπότομος Wisd. vi. 6, in which book the word occurs several times.

ὀφειλέται κ.τ.λ.] ‘Retro spectanti dicere licet quod prospicienti negandum est Rom. viii. 12’, Zahn. The meaning seems to be, ‘We have put ourselves under the power of sin (comp. Rom. iii. 9), we have contracted obligations to sin.’ On the probability that Polycarp is here quoting from some previous writer, see the note on εἰδότες ὅτι in § 1.

12. εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα κ.τ.λ.] An obvious reference to the Lord’s prayer, Matt. vi. 12, 14, 15; comp. Matt. xviii. 35.

14. πάντας κ.τ.λ.] Rom. xiv. 10 πάντες γὰρ παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ (v. l. τοῦ Χριστοῦ), 2 Cor. v.

10 τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος κ.τ.λ. We have here a combination of both passages.

16. λόγον δοῦναι] A carrying out of the metaphor of ὀφειλέτης; comp. Rom. xiv. 12 ἄρα [οὖν] ἕκαστος ἡμῶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον [ἀπο]δώσει τῷ Θεῷ.

δουλεύσωμεν] See Ps. ii. 11, quoted above § 2; comp. Heb. xii. 28 λατρεύωμεν εὐαρέστως τῷ Θεῷ μετὰ εὐλαβείας καὶ δέους (the correct reading).

18. εὐαγγελιστάμενοι ἡμᾶς] So Polycarp’s pupil Irenæus speaks of him, *Hær.* iii. 3. 4 οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐωρακόσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν κ.τ.λ., and lower down ταῦτα διδάξας ἀεὶ ἂ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔμαθεν κ.τ.λ.; again in the *Letter to Florinus* Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20 τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννου συναναστροφὴν ὡς ἀπήγγελλε καὶ τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐωρακότων τὸν Κύριον.

19. προκηρύξαντες κ.τ.λ.] Acts vii. 52 τοὺς προκαταγγέλαντας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου; comp. Ign. *Philad.* 5, 9.

ἡμῶν, ζηλωταὶ περὶ τὸ καλόν, ἀπεχόμενοι τῶν σκανδάλων καὶ τῶν ψευδαδέλφων καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑποκρίσει φερόντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου, οἵτινες ἀποπλανῶσι κενοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

VII. Πᾶς γάρ, ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν. καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν· καὶ ὃς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ λέγει μήτε

1 τῶν σκανδάλων] vofp; σκανδάλων (om. τῶν) cbn. 5 ὁμολογῇ] ofbsh; ὁμολογεῖ vr; ὁμολογῇ (altered into ὁμολογεῖν) c. Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν...μὴ ὁμολογῇ] om. fr. 7 μαρτύριον] GS (Zingerle *Mon. Syr.* i. p. 1) L (but some MSS *mysterium* for *martyrium*; comp. the v.l. in 1 Cor. ii. 1). 8 ὃς ἂν] οἱ (sic) ἂν b. μεθοδεύῃ] μεθοδεύει vo. τοῦ Κυρίου] GL; *dei* S. 9 λέγει]

1. [ζηλωταὶ κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. iii. 13 τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ζηλωταὶ (the correct reading), Tit. ii. 14.

2. τῶν ἐν ὑποκρίσει κ.τ.λ.] Ign. *Ephes.* 7 ἐν δόλῳ πονηρῷ τὸ ὄνομα περιφέρειν, 1 Tim. iv. 2 ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων.

VII. 'He who disallows the incarnation is Antichrist; he who rejects the testimony of the Cross is of the devil; he who denies the resurrection and the judgment, is of Satan. Flee from all false teaching; be instant in fasting and prayer; entreat God to deliver you from temptation. The spirit may be willing, but the flesh is weak.'

5. πᾶς γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] Polycarp is echoing the words of his apostolic teacher, 1 Joh. iv. 2—4, where however the words Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα in ver. 3 are probably interpolated from ver. 2; comp. also 2 Joh. 7. The reference is to the errors of Docetism, which is so constantly attacked in the contemporary Epistles of Ignatius.

7. τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ] What is the testimony of the cross? Is the

genitive subjective or objective—the witness borne by, or the witness borne to, the Cross? Probably the former. Perhaps it refers especially to the piercing of the side and the issue of blood and water (Joh. xix. 34), as a proof of the reality of Christ's crucified body. Polycarp's master, S. John, when he relates it, lays special stress on the fact as a *testimony*, ὃ ἑωρακὸς μεμαρτύρηκεν καὶ ἀληθινὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία; comp. 1 Joh. v. 6—8. At all events Polycarp seems to be adducing the Cross, as a witness against the Docetics; comp. Ign. *Ephes.* 18, *Trall.* 11, *Philad.* 8, *Smyrn.* 1, with the notes.

ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν] 1 Joh. iii. 8; comp. Joh. viii. 44 ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστέ.

8. μεθοδεύῃ] '*tamper with*,' '*pervert*'; comp. Philo *Vit. Moys.* iii. 27 (p. 167) ὅπερ μεθοδεύουσιν οἱ λογοθῆραι καὶ σοφισταί, and for the construction with πρὸς, Polyb. xxxviii. 4. 10 πολλὰ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐμπορεύων καὶ μεθοδεύόμενος. So μεθοδεία, Ephes. iv. 14, vi. 11; and μέθοδος, Plut. *Mor.* 176 A ἐθαύμαζε τὴν

10 ἀνάστασιν μήτε κρίσιν, οὗτος πρωτότοκός ἐστι τοῦ  
 Κατανᾶ. διὸ ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολ-  
 λῶν καὶ τὰς ψευδοδιδασκαλίας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν  
 παραδοθέντα λόγον ἐπιστρέψωμεν, νήφοντες πρὸς  
 τὰς ἐσχάτας καὶ προσκαρτεροῦντες νηστείαις, δεήσεσιν  
 15 αἰτούμενοι τὸν παντεπόπτην Θεὸν μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν  
 ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· τὸ μὲν  
 πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἄσθενής.

νορε; λέγει bns; dixerit L.

est iudicium S; κρίσιν εἶναι edd.

νορ (an itacism); see above § 2.

ἐπιστρέψωμεν p.

14 προσκαρτεροῦντες] προσκαρτες v (the missing letters be-  
 ing filled in later). In o a space has been left after προσκαρ- and the letters in-  
 serted apparently afterwards.

rogantes s.

15 παντεπόπτην] GL; dominum omnium S.

10 κρίσιν] txt G; iudicium esse L; quod...

11 ἀπολιπόντες] cbn; ἀπολειπόντες (sic)

12 τὸν] τῶν f. 13 ἐπιστρέψωμεν]

δεήσεσιν αἰτούμενοι] GL; et petitione et

rogantes s.

μέθοδον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

8. τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου.] The work of Papias bore the title *Λογιῶν Κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως* (Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 39; see *Contemporary Review*, August, 1875, p. 399); comp. Clem. Alex. *Quis Div. Salv.* 3, p. 936. It was natural that Polycarp, who had conversed with Apostles and personal disciples of Christ, and was in the habit of appealing to these conversations, should, like Papias, refer to our Lord's discourses as λόγια, which might include oral traditions, rather than as ἀπομνημονεύματα with Justin, or εὐαγγέλια with later writers. The word μεθοδεύη refers to perverse interpretations; comp. Iren. i. praef. 1 ῥαδιουργοῦντες τὰ λόγια Κυρίου, ἐξηγῆται κακοὶ τῶν καλῶς εἰρημένων γινόμενοι, quoted by Zahn.

9. λέγει] For the change to the indicative in the adversative clause comp. Ps-Ign. *Philad.* 6.

μήτε ἀνάστασιν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 2 Tim. ii. 18, and see the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 9. Though not necessarily Docetic, this error was akin

to Docetism and arose from the same religious temper.

10. πρωτότοκός κ.τ.λ.] This is the same expression which Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 3. 4; comp. Euseb. *H.E.* iv. 14) reports Polycarp as using of Marcion at a later date.

11. τῶν πολλῶν] So above, § 2 ἀπολιπόντες τὴν κενὴν ματαιολογίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πλάνην. The same expression is used by Papias in a similar connexion, Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 39 οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί; comp. Matt. xxiv. 12, 2 Cor. ii. 17.

12. τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κ.τ.λ.] Jude 3 τῇ ᾧπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἀγίοις πίστει.

13. νήφοντες κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. iv. 7 νήψατε εἰς προσευχάς.

15. παντεπόπτην] A word borrowed from Clement of Rome, §§ 55, 58 (64); see the note on § 55.

μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν κ.τ.λ.] Another reference (see above, § 6) to the Lord's prayer (Matt. vi. 13, Luke xi. 4).

16. τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.] Word for word from Matt. xxvi. 44 (Mark xiv.



VIII. Ἀδιαλείπτως οὖν προσκαρτερώμεν τῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ ἁρραβῶνι τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡμῶν, ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὃς ἀνῆνεγκεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδέ ἐγρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι 5 ἀγτοῦ· ἀλλὰ δι' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ζήσωμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, πάντα ὑπέμεινεν. μιμηταὶ οὖν γενώμεθα τῆς ὑπομονῆς [αὐτοῦ]· καὶ ἐὰν πάσχωμεν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, δοξάζωμεν

I Ἀδιαλείπτως] ἀδιαλήπτως b. 6 αὐτοῦ] csbs; om. vofp. In n it is omitted in the text but added with an ἴσως in the marg. 8 πάσχωμεν] πάσχομεν v, and so app. o\*, but corr. πάσχωμεν o\*\*. δοξάζωμεν] cbns o\*\*f L; δοξάζομεν vo\*p. II τῷ λόγῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης] GL; om. Eus. H. E. iii. 36. 12 ὑπομονήν] ὑπομέ-

38), where it is introduced by the words γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς πειρασμόν. Polycarp evidently has this context in view here.

VIII. 'Let us cleave steadfastly to Jesus Christ our hope. He bore His cross patiently; He was without sin and without guile; He suffered all things for our sakes. Let us therefore follow Him and suffer gladly for His name, if need be, for He has given us an example.'

1. τῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν] See the note on Ign. *Magn.* 11.

2. τῷ ἁρραβῶνι] 'the pledge'; i.e. Christ's life and death are the earnest and assurance of our righteousness, our justification, which is begun in Him now and will be completed hereafter. Thus ἁρραβῶν is used in its proper sense, as in 2 Cor. i. 22, v. 5, Ephes. i. 14.

ὅς] See the note on Ign. *Magn.* 7.

3. ὃς ἀνῆνεγκεν κ.τ.λ.] Quoted with slight variations from 1 Pet. ii. 24.

4. ὃς ἁμαρτίαν κ.τ.λ.] Word for word from 1 Pet. ii. 22.

6. δι' ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. ii. 21,

24, Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν...ἵνα ζήσωμεν, 1 Joh. iv. 9 ἵνα ζήσωμεν δι' αὐτοῦ, Ign. *Polyc.* 3 τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα.

7. μιμηταὶ οὖν κ.τ.λ.] The rest of this paragraph is suggested by the context of the same passage in S. Peter, where the Apostle enforces the duty of ὑπομονή, using the same word ὑπογραμμός (ver. 21), and contrasts the suffering in a good cause with the suffering for faults committed. To another part of the context (ver. 25) Polycarp has already alluded in the beginning of § 6.

8. καὶ ἐὰν κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. iv. 16 εἰ δὲ ὡς Χριστιανός (πάσχει), μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω, δοξαζέτω δὲ τὸν Θεόν. The reading δοξάζωμεν therefore is to be preferred to δοξάζομεν, though either would make sense.

9. ὑπογραμμὸν] See the note on Clem. Rom. 5.

IX. 'Therefore be obedient and practise patient endurance such as ye saw in Ignatius and Rufus and others from among yourselves, yea in Paul himself and in the other Apostles. All these have won the prize. They have gone to their own place: for they loved not the pre-

αὐτόν. τοῦτον γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἔθηκε δι'  
10 ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο ἐπιστεύσαμεν.

IX. Παρακαλῶ οὖν πάντας ὑμᾶς πειθαρχεῖν τῷ  
λόγῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀσκεῖν πᾶσαν ὑπομονήν, ἣν  
καὶ εἶδατε κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς μακαρίοις  
'Ιγνατίῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ καὶ 'Ρούφῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις  
15 τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς  
ἀποστόλοις· πεπεισμένους ὅτι οὗτοι πάντες οὐκ εἰς

νειν νο. ἦν καὶ] ἦν (om. καὶ) Eus. 13 εἶδατε] ἴδατε νο\*; εἶδετε bcno\*\*fp Eus.  
(edd.). 14 Ζωσίμῳ καὶ 'Ρούφῳ] GL; 'Ρούφῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ Eus. 15 ἐν αὐτῷ]  
vofpL Eus.; αὐτῷ (om. ἐν) cbn. ὑμῶν] vofpbn Eus.; ἡμῶν c; nobis L.  
λοιποῖς] ἄλλοις νο\* (but corr. o\*\*) alone. 16 πεπεισμένους] vofpn (but  
resembling -νοῖς) Eus.; πεπεισμένοις b; πεπεισμένων c.

sent world, but Him who died and rose for us.'

11. τῷ λόγῳ κ.τ.λ.] Heb. v. 13 λόγον δικαιοσύνης.

13. μακαρίοις] See the note on § 3.

14. Ζωσίμῳ] Zosimus and Rufus have a place in the *Martyrol. Roman.* p. 844 (Colon. 1610) under Dec. 18, 'Philippis in Macedonia natalis sanctorum martyrum Rufi et Zosimi, qui ex eo numero discipulorum fuerunt, per quos primitiva ecclesia in Judaeis et Graecis fundata est; de quorum etiam felici agone scribit S. Polycarpus in Epistola ad Philippenses,' following earlier Latin Martyrologies. From the connexion of names however it may fairly be inferred that they did not suffer at Philippi itself, but belonged to that company of martyrs (mentioned in § 1) whom the Philippians received in passing and escorted on their way to Rome. Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 292 sq.) suggests that they may have been Bithynian Christians who joined the saint at Philippi or Neapolis and were carried with him to Rome, having been sent thither by Pliny; Plin. *Epist.* 97 'Fue-

runt alii similis amentiae; quos, quia cives Romani erant, adnotavi in urbem remittendos.' The Latin Martyrologies obviously know of them only from this notice in Polycarp, which they interpret in their own way. Both names, Zosimus and Rufus, are fairly common. They both appear in the same inscriptions in Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 192, 244, 1969, 3664. In no. 1969, at Thessalonica, the name Valens also found in Polycarp's Epistle (§ 11) occurs. So also we meet with the three names on different tablets of the same Latin inscription, *C.I.L.* III. 633, at Philippi itself. The Rufus of Polycarp is possibly the same who is mentioned in Rom. xvi. 13, and this latter again may with some degree of probability be identified with the son of Simon the Cyrenian and brother of Alexander (Mark xv. 21); but the name is not rare.

15. τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν] Philippi was a persecuted church even in the time of S. Paul: *Phil.* i. 7, 28—30, comp. 2 Cor. viii. 2.

16. οὐκ εἰς κενὸν κ.τ.λ.] From Phil. ii. 16; comp. Gal. ii. 2.

κενὸν ἔδραμον, ἀλλ' ἐν πίστει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰσι παρὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ, ᾧ καὶ συνέπαθον. οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἡγάπησαν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναστάντα.

5

[X. 'Εν τούτοις οὖν στήκετε, τῷ ὑποδείγματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἀκολουθοῦντες, ἐδραῖοι τῇ πίστει καὶ ἀμετακίνητοι, τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους

X. In his ergo state et Domini exemplar sequimini, *firmi in fide et immutabiles, fraternitatis amatores diligentes invicem*, in 10

2 τῷ Κυρίῳ] G; κυρίῳ Eus. 3 νῦν] νοῦν c (but corr. in marg.). 4 δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ] Here the mss of G fail us, running into the Epistle of Barnabas § 5 τὸν λαὸν κ.τ.λ. The remaining three words of the sentence are from Eus. l. c. 8 immutabiles] *inmitabiles* t; *imitabiles* v. 10 invicem] om. m alone. 11 mansuetudine] *mansuetudinem*, all the mss apparently. Yet I have altered without scruple, such errors being very common: e.g. in the Vulg. of Rom. xii. 10

2. εἰς] For this preposition after εἶναι see the note on Ign. *Rom.* i εἰς τέλος εἶναι.

τὸν ὀφειλόμενον κ.τ.λ.] An expression derived from Clem. *Rom.* 5, where it is used of S. Peter.

παρὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ] See the note on Phil. i. 23.

3. συνέπαθον] *Rom.* viii. 17 εἴπερ συνπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν.

τὸν νῦν κ.τ.λ.] The expression is from 2 Tim. iv. 10.

4. τὸν ὑπὲρ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 2 Cor. v. 15, 1 Thess. v. 10; and especially Ign. *Rom.* 6 ἐκείνον ζητῶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα, ἐκείνον θέλω τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀναστάντα.

X. 'Follow the example of Christ. Be firm in the faith; be kindly, affectionate, and helpful one to another; despise no man. Do good, while you can. Submit one to another. So live, that your good works may be manifest to the Gentiles, and that Christ's name may not be blas-

phemed through you. Teach all men to be sober, even as ye yourselves walk.'

8. *firmi in fide* etc] 1 Cor. xv. 58 ἐδραῖοι γίνεσθε, ἀμετακίνητοι, Col. i. 23 τῇ πίστει τεθεμελιωμένοι καὶ ἐδραῖοι καὶ μὴ μετακινούμενοι κ.τ.λ., Ign. *Ephes.* 10 ὑμεῖς ἐδραῖοι τῇ πίστει (comp. *Polyc.* 3).

9. *fraternitatis amatores*] 1 Pet. ii. 17 τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε (comp. iii. 8); see however the note on 'alterutri praestolantes' below.

10. *in veritate*] It may be a question whether these words should not be connected with the preceding clause, as in 2 Joh. 1, 3 Joh. 1, ἀγαπῶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. In this case 'mansuetudine Domini' would be attached to 'sociati.'

11. *mansuetudine Domini*] 2 Cor. x. 1 τῆς πραύτητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ; comp. Ign. *Philad.* 1 ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιεικείᾳ Θεοῦ, *Ephes.* 10 ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν εὐρεθῶμεν τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ, μιμη-



veritate sociati, mansuetudine Domini alterutri *praestolantes*, nullum despicientes. *Cum potestis beneficere*, nolite differre, quia *Eleemosyna de morte liberat*. *Omnes vobis invicem subiecti estote, conversationem vestram irreprehensibilem*

φιλόστοργοι, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ κοινωνοῦντες, τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀλλήλοισι προηγούμενοι, μηδενὸς καταφρονοῦντες. δυνατόι ὄντες εἶποιεῖν, μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθε, ὅτι ἐλεημοσύνη ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται. πάντες ἀλλήλοισι ὑποτάγητε, τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἀνεπίλημπτον ἔχοντες ἐν

(quoted in the lower notes) the two oldest mss, Am. Fuld., have *caritatem*, and Fuld. has also *honorem*. 12 Domini] om. m alone. alterutri] *alterutrum* o. *praestolantes*] rovbet; *praestantes* (*prestantes*) mf, and app. p (see Dressel). 14 potestis] ovbest; *possitis* rpmf. 19 irreprehensibilem habentes] rpsmf; *considerantes irreprehensibilem* (*irreprehensibilem*) ovbet.

ταὶ δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου κ.τ.λ. See for a similar expression § 5 κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Κυρίου.

12. alterutri *praestolantes*] ‘being beforehand with one another,’ ‘forestalling one another.’ In Lam. iii. 26 this verb *praestolari* corresponds to ὑπομένειν, in Job vii. 2 to ἀναμένειν, in Judges xvi. 2 to ἐνεδρεύειν, in the LXX, while the substantive *praestolatio* takes the place of ἐλπίς in several passages; comp. Rönisch *Itala u. Vulgata* pp. 76, 301. It denotes properly ‘to be beforehand at a place and waiting for another,’ and so ‘to anticipate,’ ‘to forestall.’ For the derivation see Peile’s *Greek and Latin Etymology* p. 43. I have rendered it by προηγούμενοι, from Rom. xii. 10 τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι, τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι (*caritate fraternitatis invicem diligentes, honore invicem praevenientes* Vulg.), where προηγούμενοι signifies ‘being beforehand with,’ as Chrysostom says, μὴ μένε φιλεῖσθαι παρ’ ἐτέρου ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἐπιπήδα τούτῳ καὶ κατάρχων. If I am right in this con-

jecture as to the source of the expression, the context of Polycarp, ‘fraternitatis amatores diligentes invicem,’ will probably be a rendering of τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι. Zahn reproduces the Greek, ἐπιείκειαν Κυρίου ἀλλήλοισι ἐπιχορηγοῦντες; but assuming *praestolantes* (not *praestantes*) to be the correct reading in the Latin, as he rightly does, it is difficult to get this sense out of the words.

14. cum potestis etc] Prov. iii. 28 μὴ εἴπῃς, Ἐπαγγελθὼν ἐπάνηκε, αὔριον δώσω, δυνατοῦ σου ὄντος εἶποιεῖν.

16. eleemosyna etc] A quotation from Tobit iv. 11, xii. 9.

17. invicem subiecti] Ephes. v. 21 ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ, 1 Pet. v. 5 πάντες δὲ ἀλλήλοισι [ὑποτάγητε], Ign. *Magn.* 13 ὑποτάγητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀλλήλοισι.

18. conversationem etc] From 1 Pet. ii. 12 τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλήν, ἵνα, ἐν ᾧ καταλαοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν, ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες κ.τ.λ.

τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἵνα ἐκ τῶν κα-  
λῶν ἔργων ὑμῶν καὶ ὑμεῖς  
ἐπαινον λάβητε καὶ ὁ Κύριος  
μὴ βλασφημῇται ἐν ὑμῖν.  
οὐαὶ δὲ δι' οὗ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ  
Κυρίου βλασφημεῖται. σω-  
φροσύνην οὖν πάντας διδάσ-  
κετε, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναστρέ-  
φεσθε.]

*habentes in gentibus, ut ex  
bonis operibus vestris et vos  
laudem accipiat et Domi-  
nus in vobis non blasphe-  
metur. Vae autem per quem* 5  
*nomen Domini blasphema-  
tur. Sobrietatem ergo do-  
cete omnes, in qua et vos  
conversamini.*

2 bonis] *omnibus* f alone. 5 autem] *txt rpmf*; add. *illi ovbct.* 11 pres-  
byter factus est] *factus est presbyter* p alone. 13 ignoret is] *ignoretis*, all the  
mss apparently. 15 vos ut abstineatis vos] o (?); *ut abstineatis vos* rpf; vos

5. Vae autem etc] See the note on Ign. *Trall.* 8 οὐαὶ γὰρ δι' οὗ ἐπὶ ματαιότητι τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται.

8. in qua et vos etc] 1 Thess iv. 1 καθὼς καὶ περιπατεῖτε. The word here may have been either ἀναστρέφεσθε or πολιτεύεσθε (§ 5).

XI. 'I grieve exceedingly over your presbyter Valens, that he should so forget his office. Avoid covetousness. Abstain from all evil. How can a man teach others, when he is unable to govern himself? Covetousness is idolatry. The covetous man shall be judged as a Gentile; whereas the saints shall themselves judge the world, as Paul teacheth. Not that I am aware of any such fault in you, among whom Paul laboured and of whom he boasted in all the churches at a time when we Smyrnæans were not yet converted to Christ. I grieve greatly for Valens and his wife. God grant them true repentance. Treat ye them with moderation, and restore them as erring members, that your whole body may be made whole. So doing, ye shall edify yourselves.'

11. Valente] The name *Valens* seems to have been common at Phi-

lippi. It is found not less than four times on the tablets of one Latin inscription at this place, *C. I. L.* III. 633, L. Nutrius Valens Jun., M. Publicius Valens, M. Plotius Valens, Seditius Valens, besides occurring in other inscriptions in the same neighbourhood, *ib.* 640, 690: comp. the note on Ζωσίμω § 9. See also *Philippians* p. 64.

14. locum] i.e. τόπον 'the office'; see the note on Ign. *Polyc.* 1.

qui datus etc] § 3 τὴν δοθείσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν; comp. § 4.

15. abstineatis etc] 'Abstinerere se a' is the common rendering of ἀπέχεσθαι, §§ 2, 6 (bis).

16. avaritia] The original was probably φιλαργυρίας, as φιλαργυρία is always rendered by *avaritia* (§§ 2, 4, 6) and ἀφιλάργυροι by *avari* (§ 5). On the other hand πλεονεξία, in the only passage where it occurs, is translated by *concupiscentia* § 2. Some indeed suppose the original here to have been πλεονεξίας, to which they give the meaning 'sensuality, uncleanness.' But whether we adopt πλεονεξίας or not, the vice here denounced is clearly avarice: for (1) From the repeated denunciations of φιλαργυρία

10 XI. *Nimis contristatus*  
*sum pro Valente, qui pres-*  
*byter factus est aliquando*  
*apud vos, quod sic ignoret*  
*is locum qui datus est ei.*  
 15 *Moneo itaque vos, ut absti-*  
*neatis vos ab avaritia et si-*  
*tis casti veraces. Abstinete*  
*vos ab omni malo. Qui*  
*autem non potest se in his*

[XI. Ἄγαν ὑπερελυπήθην  
 ὑπὲρ Οὐάλεντος τοῦ ποτε πρεσ-  
 βυτέρου γενομένου παρ' ὑμῖν,  
 ὅτι οὕτως ἀγνοεῖ τὸν δοθέντα  
 αὐτῷ τόπον. νουθετῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς  
 ἵνα ἀπέχῃσθε φιλαργυρίας καὶ  
 ἀγνοὶ ἦτε καὶ ἀληθεῖς. ἀπέ-  
 χεσθε παντὸς κακοῦ. ὁ δὲ μὴ  
 δυνάμενος ἑαυτὸν ἐν τούτοις

*ut abstineatis mvsbsts.*

17 *veraces*] *rpmvbeft*; *et veraces os.*

19 *non*

*potest se in his*] *p*; *in his non potest se bestvs*; *non potest in his se rmf*; *non potest se (om. in his) o.*

elsewhere in this epistle (see the note on § 4), it is clear that Polycarp had some notable example of this sin fresh in his memory; (2) The wife of Valens was implicated in the crime, and this points rather to some sordid and dishonest money transaction, as in the case of Ananias and Sapphira; (3) In the context allusion is made to Col. iii. 5 *καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἣτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρεία*, or to Ephes. v. 5 *πλεονέκτης, ὅς ἐστιν εἰδωλόλατρης*, which point plainly to the worship of mammon; (4) In all the instances where *πλεονέκτης*, *πλεονεκτεῖν*, *πλεονεξία*, are supposed to refer to sins of sensuality, the words either have been misinterpreted or derive this meaning from something in the context: see the note on Col. iii. 5.

17. *casti*] Assuming this word to stand for *ἀγνοί*, it has been supposed to point to some sin of unchastity on the part of Valens. We may indeed allow that the original was more probably *ἀγνοί* than *καθαροί*, both because the former is the more natural equivalent, and because *ἀγνός*, *ἀγνεία*, are elsewhere in this epistle rendered by *castus*, *castitas*, §§ 4, 5: but *ἀγνοί*

might still apply to the absence of sordid and dishonest motives, as e.g. in Phil. i. 17 *Χριστὸν καταγγέλλουσιν οὐχ ἄγνως*: see Pind. *Olymp.* iii. 21 *ἀγὰ κρίςις*. Here it would be altogether appropriate, because avarice is denounced as idolatry, and *ἀγνεία* denotes purity of worship as opposed to the cultus of idols (1 Macc. xiv. 36). This idea is carried out in the words ‘ab idololatria *coinquabitur*’ below. The other epithet *veraces* again points to dishonesty, rather than unchastity, as the vice which is here condemned. It is worth observing however that there is no authority for the conjunction *et* in the Latin text, and perhaps the two adjectives ‘casti veraces’ are alternative renderings of one word *ἐிலικρινεῖς*, which by an accident have both retained a place in the text.

Abstinate vos etc] 1 Thess. v. 22 *ἀπὸ παντὸς εἵδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε*.

18. Qui autem etc] Comp. 1 Tim. iii. 5 *εἰ δέ τις τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου προστῆναι οὐκ οἶδεν, πῶς ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ἐπιμελήσεται*;

19. in his] i.e. ‘in matters relat-



κυβερνᾶν, πῶς ἐτέρῳ τοῦτο  
καταγγέλλει; ὃς ἐὰν μὴ ἀπέ-  
χεται φιλαργυρίας, ὑπὸ εἰδωλο-  
λατρείας μιανθήσεται καὶ ὥσ-  
περ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν κριθήσεται,  
οἵτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν κρίσιν  
Κυρίου. ἢ οὐκ οἶδαμεν ὅτι  
οἱ ἄγριοι τὸν κόσμον κρινού-  
σιν; ὡς Παῦλος διδάσκει. ἐγὼ  
δὲ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο ἔγνων ἐν ὑμῖν  
οὐδὲ ἤκουσα, ἐν οἷς ἐκοπίασεν  
ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος, τοῖς οὖσιν  
ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ.

gubernare, quomodo alii  
pronuntiat hoc? Si quis  
non se abstinuerit ab ava-  
ritia, ab idololatria coin-  
quinabitur, et tanquam in- 5  
ter gentes iudicabitur, qui  
ignorant iudicium Domini.  
Aut nescimus, quia sancti  
mundum iudicabunt? sicut  
Paulus docet. Ego autem 10  
nihil tale sensi in vobis vel  
audivi, in quibus laboravit  
beatus Paulus, qui estis in  
principio epistolae eius: de

1 alii pronuntiat hoc] c; alio pronuntiat (-ciat) hoc ovbt; alii hoc pronuntiat  
rs; hoc alio pronuntiabit m; hoc aliud pronuntiat (-ciatur) fp. 3 non se  
abstinuerit] rpf; se non abstinuerit m; non abstinuerit se osvbests. 6 qui]  
rpbet; quae mf; qui autem os. 8 Aut] rpm; aut ut f; an osvbests. 11 vel]

ing to gain,' and accordingly 'hoc'  
is 'the duty of abstaining from ava-  
rice.'

4. ab idololatria etc] See the  
passages, Col. iii. 5, Ephes. v. 5,  
quoted above, with the note on the  
former. The Latin 'coinquino' is  
a rendering of *μαίνω* in 1 Macc. i.  
63, Tit. i. 15, Herm. Mand. iii. 1,  
iv. 1.

5. tanquam etc] The nations  
(*ἔθνη*) shall appear at the bar; the  
chosen *λαὸς* shall sit in judgment:  
comp. Is. xlii. 1 *ἔδωκα τὸ πνεῦμά μου  
ἐπ' αὐτόν, κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐξοίσει*  
(quoted in Matt. xii. 18), Dan. vii. 22  
(LXX) *τὸ κρίμα ἔδωκεν ἁγίοις ὑψίστου*,  
Wisd. iii. 8 *κρινούσιν ἔθνη*. For the  
expression 'tanquam inter gentes'  
comp. Matt. xviii. 17 *ὥσπερ ὁ ἔθνι-  
κός*.

6. qui ignorant etc] Jer. v. 4 *οὐκ  
ἔγνωσαν ὁδὸν Κυρίου καὶ κρίσιν Θεοῦ*.

8. Aut nescimus etc] A reference  
to 1 Cor. vi. 2 *ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἄγιοι  
τὸν κόσμον κρινούσιν*;

10. Ego autem etc] Ign. Trall. 8  
*Οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἔγνων τοιοῦτόν τι ἐν ὑμῖν* :  
comp. Magn. 11.

13. qui estis etc] 'ye who in the  
beginning (of the Gospel) were his  
letters (of commendation).' For 'in  
principio' comp. Phil. iv. 15 *ἐν ἀρχῇ  
τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, and see above § 1 *ἐξ  
ἀρχαίων καταγγελλομένη χρόνων*; and  
for 'epistolae ejus,' 2 Cor. iii. 2 *ἡ  
ἐπιστολὴ ἡμῶν ὑμεῖς ἐστε*. This inter-  
pretation was, I believe, first sug-  
gested by Nolte (see Hefele, ed. iv)  
and is adopted by Hofmann *Heilige  
Schrift Neuen Testaments* IV. 3. p.  
101, v. p. 29. Supposing it to be  
correct, the present tense 'estis' is  
probably a mistranslation of the am-  
biguous participial form; see the  
parallel instance in § 13 'de his qui

15 vobis etenim *gloriatur in*  
 omnibus *ecclesiis*, quae so-  
 lae tunc Dominum cogno-  
 verant; nos autem nondum  
 cognoveramus. Valde ergo,  
 20 fratres, contristor pro illo  
 et pro coniuge eius, quibus  
 det Dominus poenitentiam  
 veram. Sobrii ergo estote  
 et vós in hoc; *et non sicut*  
 25 *inimicos tales existimetis*,  
 sed sicut passibilia membra  
 et errantia eos revoke, ut  
 omnium vestrum corpus

περὶ ὑμῶν γὰρ καυχᾶται ἐν  
 πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, αἵτινες  
 μόναι τότε τὸν Κύριον ἐγνώ-  
 σαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐπω ἐγνώκειμεν.  
 λίαν οὖν ὑπερλυποῦμαι, ἀδελ-  
 φοί, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 γυναῖκος αὐτοῦ· οἷς δῶή ὁ Κύ-  
 ριος μετάνοιαν ἀληθινήν. σω-  
 φρονήσατε οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν  
 τούτῳ, καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐχθροῦς  
 ἡγεῖσθε τοὺς τοιούτους, ἀλλ'  
 ὡς μέλη παθητὰ καὶ πλανώ-  
 μενα ἐπιστρέψατε, ἵνα πάντων  
 ὑμῶν τὸ σωματεῖον σώζηται·

om. m alone.

15 etenim] *rsosvsrsb*; *et enim* t; *enim* pmf.

16 solae tunc

Dominum] pmf; *deum solae tunc* *rsosvsrsb*.

19 cognoveramus] *rpm*;

*noveramus* *osvsrsfts*.

21 et pro] *psmsosrsfs*; *et* (om. *pro*) *rvt*.

23 veram]

*vestram* r.

25 existimetis] *aestimatis* f.

27 eos] om. m alone.

cum eo *sunt*' with the note. If this interpretation be rejected, the only alternative is to suppose with Smith that 'laudati' or some similar word has fallen out, and that 'in principio epistolae ejus' refers to the Apostle's commendation of the Philippians in Phil. i. 3—9; but the phenomena of the MSS lend no support to this conjecture.

14. de vobis etc] 2 Thess. i. 4 ὥστε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν καυχᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ.

18. nos autem] i.e. 'we Smyrnaeans.' Nothing is heard of Christianity at Smyrna at the time when the Philippian Church was founded. A few years later however (Rev. ii. 8) there was an important Church there. Probably the conversion of Smyrna, as of Colossæ, was an indirect con-

sequence of S. Paul's long sojourn at Ephesus; comp. Acts xix. 10, 26 (πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν Ἀσίαν, σχεδὸν πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας).

21. quibus det etc] 2 Tim. ii. 25 μήποτε δόξη αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς μετάνοιαν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας.

23. Sobrii...estote] σωφρονήσατε, i.e. 'be moderate in your punishment of the offender.'

24. non sicut etc] 2 Thess. iii. 15 καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ νοθεύετε ὡς ἀδελφόν.

26. passibilia] i.e. 'frail.' For this sense of παθητὸς comp. Plut. *Vit. Pelop.* 16 τὸ θνητὸν καὶ παθητὸν ἀποβαλόντας. The word occurs, though in a somewhat different sense, Acts xxvi. 23, Ign. *Ephes.* 7, *Polyc.* 3.

28. omnium vestrum corpus] For σωματεῖον see Ign. *Smyrn.* 11, where

τοῦτο γὰρ ποιοῦντες, ἑαυτοὺς οἰκοδομεῖτε.]

[XII. πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι εὖ γεγυμνασμένοι ἐστέ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς καὶ οὐθὲν ὑμᾶς λέληθεν· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτέτραπται. μόνον, ὡς ταῖς γραφαῖς ταύταις εἴρηται, ὀργίζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε, καὶ ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδύετω ἐπὶ παροργισμῶ ὑμῶν. μακάριος ὁ μνημονεύων· ὅπερ ἐγὼ πέποιθα εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν. ὁ δὲ

salvetis. Hoc enim agentes, vos ipsos aedificatis.

XII. Confido enim vos bene exercitatos esse in sacris literis, et nihil vos latet; mihi autem non est concessum. Modo, ut his scripturis dictum est, *Ira-* 5 *scimini et nolite peccare, et Sol non occidat super ira-* 10 *cundiam vestram.* Beatus, qui meminerit; quod ego credo esse in vobis. Deus

7 ut] rsovbct; *uti* pmf.

12 meminerit] *crediderit* m alone.

p. 212]; *ipse autem deus* Sev. (Cureton *C. I.* p. 214).

Tim. Sev.; *ipse* (om. *et*) ovbct.

(but add. *ejus* rpmf); *deus* Tim. Sev.

18 veritate] L; *in veritate* [Sev.].

8 dictum est] txt rsovbct; add. *enim* pmf.

13 Deus autem] L Tim. (Cureton *C. I.*

15 et ipse] txt rpsfsm

16 pontifex] om. r alone.

Dei filius] L

17 Jesus] om. r.

aedificet] *deficiet* f.

in omni] rsovsbctsm Tim. [Sev.]; *omni*

also it is translated by 'corpus' in this version. For the sentiment see 1 Cor. xii. 26 εἰ πάσχει ἐν μέλος, σὺν πάσχει πάντα τὰ μέλη.

2. vos ipsos aedificatis] For οἰκοδομεῖν (ἐποικοδομεῖν) ἑαυτὸν comp. 1 Cor. xiv. 4, Jude 20.

XII. 'You are versed in the Scriptures far beyond myself. Remember therefore how these Scriptures warn you not to give way to anger. Blessed are ye, if ye remember this. May God the Father and the Eternal High-Priest, Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and truth and gentleness and patience and chastity, and grant to you and to us our portion among the saints, with all those who shall believe on our Lord Jesus Christ. Pray for all saints. Pray

for kings and rulers, for your persecutors, for the enemies of the Cross, that your fruit may be seen and ye may be perfect in Christ.'

5. nihil vos latet] See above § 4 λέληθεν αὐτὸν οὐδέν, which is translated by a present 'nihil eum latet'; comp. also Ign. *Ephes.* 14 οὐδὲν λανθάνει ὑμᾶς.

6. non est concessum] 'This degree of knowledge *has not been granted to me.*' For the Greek comp. Hermas *Vis.* ii. 4 ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται.

7. Modo] To be attached to what follows. For this use of μόνον see Ign. *Ephes.* 11, *Rom.* 5, *Smyrn.* 4. The reading *uti* (wrongly taken as the infin. from *utor*) led to the attachment of these words with the



autem et pater Domini nos-  
 15 tri Jesu Christi et ipse sem-  
 piternus pontifex, Dei filius  
 Jesus Christus, aedificet vos  
 in fide et veritate et in  
 omni mansuetudine et sine  
 20 iracundia et in patientia et  
 in longanimitate et tole-  
 rantia et castitate; et det  
 vobis sortem et partem in-  
 ter sanctos suos, et nobis  
 25 vobiscum, et omnibus qui

Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου  
 ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ αὐ-  
 τὸς ὁ αἰώνιος ἀρχιερεύς, Θεὸς  
 Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἐποικοδομοίη  
 ὑμᾶς ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ  
 καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ ἐν  
 πάσῃ ἀοργησίᾳ καὶ ἀνοχῇ καὶ  
 μακροθυμίᾳ καὶ ἐν ὑπομονῇ καὶ  
 ἐν ἀγνείᾳ, καὶ δώῃ ὑμῖν κλήρον  
 καὶ μερίδα ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐ-  
 τοῦ, καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ σὺν ὑμῖν, καὶ

(om. *in*) pmf. 19 sine iracundia] L; *in omni non-iracundia* Sev. 20 et  
 in patientia] rsmvsbcs; *et patientia* Sev.; *in patientia* (om. *et*) pf. The words  
*patientia et* are omitted in o. 21 in longanimitate] rpvbt; *longanimitate*  
 (om. *in*) mssoscs Sev. et tolerantia et castitate] L; *et in tolerantia et in*  
*castitate* Sev. 24 nobis] *in nobis* obct\* (but corr. t\*\*). 25 omnibus] *in*  
*omnibus* ovbet\* (but corr. t\*\*).

preceding sentence and the conse-  
 quent insertion of 'enim' after 'dic-  
 tum est.'

8. Irascimini etc] Word for  
 word from Ps. iv. 4 (LXX), which is  
 also quoted in Eph. iv. 26; comp.  
*Apost. Const.* ii. 53.

10. Sol non occidat etc] S. Paul's  
 comment in Eph. i. c. on the passage  
 which has been previously quoted  
 from the Psalms. It was a rule also  
 of the Pythagoreans, Plut. *Mor.* 488 B  
 εἴποτε προαχθεῖεν εἰς λουδορίας ὑπ' ὀρ-  
 γῆς, πρὶν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον δύναι τὰς δεξιὰς  
 ἐμβάλλοντες καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι διελύνοντο.

12. quod] i.e. τὸ μνημονεύειν. For  
 the expression comp. 2 Tim. i. 5  
 ἐπέεισμα δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν σοί.

16. pontifex] See the note on  
 ἀρχιερεύς, Clem. *Rom.* 36; and com-  
 pare Polycarp's own prayer in *Mart.*  
*Polyc.* 14 for this expression.

Dei filius] In the attempt to re-

produce the original Greek, I have  
 followed the quotations in Timotheus  
 and Severus, as being much more  
 ancient than our other authorities,  
 and have given Θεός in place of Θεοῦ  
 υἱός.

19. sine iracundia] The word  
 was doubtless ἀοργησία (see the trea-  
 tise περὶ ἀοργησίας in Plut. *Mor.*  
 p. 453), as the Syriac of Severus'  
 quotation shows; comp. ἀοργητός  
 Clem. *Rom.* 19 (with the note), τὸ  
 ἀοργητόν Ign. *Philad.* 1.

23. sortem et partem] Acts viii.  
 21 οὐκ ἔστιν σοι μερὶς οὐδὲ κλῆρος,  
 Deut. xii. 12, xiv. 26, 28; comp. Col.  
 i. 12 εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου τῶν  
 ἁγίων.

25. qui sunt sub caelo] Col. i. 23  
 ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν,  
 Acts ii. 25 ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ  
 τὸν οὐρανόν.

παᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν,  
οἵτινες μέλλουσιν πιστεῦειν εἰς  
τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν  
Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν  
πατέρα αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐγείραντα  
ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν. ὑπὲρ πάν-  
των τῶν ἀγίων προσεύχεσθε.  
προσεύχεσθε καὶ ὑπὲρ βασι-  
λέων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ ἀρ-

sunt sub caelo, qui credituri  
sunt in Dominum nostrum  
et Deum Iesum Christum  
et in ipsius patrem *qui re-*  
*suscitavit eum a mortuis.* 5  
*Pro omnibus sanctis orate.*  
Orate etiam *pro regibus* et  
potestatibus et principibus

1 sunt] om. 1 alone. 2 Dominum] *et dominum* 1. nostrum] *rpmsvsvsts* ;  
om. bc. 3 et Deum] *rpmf* ; om. *osvsvscsts*. 7 Orate etiam pro] L ;  
*et pro* Fragm-Syr. (Zingerle *Mon. Syr.* p. 1), thus omitting the second *προσεύ-*  
*χεσθε*. 8 et] *msosvsvscsts* ; *atque* pf. *principibus*] L ; *pro principibus*  
Fragm-Syr. 9 *atque*] *rsosvsvscsts* ; *et* mpf. *persequentibus et odientibus*  
vos] L (but om. *persequentibus et m*) ; *odientibus nos et persequentibus nos* Fragm-

1. qui credituri sunt] 1 Tim. i.  
16 τῶν μελλόντων πιστεῦειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

4. qui resuscitavit etc] The ex-  
pression occurs Gal. i. 1, Col. ii. 12,  
1 Pet. i. 21, besides similar language  
elsewhere.

6. Pro omnibus sanctis] Eph.  
vi. 18 *προσευχόμενοι...περὶ πάντων τῶν*  
*ἀγίων κ.τ.λ.*

7. pro regibus etc] 1 Tim. ii. 1,  
2 *ποιεῖσθαι δέσεις, προσευχὰς...ὑπὲρ*  
*πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων καὶ*  
*πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων κ.τ.λ.*  
For the objection against the ge-  
nuineness of this epistle on the  
ground of the plural 'regibus,' see  
the general introduction.

9. pro persequentibus etc] Matt.  
v. 44 *ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ*  
*προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς*  
(comp. Luke vi. 27, 28), where the re-  
ceived text among other interpolated  
words introduces *καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς*  
*μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς*, but the balance of  
authority is against them. The pas-  
sage is variously quoted or alluded  
to in Justin *Apol.* i. 15 (p. 62), *Dial.*

133 (p. 363), Athenag. *Leg.* 11,  
Theoph. *ad Autol.* iii. 14, *Clem. Hom.*  
iii. 19, xi. 32, xii. 32, *Apost. Const.*  
i. 2, vii. 1 ; but in none of these pas-  
sages is the combination of words  
exactly the same as here. The near-  
est approach is *Apost. Const.* i. 2  
*καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ*  
*προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων καὶ*  
*διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.*

10. inimicis crucis] Phil. iii. 18  
*τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.*  
In S. Paul the expression probably  
refers to Antinomian excesses (see  
the note there). Here however it  
seems to refer to Docetism : see the  
note on § 7 *τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ.*  
There is a similar transference in the  
application of the *σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυ-*  
*ροῦ* in Ign. *Ephes.* 18 (see the note  
there).

11. ut fructus vester etc] Joh. xv.  
16 *ἵνα...ὁ καρπὸς ὑμῶν μένη*, 1 Tim. iv.  
15 *ἵνα σου ἡ προκοπὴ φανερά ᾖ [ἐν]*  
*πάντι.*

13. sitis in illo etc] Col. ii. 10 *καὶ*  
*ἐστε ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι*, James i. 4

atque *pro persequentibus* et χόντων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν διω-  
 10 odientibus *vos* et *pro ini-* κόντων καὶ μισούντων ὑμῶς,  
*micis crucis*, ut fructus ves- καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ  
*ter manifestus sit in om-* σταγροῦ, ἵνα ὁ καρπὸς ὑμῶν  
*nibus*, ut sitis in illo per- φανερός ᾧ ἐν παῶσιν, ἵνα ᾗτε  
 fecti. ἐν αὐτῷ τέλειοι.]

15 XIII. Ἐγράψατέ μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνάτιος ἵνα,  
 εἰάν τις ἀπέρχεται εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπο-

Syr. 11 crucis] txt L; add. *christi* Fragm-Syr. (with Phil. iii. 18). 15 Ἐγρά-  
 ψατε κ.τ.λ.] Where L generally agrees with Eusebius, I have not thought it  
 necessary to record variations in individual MSS of this version. 16 καὶ τὰ  
 παρ' ὑμῶν...γράμματα· ὅπερ ποιήσω] *litteras meas quas fecero ad vos* L (as if it had  
 read ἡμῶν and ἅπερ). There is a v. l. ἡμῶν also in Eus., but it is inadequately  
 supported and does not deserve consideration: see the lower note.

ἵνα ᾗτε τέλειοι.

XIII. 'I have been asked by you and by Ignatius to allow our messenger to carry your letter to Syria. I will do this—either myself or the delegate whom I shall send on your behalf as well as on ours. I have also attended to your other request, and sent you such letters of Ignatius as I had in my possession. They are attached to this letter. You will find them highly profitable, for they teach faith and patient endurance and are in all ways edifying. In return do ye communicate to me the latest news of Ignatius and his companions.'

15. καὶ Ἰγνάτιος] There is no direct charge in the letter of Ignatius to Polycarp, that the Smyrnæan messenger should carry the letter of the Philippians to Syria. If therefore Polycarp has used a rigidly accurate expression here, it will be necessary to suppose that Ignatius had written other instructions (no longer extant) to Polycarp—probably a few lines by way of postscript to the letter of the Philippians. We may observe how-

ever; (1) That Polycarp does not separate the instructions of the Philippians from those of Ignatius, but masses them together; and (2) That Ignatius, writing to Polycarp, does charge him generally to place in the hands of the Smyrnæan delegate the letters of divers churches which were not able to send messengers of their own (*Polyc. 8 οἱ δὲ ἐπιστολὰς διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σου πεμπομένων*). Polycarp therefore, writing loosely, might very naturally infuse the instructions of Ignatius into the request of the Philippians, as applying indirectly to them, though not immediately referring to them.

16. καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν] 'The letter from you Philippians as well as that from us Smyrnæans.' Ignatius had given directions to the churches generally (*Philad. 10, Smyrn. 11, Polyc. 7, 8*) to send letters, and (where it was possible) delegates bearing these letters to the Antiochene Church. The Philippian Church was too far distant to send a delegate (see *Polyc. 7*), and hence they entrusted their letter to the



κομίση γράμματα· ὅπερ ποιήσω, ἐὰν λάβω καιρὸν εὐ-  
 θετον, εἴτε ἐγὼ εἴτε ὃν πέμψω πρεσβεύοντα καὶ περὶ  
 ὑμῶν. τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἰγνατίου τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν  
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄλλας ὅσας εἶχομεν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐπέμ-  
 ψαμεν ὑμῖν, καθὼς ἐνετείλασθε· αἵτινες ὑποτεταγμένοι 5  
 εἰς τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ· ἐξ ᾧ μεγάλη ὠφελήθηται  
 δυνήσεσθε. περιέχουσι γὰρ πίστιν καὶ ὑπομονὴν καὶ  
 πᾶσαν οἰκοδομὴν τὴν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἀνήκουσαν.

1 ἐὰν λάβω] *si habuerimus* L.  
*legatus quem misero pro vobis* L.

2 ὃν πέμψω πρεσβεύοντα καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν]  
 3 τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ] *quae trans-*

Smyrnaean messenger. The reading ὑμῶν is required by the presence of καί. The Latin translator, reading ἡμῶν and not being familiar with the circumstances, has gone altogether wrong.

1. ἀποκομίση] 'carry to its destination,' i.e. to Antioch; comp. e.g. Polyb. xxviii. 10. 7 κατέστησαν πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς Ἀτταλον τοὺς περὶ Τηλέκριτον, ἀποκομίζοντας τὸ δόγμα. The force of the preposition is the same as in ἀπολαμβάνειν, ἀποδιδόναι, ἀπέχειν; see the note on Gal. iv. 5.

ἐὰν λάβω κ.τ.λ.] Diod. Sic. v. 57 καιρὸν εὐθετον λαβόντες. For καιρὸς εὐθετος see also Ps. xxxi (xxxii). 6 (LXX), Alex. Polyhist. in Eus. *Præf. Ev.* ix. 27 (p. 432).

2. εἴτε ἐγὼ] Ignatius had only asked that Polycarp and the Smyrnaeans should send some one whom they held ἀγαπητὸν λίαν καὶ ἄοκνον (*Polyc.* 7; comp. *Smyrn.* 11). It appears from this passage that Polycarp contemplated going himself, as a possibility, as churches less distant from Syria had sent their bishops (*Philad.* 10 αἱ ἑγγιστα ἐκκλησίαι ἔπεμψαν ἐπισκόπους). Obviously however this did not enter into the mind of Ignatius himself, for he prays for a blessing on this unknown delegate of

the Smyrnaeans and on 'Polycarp who sendeth him' (*Polyc.* 8).

καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν] 'for you Philip-  
 pians, as well as for us Smyrnaeans.'

3. τὰς ἐπιστολὰς] It has been shown elsewhere (see the note on § 3 ἐπιστολὰς) that the plural does not necessarily imply more than a single letter. Nor is the following ἄλλας any obstacle; comp. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43 ἦλθον δ' οὗν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστολαὶ Κορνηλίου Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐκκλησίας Φάβιον...καὶ ἄλλαι πάλιν Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ συντεταγμένοι Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄμ' αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ., Justin *Hist.* xi. 12 'Dareus...per *epistulas* Alexandrum precatur...Interjecto tempore *aliae* epistulae Darei Alexandro redduntur...Scribit itaque et *tertias* epistulas,' in both which passages a single letter is denoted by the plural. The reference here therefore would be satisfied by the single Epistle to Polycarp, and critics are not justified in assuming that the Epistle to the Smyrnaeans is also included. The expression however more naturally suggests more than one letter; and, so far, it favours the genuineness of the short Greek Epistles.

5. αἵτινες κ.τ.λ.] On the epistles of Ignatius which were probably in

Et de ipso Ignatio et de  
 10 his qui cum eo sunt, quod  
 certius agnoveritis, signi-  
 ficate.  
 [καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰγνατίου  
 καὶ περὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, εἴτι  
 ἀσφαλέστερον ἐπεγνώκατε,  
 δηλώσατε.]

XIV. Haec vobis scripsi  
 per Crescentem, quem in  
 15 praesenti commendavi vo-  
 [XIV. Ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἔγραψα  
 διὰ Κρήσκεντος, ὃν ἄρτι συνέ-  
 στησα ὑμῖν καὶ νῦν συνιστάνω·

*missae sunt vobis ab eo* L (but most MSS have *habeo* or *abeo* for *ab eo*). 6 μεγάλα  
 ὠφεληθῆναι δυνήσεσθε] *magis vobis erit profectus* L. 10 his] *psmsfstis*;  
*ipsis* rovbc. 14 in praesenti] *pmovbcf*; *praesentem* t\* (but corr. *praesenti* t\*\*).

Polycarp's hands and attached by him to this letter, and on the bearing of this notice generally on the preservation of the Ignatian letters, see the general introduction to Ignatius.

8. ἀνήκουσαν] See the notes on Clem. Rom. 45, and Ign. *Philad.* i.

10. qui cum eo sunt] The Latin translator thus makes Polycarp speak as though Ignatius were still living, but this is inconsistent with § 9. The expression in the original was doubtless neutral as regards time, probably τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ 'his companions,' as in the opening of this epistle where τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ is translated in the same way 'qui cum eo sunt,' and thus has been wrongly rendered by a present. There is a similar error in § 9, where τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν is rendered 'qui ex vobis sunt,' though the persons were no longer living. The companions alluded to here may have been Zosimus and Rufus, mentioned by name in § 9. Other associates of Ignatius are mentioned in his own epistles, such as Philo and Rhaius Agathopus (*Philad.* II, *Smyrn.* 10), who were with him at Troas and would probably accompany him further on his route. This letter of Polycarp must have been written shortly after the death of Ignatius,

and before the particulars of his martyrdom had reached Smyrna. On the difficulties, which this expression 'qui cum eo sunt' has suggested, see the chapter in the general introduction on the genuineness of this letter.

XIV. 'This letter will reach you through Crescens. I commend him to you now, as I have done heretofore. His conduct with us was blameless, as doubtless it will be with you. Welcome his sister also, when she meets you. Farewell all of you in Christ. Amen.'

14. per Crescentem] Crescens appears from the context to have been the bearer of the letter, and may have been the amanuensis also. See the note on Ign. *Rom.* 10 δι' Ἐφεσίων. The name Crescens is common. It occurs in 2 Tim. iv. 10, and is found also in a Philippian inscription (*C. I. L.* III. 633).

in praesenti] Looking at the authorities, there can be no doubt that this should be adopted as the reading of the Latin Version. But as it makes no sense it must be a mis-translation. Now *in praesenti* is a very natural rendering of ἄρτι, though altogether unsuited to this passage, where ἄρτι signifies 'recently,' 'not

ἀνεστράφη γὰρ σὺν ἡμῖν ἀμέμ-  
πτως, πιστεύω δὲ ὅτι καὶ σὺν  
ὑμῖν ὡσαύτως. τὴν δὲ ἀδελ-  
φὴν αὐτοῦ ἔχετε συνιστανο-  
μένην ὅταν ἔλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς.  
Ἐρρωσθε ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ  
Χριστῷ ἐν χάριτι μετὰ πάν-  
των τῶν ὑμετέρων. ἀμήν.]

bis et nunc commendo :  
conversatus est enim no-  
biscum inculpabiliter, credo  
autem quia et vobiscum  
similiter. Sororem autem 5  
eius habebitis commenda-  
tam, cum venerit ad vos.  
Incolumes estote in Do-  
mino Iesu Christo in gra-  
tia cum omnibus vestris. 10  
Amen.

2 est] om. m.      enim] psrsmsofs; om. vbct.      4 et] om. v alone.      vobis-  
cum] vobis r alone.      9 in gratia] pmovbcfts; gratia ipsius r.      10 vestris]  
povbcfts; nostris m; vobis rs.      11 Amen] rspovbc; om. mft.

long ago,' like our 'just now'; comp. e.g. Jos. *Antiq.* i. 6. 1 Καπαδόκαι μὲν ἄρτι κέκληνται. The word might be used equally well of the recent past and of the actual present, and was sometimes used even of the near future : but purists, while recognizing the two former usages, objected to this last; Phryn. *Ecl.* p. 18 ἄρτι ἤξω μηδέποτε εἶπης ἐπὶ μέλλοντος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος καὶ παρωχημένου, ἄρτι ἤκω καὶ ἄρτι ἀφικόμεν (see Lobeck's note). When used of the past, it is sometimes contrasted with νῦν, as e.g. in Plato *Alciib. Pr.* 130 D ὁ ἄρτι οὕτω πως ἐρρήθη...νῦν δὲ κ.τ.λ. (comp. *ib.* 127 C οὐκ ἄρτι γε, νῦν δὲ κ.τ.λ.),

*Meno* 89 C μὴ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἄρτι μόνον δέη αὐτὸ δοκεῖν καλῶς λέγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔπειτα. This seems to have been the case here. Zahn renders *in praesenti* by εἰς τὸ παρὸν, which has the advantage of simplicity; but εἰς τὸ παρὸν could hardly stand for μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος, which is the meaning intended.

3. credo quia etc] For the form of the sentence comp. 2 Tim. i. 5 πέπεισμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν σοι.

9. in gratia] Comp. Ign. *Smyrn.* 13 ἔρρωσθε ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ.

10. omnibus vestris] 'all your people'; comp. *Mart. Polyc.* 9 τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ παρόντες.



LETTER OF THE SMYRNÆANS  
ON THE  
MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP.



# MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP.

## I.

THIS document is in the form of a letter addressed by the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium. At the same time the address is so worded as to imply that it was intended for much wider circulation, and at the close (§ 20) directions are given to secure its being so circulated. On the other hand it is not, properly speaking, an encyclical letter, of which copies would be forwarded to a certain number of specified communities—each copy being addressed accordingly.

The letter seems to have been written shortly after the martyrdom itself, which happened A.D. 155 or 156. Questions relating to its date, authenticity, etc., are fully discussed in the first volume of this work.

## 2.

The following is a brief *analysis* of its contents :

‘THE CHURCH OF SMYRNA TO THE CHURCH OF PHILOMELIUM and to all the brotherhoods of the Catholic Church.’

‘We send you an account of the martyrdom of Polycarp and his companions. Nearly all the incidents followed the precedent of the Gospel. Thus they are an example to us (§ 1). Mangled and exposed to the most excruciating tortures, the sufferers endured without a groan or a murmur. These temporal torments were as nothing to them compared with the eternal torments. Their eyes were set on the glories of eternity. In vain did the devil attempt to seduce them (§ 2). The brave youth Germanicus more especially fought courageously to the end, refusing to take quarter. Then there was a cry, ‘Search for Polycarp’ (§ 3). On the other hand Quintus a Phrygian, who had officiously courted martyrdom, yielded when the crisis came, and was found a renegade (§ 4).’



‘Meanwhile Polycarp had been persuaded to retire to a farm not far from the city. There he saw in a vision his pillow in flames, and prophesied that he should die by fire (§ 5). At length he was detected, being betrayed by a lad of his household ; and Herod, the captain of police, sent a mounted force to apprehend him (§ 6). They found him in an upper chamber. He refused to flee. He ordered meat and drink to be given to his pursuers, and betook himself to prayer (§ 7), interceding after his wont for all, high and low. Then seated on an ass, he was led to the city, where he was met by Herod and Herod’s father Nicetes, who transferred him to their own carriage. They intreated him to sacrifice, but he staunchly refused. So he was taken into the stadium amidst a general uproar (§ 8). As he entered, a voice was heard from heaven, bidding him quit himself as a man. Again and again the proconsul urged him to yield and to revile Christ. He refused to be faithless to the good Master whom he had served eighty-six years (§ 9). The importunities of the proconsul were continued. Polycarp declined at his instance to appeal to the people (§ 10). The proconsul’s entreaties were exchanged for menaces. He threatened Polycarp with wild-beasts and with fire. It was all in vain (§ 11). Polycarp joyfully declared himself a Christian. The people cried out against him, and asked the Asiarch Philip to let a lion loose upon him. This he refused to do, as the *venationes* were over. Then they cried out for fire. This was so ordained, that his vision of the burning pillow might be fulfilled (§ 12). Accordingly a huge pyre of logs and faggots was heaped up, the Jews being the most active at this work. He took off his clothes and his sandals. On their attempting to nail him to the stake, he asked to be left free (§ 13). They were satisfied with binding him, and there he stood like a ram ready for sacrifice. Then he poured forth prayer and thanksgiving, glorifying God that He had accepted him as a sacrificial victim (§ 14). The fire was lighted ; but the flame refused to touch him, arching itself into a vault round him ; while a sweet odour rose, as of incense (§ 15). At length, as the fire refused to do its work, an executioner was ordered to stab him. From the wound issued [a dove and] a quantity of blood, so as to quench the flames to the marvel of all. Thus died this saint, whose every prophecy was fulfilled (§ 16).’

‘Then the devil prompted Nicetes at the instigation of the Jews to intercede with the magistrate not to give up the body ; lest we should worship it. They do not know that it is impossible for us to abandon the Saviour and adore any human being in His stead (§ 17). The centurion therefore had the body burnt, and we gathered up the bones,

more precious to us than any jewel, and hid them in a place where, by the Lord's favour, we purpose celebrating his birthday year by year (§ 18).'

'Thus died Polycarp, along with eleven others from Philadelphia; but he stands out pre-eminent, as a teacher and an example, who having overcome the enemy and won the immortal crown, in company with Apostles and righteous men exults and glorifies God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ (§ 19).'

'We send you this letter by the hand of Marcianus. Circulate it among the brethren beyond. Praise and glory be to God. Salute all the saints. All here, including the writer Euarestus, salute you (§ 20).'

Date of the martyrdom (§ 21).

['We bid you farewell in Christ Jesus, with whom be glory to God the Father and the Holy Spirit (§ 22).'

'Transcribed by Gaius from the papers of Irenæus. [This Irenæus records how Polycarp confronted and denounced Marcion in Rome. The martyrdom of Polycarp in Smyrna was announced to him in Rome by a divine voice at the time of its occurrence.']

'I Socrates transcribed it in Corinth from the copy of Gaius.'

'I Pionius transcribed it from the last-mentioned copy, which was revealed to me by Polycarp himself. I gathered up the record worn with time, as I hope myself to be gathered up into heaven (§ 23).'

### 3.

The *authorities* for the text are threefold: (i) The Greek manuscripts; (ii) The extracts in Eusebius; (iii) The Latin version.

#### (i) GREEK MANUSCRIPTS [G].

The manuscripts of the original Greek hitherto known are four in number.

(1) *Mosquensis* 160 (now 159) [m], in the Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow, rightly ascribed (says Gebhardt) by Matthäi (*Cod. Graec. MSS Bibl. Mosq. S. Synod. Not.* 1. p. 89, Lips. 1805) to the thirteenth century. This volume contains legends and encomia of saints. The martyrdom of Polycarp is on fol. 96—99 a. A full account and collation of it was given by Gebhardt in *Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol.* XLV (xxxix). p. 355 sq. (1875). Zahn (1876) was thus the earliest editor who was able to make use of it for his text. This MS omits the first paragraph of c. 22, containing the final salutation 'Επρωσθαί...εὐρεθῆναι



ἡμᾶς, and amplifies the remaining part of this same chapter, more especially the portion relating to the connexion between Polycarp and Irenæus. This is the most important of the Greek manuscripts, as is shown by the coincidence of its readings with those of Eusebius.

(2) *Baroccianus* 238 [b], in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, stated in Coxe's *Catalogue* to belong to the eleventh century and looking quite as old. The ms is a thin folio, containing 54 (numbered 1—3, 6—56) leaves of vellum. It is mutilated at the beginning and end, and has lost two leaves (4 and 5), since it was last numbered apparently in the seventeenth century. The earlier paging shows that the ms is only a fragment of a much larger volume, having lost 200 leaves at the beginning and an indefinite number at the end. It is well written, in double columns, in the ordinary cursive hand of the period, with some small uncials intermixed. It has accents and breathings, both rather carelessly noted, but not iota subscript or adscript. Itacisms are numerous: e.g. ο and ω are frequently confused, and so (though lest frequently) ει and ι, η and ι, η and ει. Polycarp's martyrdom follows the martyrdom of Papias, Diodorus, and Claudius, and is succeeded by a discussion of the manner in which the head of John the Baptist came to Emesa. It begins on fol. 14 b, *μὴν τῷ αὐτῷ κγ* :—*μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου πολυκάρπου ἐπισκόπου σμύρνης τῆς ἀσίας. προ ἑπτὰ (sic) καλάνδων φευρουαρίων*. The month intended is February, as appears plainly from the other contents of the volume (e. g. fol. 25 *μηνι φεγρογαρίῳ κε*); so that *φευρουαρίων* is an error for *μαρτίων*. This indeed is apparent from the number κγ, which corresponds to vii Kal. only in the month of February.

From this ms Ussher derived his text of the Martyrdom of Polycarp (*Ign. et Polyc. Mart.* p. iv, Lond. 1647). More recently it was collated throughout by Dr Jacobson, who also gives a facsimile. I am indebted for a thorough and accurate re-collation to the kindness of the Rev. J. Wordsworth, of Brasenose College, to whom also I owe the account of the ms which is given here. He confirms the substantial accuracy of Jacobson's collation.

(3) *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Graec.* 1452 [p], called by Halloix *Mediceus*; see *Catal. Cod. MSS Bibl. Reg.* II. p. 322 (1740). It is also described in Duchesne *Vita S. Polycarpi Auctore Pionio* p. 6. A parchment ms in double columns in handwriting of the tenth century, with accents often wrong and iota frequently adscript, often omitted, but never subscript. It contains lives, martyrdoms, and eulogies of saints for the month of February. The Martyrdom of Polycarp is on fol.



192 b—196 b. It is preceded by the Life of Polycarp by Pionius, wrongly entered in the Catalogue as *Martyrium Polycarpi*, and is followed by *Narratio de invento S. Joannis capite*. A copy of this MS, procured by Rosweid, was used by Halloix for his life of Polycarp (see Zahn p. lii), and Bolland translated it for his *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. II. p. 695 sq. A facsimile is given by Jacobson, who collated the Letter of the Smyrnæans for his edition. I have myself made a fresh collation for the present work.

(4) *Vindob. Hist. Graec. Eccl.* iii (formerly xi) [v]; a parchment MS of very large size, consisting of 390 leaves, written in a cursive hand, and belonging to the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, except fol. 137 — 152 which are in a fourteenth century hand. A facsimile is given by Jacobson. The iota adscript is almost always omitted. The title of the MS given on the first leaf is *βίαι καὶ μαρτύρια τῶν ἁγίων*. It contains a menology for the month of February. The Martyrdom of Polycarp begins on fol. 200 b, col. 2. It omits considerable portions of cc. 10, 17, alters freely throughout, and leaves out cc. 20—23, substituting a much shorter ending of its own which is chiefly made up of the omitted portion of c. 17. Altogether the MS betrays all the marks of an arbitrary literary revision. T. Smith gave a few various readings from this MS, taking them from Lambecius *Comm. de Bibl. Caesar. Vindob.* VIII. p. 88, where the beginning and end of these Acts are given. Jacobson collated it throughout. I am indebted to the kindness of Dr H. Schenke, of Vienna, for a new collation.

## (ii) EUSEBIUS [E].

The extracts of Eusebius are found in *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 15. The historian speaks of Polycarp's death as *ἐγγράφως ἔτι φερόμενον*, 'still circulated in a written record.' He describes this record as follows; *ἔστι δὲ ἡ γραφή ἐκ προσώπου ἧς αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας ἡγείτο ταῖς κατὰ Πόντον παροικίαις τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀποσημαίνουσα*. The strange statement *κατὰ Πόντον* is considered in the note on *κατὰ πάντα τόπον*.

He then quotes the opening words, *Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ...κατέπαυσε τὸν διωγμὸν* (§ 1). Next after this (*τούτοις ἐξῆς*) he gives an abridged account of the sufferings of the other martyrs (§ 2), and speaks more at length of Germanicus and Quintus (§§ 3, 4). He then gives a summary of the earlier stages of the persecution of Polycarp himself, adopting more or less the words of the document itself (§§ 5, 6, 7). For the apprehension and martyrdom itself he quotes directly from

the document, § 8 Ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε κ.τ.λ. . . . § 19 ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ λαλεῖσθαι. Thus he preserves the greater part of the work. He introduces this long extract however with the words, ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφή κατὰ λέξιν ὧδέ πως τὰ ἐξῆς τῆς ἱστορίας ἔχει, where the expression ὧδέ πως seems to qualify the promise of exact verbal quotation held out in κατὰ λέξιν. As a matter of fact however a comparison shows that the extract is generally given word for word. At the same time he seems to have made slight alterations here and there for the sake of clearness (e.g. substituting ὄχλημα for καρὸνχα in two places § 8); and possibly (though this is doubtful) the omission of περιστρεφὰ καὶ (§ 16) may have been any arbitrary alteration of his own. No stress however can be laid on the expression ὧδέ πως, which he uses elsewhere to introduce *verbatim* quotations (see above, I. p. 59). As the extract ends in the middle of § 19, we are unable to say whether or not the copy of Eusebius contained the supplementary paragraphs (§§ 21, 22, 23), which give the date of the martyrdom and the history of the transmission. This question is discussed in the general introduction.

As Eusebius is much the earliest authority for the text of this document, so he is the most valuable; and, wherever he is confirmed by any one other authority, we can (as a rule) have little doubt about accepting his reading. I have not thought it necessary to give the various readings in the MSS and versions of Eusebius himself, except where these correspond to various readings in the other authorities for this Martyrdom. In other cases that reading in Eusebius may be assumed to be correct which is confirmed by the reading of the independent authorities for this document.

### (iii) LATIN VERSION [L].

The different forms in which the *Passio S. Polycarpi* appears in the Latin language are investigated by A. Harnack, who examined several Paris MSS and gives the results in an appendix to *Die Zeit des Ignatius* p. 77 sq. His account is much fuller and more accurate than can be found elsewhere. These forms are threefold.

(1) The Letter of the Smyrnæans is given as it appears in Rufinus' translation of Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 25). A typical example is *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 5568 (tenth cent.). In this form it is commonly accompanied, as in the MS just mentioned, by a collection of the notices of Polycarp gathered from Irenæus, as they appear in the same translation of Rufinus. The manner in which these extracts are com-

bined is described by Harnack (p. 81 sq.); but we are not concerned with this matter here.

(2) It appears in an independent Latin translation, either complete, or mutilated, or abridged at the end.

(3) In some mss both forms are given. This is the case in *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 17003 (formerly *Feuillantinus*), *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 5291 (formerly *Colbertinus*), and *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 5341 (formerly *Colbertinus*).

With the Rufinian form we have no concern, and may therefore confine our attention to those mss which contain the independent version, i.e. to those which belong to heads (2) and (3). These again fall into three classes:

(a) The letter is given complete, as in

*Salisburyensis*, used by Ussher. I am informed that this ms is no longer in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury.

*Brit. Mus. Cotton.* Nero E. i. 27, also used by Ussher.

*Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 9741, to be identified with the *Cod. S.*

*Maximini Trevirensis*, used by Bolland. A collation is given in Harnack, l. c. p. 78 sq.

*Audomarensis* (S. Omer), likewise used by Bolland.

(b) The letter ends with the actual martyrdom, stopping at § 19 'martyrium in Smyrna videtur implese' (ἐν Σμύρνῃ μαρτυρήσας), and omitting the subsequent matter. This is only a few words before the point at which Eusebius (and therefore Rufinus) breaks off; but, as it forms a natural termination, the coincidence is probably accidental;

*Chiffletianus*, from which Bolland gives readings, describing them as 'quae ex alio Burgundico ms nobis communicavit Petrus Franciscus Chiffletius noster.' I do not know that this ms has been identified.

(c) The letter is mutilated and ends at 'cupiebant' in § 13;

*Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 17003.

*Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 5291.

*Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 5341.

(d) The same mutilation, but the missing end is supplied by an excerpt from Rufinus;

*Paris. Bibl. de l'Arsenal* 996 (formerly *Carmelit. Discalceat.*), a ms known to and cited by Ruinart.

*Pratellensis*, also a ms used by Ruinart.



All these MSS give one and the same version. Ruinart indeed mentions 'aliam versionem,' which was contained in a MS 'Carmelitarum Discalceatorum'; and this expression raised great hopes (see Zahn p. liv, Funk p. xcvi). But these hopes were quenched by the investigations of Harnack, who has identified this MS of the Carmelites with *Paris. Bibl. de l'Arsenal* 996 (see p. 86). Thus the peculiarities of this and the allied MS Pratellensis (e. g. the omission of 'the dove' in § 16), which seemed to betoken a different version, are due to the fact that the latter part is taken from Rufinus.

This version is very loose and paraphrastic, and betrays great ignorance on the part of the translator, who moreover adds and omits freely of his own caprice. As regards the date it is impossible to form any opinion. Gregory of Tours (†594: for the dates of his works see Teuffel *Gesch. d. Röm. Lit.* § 454) speaks of the history of Polycarp's passion being read in the Church of Ricomagus on his festival (*Mirac.* i. 86); and elsewhere (*Hist. Franc.* i. 26) he writes 'In Asia autem orta persecutione beatissimus Polycarpus Joannis apostoli et evangelistae discipulus octogesimo [sexto] aetatis suae anno, velut holocaustum purissimum, per ignem Domino consecratur,' where 'sexto' is omitted probably by accident. This latter passage is evidently taken from the Letter of the Smyrnæans. Hence Ussher (*Ign. et Polyc. Mart.* praef.) infers that our Latin version must have been already in existence. So too Ruinart (p. 74). They did not notice however that, while Gregory might have derived the 86 years either from Rufinus or from the independent Latin version, he could have got the 'holocaustum' only from Rufinus, for the Latin version here (§ 14) substitutes something wholly different. It is probable therefore that the history of Polycarp's passion, which was read in the Churches of Gaul, was taken from Rufinus.

It will have been seen from the account given that this version is quite valueless for interpretation; and, as the various readings of the Latin MSS do not affect the Greek text, I have not thought fit to reprint it. It is carefully edited by Zahn, so far as was possible with the materials accessible to him.

Zahn (prol. liv) speaks of a *Syriac Version* 'quae in Museo Britannico (MS 14641) editorem exspectat,' and adds 'haec a Pionii recensione derivata est'. Elsewhere again (p. 157) he describes it as belonging to the Pionian recension and states on the authority of Lagarde that it is not free from 'vitio vetusto', i. e. the erroneous reading of Pionius (as he conceives it) *περιστέρα καί*. This is a mistake. The Martyrdom of Polycarp contained in *Brit. Mus. Add.* 14641

(fol. 146 a) is correctly described by Wright (*Catalogue of Syriac MSS* p. 1045), as 'an extract from the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, lib. iv, comprising the last sentence of cap. 14 [Ἀντωνῖνον μὲν δὴ κ.τ.λ.] and the whole of cap. 15.' Accordingly it omits περιστέρα καὶ with the text of Eusebius.

There is likewise a *Coptic Version* in the Memphitic dialect in the Vatican ms *Copt.* 58, fol. 79 sq.; but this again, like the Syriac, is made not from the document itself, but from the account in Eusebius. This account however is somewhat manipulated, especially at the beginning and end, so as to read continuously. A transcript of this Coptic version was made for me by the kindness of Professor Guidi; but as it furnishes no independent evidence, I have not reprinted it. It commences

Φμαρτυρολογιον ἡφνεσθαε ἡεπισκοπος οτοε ἡμαρτυρος  
ἡτεπ̄χς αββα πολικαρπος φμαθητις ἡναποστολος σταυρων  
εβολ ἡσος κ̄θ ἡπιαθот μεχир ξεν οτγирни ἡτεφ̄т̄ амин.

'The martyrology of the holy bishop and martyr of Christ, Abba Polycarp, the disciple of the Apostles, which he accomplished on the 29th of the month Mechir; in the peace of God. Amen.'

## 4.

In the following history of the *printed text* only those editors are mentioned who have made some direct use of original authorities.

Halloix first of all gave in full the contents of this document for his Latin Life of Polycarp (*Illustr. Eccl. Orient. Script. Vet.* i. p. 542 sq., Duaci 1623), but did not print it *totidem verbis*. Of his materials he writes; 'Haec [i. e. the doings of Polycarp] hactenus non edita, sed tantum in manuscriptis codicibus conservata sunt; quorum exemplar unum atque alterum nactus cum Menaeo Graecorum contuli.' Elsewhere however he speaks only of one ms, and there is no evidence that for these Acts he used more than one. Twenty years later Bolland (*Act. Sanct.* Jan. 26, II. p. 692 sq., Antwerp 1643) gave a translation of this document, which he made from a Greek ms belonging to the library 'Regis Christianissimi.' At the same time he published the old Latin version from three Latin mss, S. Maximini Trevirensis, Audomarensis, and Chiffletianus, all described above. He speaks of Halloix as deriving his matter 'ex hoc ms nostro alioque,' meaning by 'nostro' the ms in the King's Library at Paris, as already mentioned. This

must be identified with *Paris. Graec. 1452 (Mediceus)*. The reasons which have been urged against this identification will be considered hereafter in the introduction to the Life of Polycarp by Pionius. A few years later Ussher (*Ignat. et Polyc. Martyr. 1647*) published both the Greek and the Latin. The former, which appeared now for the first time, was taken from the Oxford MS, *Barocc. 238*. He likewise mentions in his preface 'Mediceus Regis Gallorum,' i.e. the MS used by Halloix, but he does not appear to have made any use of it. For the Latin version he used *Sarisburiensis* and *Cottonianus*. He betrays no knowledge of Bolland's work. Ruinart (*Act. Mart. Sinc.*, ed. 2, 1713) also gave the Greek and the Latin, being entirely dependent upon Ussher, except that for the Latin version he made use likewise of two other MSS, *Colbertinus* and *Pratellensis*. In his notes, as already mentioned (p. 944), he also refers to a MS or MSS of the Carmelites. The Colbertine MS used by Ruinart should probably be identified with *Paris. Graec. 5291* or *Paris. Graec. 5341*, though Harnack (p. 81) gives an inconclusive reason for supposing that it may have been some other unknown MS. T. Smith, as already mentioned (p. 941), in his edition (1709) added in his foot-notes a few various readings of the Greek text of the Vienna MS. Jacobson (ed. 1, 1838) collated the three Greek MSS, b p v, for his edition. Lastly Zahn (A.D. 1876), besides making full use of all the existing materials, added to them Gebhardt's collation of m, and published a thoroughly revised text of both the Greek original and the Latin version.

No new materials have been used for the present edition of the Greek text; but I have procured fresh collations of b p v. The principles which must guide an editor in the construction of the text are simple and obvious. A reading found in Eusebius and any one other authority must, as a rule, be accepted. Where Eusebius fails us, the coincidence of the Latin version with any one Greek MS should commonly be regarded as decisive. Of the Greek MSS themselves the general order in point of authority is m b p v; but in individual cases the peculiarities of the several MSS may require to be considered in estimating their relative value.



## ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΥ.

Ἡ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ἐμύρναν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ καὶ

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΥ] μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου πολυκάρπου mb (add. τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μαρτυρίσαντος ἐν σμύρνῃ πρὸς ζ' καλανδῶν μαρτίων m; add. ἐπισκόπου σμύρνης τῆς ἀσίας πρὸς ἑπτὰ (sic) καλανδῶν φευρουαρίων b); μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου ἱερομάρτυρος πολυκάρπου ἐπισκόπου σμύρνης τῆς ἀσίας v; ἄλλῃσις τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν πολυκάρπου γενομένου σμύρνης νῆς (sic) τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀσίαν κειμένης p.

1 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ] mbpE; *ecclesiis dei* L; om. v. 2 Φιλομηλίῳ] mvLE; φιλαδελφία bp.

1. ἡ παροικοῦσα] For the meaning of this word *παροικεῖν*, and for its several constructions, see the notes on Clem. Rom. 1, Polyc. *Phil.* inscr.

2. ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ] Philomelium was a town in Phrygia Paroreios, not far in actual distance from Pisidian Antioch. The two however were separated by a mountain range or chine (ὄρεινὴ ῥάχis), which ran from East to West and gave its name to the district; Philomelium lying in the plain on the north side, and Antioch on a hill on the south side of this range (Strabo xii. p. 577). Strabo elsewhere also assigns it to Phrygia (xiv. p. 663). By Ptolemy (v. 2. 25) it is given to Phrygia Magna; by Pliny to Lycaonia (Plin. *N.H.* v. 25); by Hierocles (*Synecd.* p. 25, ed. Parthey), and by the *Notitiae* generally (*ib.* p. 158, 177, 194, 713), to Pisidia; while Eusebius (*H.E.*

iv. 15) is supposed to place it in Pontus (see below). It stood on the great high road to Cappadocia, between Synnada and Iconium, and was a place of some importance (Cic. *Ep. ad Div.* iii. 8, xv. 4). It was wrongly identified by Leake (*Asia Minor* p. 58 sq.) with Ilgun. Its true site has since been discovered to be the modern Ak-Shehr (Hamilton's *Asia Minor* i. p. 472, II. pp. 181, 184 sq.). No mention is made elsewhere of Philomelium in the earliest records of Christianity. A bishop of this place appears for the first time at the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381). It must therefore have been owing to some accidental circumstance that on this particular occasion the Philomelians come prominently forward. There is nothing in its situation or history which explains the fact.

The other reading ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ

πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἀγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροικίαις, ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ [τοῦ] Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη.

I. Ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς μαρ- 5  
τυρήσαντας καὶ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, ὅστις ὥσπερ  
ἐπισφραγίσας διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ κατέπαυσε τὸν  
διωγμόν. σχεδὸν γὰρ πάντα τὰ προάγοντα ἐγένετο,  
ἵνα ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνωθεν ἐπιδείξῃ τὸ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέ-  
λιον μαρτύριον. περιέμενεν γὰρ ἵνα παραδοθῇ, ὡς 10  
καὶ ὁ Κύριος, ἵνα μιμηταὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ γενώμεθα,

1 ἀγίας καὶ] mbr; ἀγίας vE; al. L.

brvE. 3 Θεοῦ] mLE; ἀπὸ Θεοῦ brv.

φολ] add. ἀγαπητοὶ m alone.

ὥσπερ] ὡς m alone.

8 πάντα] ἅπαντα m alone.

10 ἵνα παραδοθῇ] παραδοθῆναι v alone.

Κύριος ἵνα] ὁ κύριος καὶ ἵνα m alone.

2 καὶ εἰρήνῃ] mL; εἰρήνῃ (om. καὶ)

τοῦ] G; om. E.

5 ἀδελ-

6 ὅστις] ὥστις m.

7 διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας] mE; τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ brv; om. L.

9 τὸ εὐαγγέλιον] τοῦ εὐαγγελίου m alone.

ὡς] καθὼς v alone.

μιμηταὶ] μιμηταὶ b.

γενώμεθα] γενό-

is doubtless a later substitution, suggested partly by the greater prominence of Philadelphia both in itself and in ecclesiastical history, and partly by the fact that it is mentioned in a later chapter of this epistle (§ 19). This mention however is of such a kind as to show that the epistle could not possibly have been addressed to the Philadelphians themselves.

I. κατὰ πάντα τόπον] Though Eusebius quotes these words of the letter correctly, yet he introduces them with the remark that the letter is addressed ταῖς κατὰ Πόντον ἐκκλησίαις. Of this there is no trace in the letter itself, for Philomelium was certainly not in Pontus. Perhaps therefore we ought to adopt the conjecture of Valois and substitute πάντα τόπον for Πόντον, though Rufinus and the Syriac version both

read Πόντον, and so it appears in all the extant Greek MSS.

There is no ground for supposing that any other name besides Philomelium appeared in any of the copies of this letter which were circulated at the time. It was directly addressed to the Philomelians in answer to a question which they had asked, and the additional words καὶ πάσαις κ.τ.λ. are added to give it a wider circulation; comp. 1 Cor. i. 2 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ... τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ...σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις κ.τ.λ....ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ.

καθολικῆς] See §§ 8, 16, 19, below, and the note on Ign. Smyrn. 8. Compare also the general introduction.

2. παροικίαις] See the note on Clem. Rom. i.

ἔλεος κ.τ.λ.] Jude i ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγάπῃ πληθυνθείη. For πληθυνθείη see also 1 Pet. i. 2, 2 Pet.

μὴ μόνον σκοποῦντες τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ  
κατὰ τοὺς πέλας· ἀγάπης γὰρ ἀληθοῦς καὶ βεβαίας  
ἐστὶν μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν θέλγειν σώζεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ  
15 πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς.

II. Μακάρια μὲν οὖν καὶ γενναῖα τὰ μαρτύρια  
πάντα [τὰ] κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγονότα· δεῖ  
γὰρ εὐλαβεστέρους ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχοντας τῷ Θεῷ τὴν  
κατὰ πάντων ἐξουσίαν ἀνατιθέναι. τὸ γὰρ γενναῖον  
20 αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπομονητικὸν καὶ φιλοδέσποτον τίς οὐκ ἂν  
θαυμάσειεν; οἱ μᾶστιξι μὲν καταξανθέντες, ὥστε μέχρι

μεθα b. 12 τὸ pri] τὰ m alone. τὸ sec] om. m alone. 13 τοὺς πέλας]  
Ussher; τοὺς παῖδας (παιδας for πεδδς) v; τοῦ (sic) πέλας m; τοῦ πέλας b;  
τοὺς πλείονας p; al. L. 16 τὰ μαρτύρια] μαρτύρια (om. τὰ) m alone.  
17 δεῖ mn; καὶ bp; al. L. 18 ἡμᾶς] bvL; ὑμᾶς mp. 19 ἐξουσίαν]  
add. αὐτῷ p alone. ἀνατιθέναι] pn; ἀνατεθηκέναι m; ἀνατεθῆναι b.  
20 αὐτῶν] mb; αὐτοῦ p; om. v; al. L. 21 θαυμάσειεν] θαυμάσιεν b.  
καταξανθέντες] add. τοσοῦτον v alone.

i. 2, Clem. Rom. 1, Polyc. *Phil.* inscr.

5. Ἐγράψαμεν] *'We write.'* For this epistolary aorist see the notes on Gal. vi. 11, Philem. 19.

6. μακάριον] Not necessarily used of the dead at this date; see the notes on Clem. Rom. 47, Polyc. *Phil.* 3.

7. ἐπισφραγίσας] Comp. Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* 11 ὕστατος τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας μαρτύρων τοὺς ἄθλους ἐπεσφραγίσας, *ib.* 13 ὡς ἂν ὕστατον γένοιτο παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ Παλαιστίνην ἀγῶνος ἐπισφράγισμα. So too Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xv. 7 (I. p. 293) ὁ πρῶτος ἔσται τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁδός, καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος σφραγὶς ἀθλήσεως. This is not the only instance in which the phraseology of this epistle—perhaps the earliest genuine martyrology—has set the fashion for after times.

9. ἀνωθεν] *'afresh'*, *'anew'*, as e.g. in Gal. iv. 9, and probably Joh. iii. 3, 7.

κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον] i.e. in accord-

ance with the Gospel history of His own passion. So again § 19 οὐδ' τὸ μαρτύριον πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν μιμεῖσθαι, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ γερόμενον. On the tendency of these Acts to find parallels to our Lord's history in the final scenes of Polycarp's life, see the general introduction.

11. καὶ ἡμεῖς] *'we as well as Polycarp.'*

12. μὴ μόνον κ.τ.λ.] *Phil.* ii. 4 μὴ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι σκοποῦντες ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐτέρων ἕκαστοι.

19. γενναῖον] A favourite epithet as applied to martyrs; e.g. § 3, Clem. Rom. 5, *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 2, 7, *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1 (several times). See Zahn's note.

20. φιλοδέσποτον] A not uncommon epithet of faithful slaves in classical writers; comp. Philo *de Spec. Leg.* 7 (II. p. 340).

21. μᾶστιξι μὲν κ.τ.λ.] It would seem as if the antithetic clause had



τῶν ἔσω φλεβῶν καὶ ἀρτηριῶν τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς οἰκονομίαν θεωρεῖσθαι, ὑπέμειναν, ὥς καὶ τοὺς περιεστῶτας ἐλεεῖν καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον γενναιότητος ἐλθεῖν ὥστε μήτε γρύξαι μήτε στενάξαι τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἐπιδεικνυμένους ἅπασιν ἡμῖν ὅτι ἐκείνη τῇ ὥρᾳ 5 βασιανίζοντο τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπεδήμουν οἱ μάρτυρες τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅτι παρεστῶς ὁ Κύριος ὠμίλει αὐτοῖς. καὶ προσέχοντες τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι τῶν κοσμικῶν κατεφρόνουν βασιάνων, διὰ μιᾶς ὥρας τὴν αἰώνιον κόλασιν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι. καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἦν αὐτοῖς 10

2 θεωρεῖσθαι] τῇρεῖσθαι (sic) m. 3 ὀδύρεσθαι] add. αὐτοὺς v alone. τοὺς δὲ] τοῦ δὲ b. καὶ εἰς] εἰς (om. καὶ) m alone. 4 μήτε pri] μὴ δὲ m alone. γρύξαι] mv; βρύξαι bp (Jacobson). μήτε στενάξαι] om. m alone. 5 αὐτῶν] v; ἐαυτῶν bp (Jacobson); om. m. ἐκείνη] ἐν ἐκείνῃ v alone. 6 οἱ] txt bv; add. γενναυότατοι (-ώτατοι m) mp. μάρτυρες τοῦ Χριστοῦ] vp; μάρτυρες χριστοῦ b; τοῦ χριστοῦ μάρτυρες m. 7 ὁ Κύριος] bvm [L]; χριστός p. ὠμίλει] ὀμίλει b; ὠμίλει v. 8 τοῦ Χριστοῦ] bv; χριστοῦ m; τοῦ κυρίου p; al. L. χάριτι] χάρητι m. τῶν] καὶ τῶν p alone. 9 κατεφρόνουν βασιάνων] βασιάνων κατεφρόνουν m alone. 10 κόλασιν] ζώην m alone. 11 ψυχρὸν]

been intended to run ἐλεηθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν περιεστῶτων ... εἰς τοσοῦτον γενναιότητος ἦλθον κ.τ.λ., but the form of the sentence is altered by the dependent clause ὥς καὶ τοὺς περιεστῶτας κ.τ.λ., and the words which ought to have formed the antithesis to μάστιγι μὲν are changed and made antithetical to this dependent clause, τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον κ.τ.λ. Eusebius however in his abridgment gives a different antithesis, τότε μὲν μάστιγι...καταξαινομένους, τότε δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάττης κήρυκας ὑποστρωννυμένους.

1. οἰκονομίαν] 'the internal structure and mechanism,' as e.g. in Plut. *Mor.* 595 D, 496 A, where likewise it is used of the natural processes of 'the house we live in.' Eusebius paraphrases the expression

here, τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀπόρρητα τοῦ σώματος σπλάγχνα τε αὐτῶν καὶ μέλη.

4. ὥστε μήτε γρύξαι κ.τ.λ.] *Eph. Vienn. et Lugd.* 51 (Eus. *H. E.* v. 1) τοῦ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου μήτε στενάξαντος μήτε γρύξαντός τι ὅλως ἀλλὰ κατὰ καρδίαν ὀμιλοῦντος τῷ Θεῷ (comp. *ib.* § 56), *Act. Perp. et Felic* 4 'et ego quae sciebam me fabulari cum Domino' etc.; passages quoted by Zahn.

6. τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπεδήμουν] Probably suggested by 2 Cor. v. 6 εἰδότες ὅτι ἐνδημοῦντες ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐκδημοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου.

11. πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] *Eph. Vienn. et Lugd.* 26 (Eus. *H. E.* v. 1) ὑπομνησθεῖσα διὰ τῆς προσκαίρου τιμωρίας τὴν αἰώνιον ἐν γεένῃ κόλασιν, quoted by Zahn. Imitated in *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 5 τὸ καυστικὸν τοῦ πυρός σου εἰς ὑπόμνησίν με ἄγει τοῦ αἰωνίου

ψυχρὸν τὸ τῶν ἀπανθρώπων βασανιστῶν· πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ εἶχον φυγεῖν τὸ αἰώνιον καὶ μηδέποτε σβεννύμενον, καὶ τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀνέβλεπον τὰ τηρούμενα τοῖς ὑπομείνασιν ἀγαθά, ἃ οὔτε οἷς  
 15 ἤκουσεν οὔτε ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδεν, οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη, ἐκείνοις δὲ ὑπεδείκνυτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, οἵπερ μηκέτι ἄνθρωποι ἀλλ' ἤδη ἄγγελοι ἦσαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ εἰς τὰ θηρία κριθέντες ὑπέμειναν δεινὰς κολάσεις, κήρυκας μὲν ὑποστρωννύμενοι καὶ ἄλλαις ποι-

ψυχρῶν b. τὸ] om. p alone.

νῶν bp. 12 τὸ] τῷ b.

ἀνέβλεπον] ἐνέβλεπον m alone.

οὔτε οὖς...εἶδεν] bv; the clauses transposed in mp (after 1 Cor. ii. 9). 15 εἶδεν] m; ἴδεν bpv.

16 ἐκείνοις δὲ] add. καὶ v alone.

17 οἵπερ] b; εἵπερ pv;

οἴτινες m. μηκέτι] bv; λοιπὸν οὐκέτι m; μὴ p.

18 δὲ] om. p. alone.

οἱ] m alone. Eusebius seems not to have had it (though Zahn thinks otherwise).

κριθέντες] κατακριθέντες m alone.

ὑπέμειναν] By some freak b substitutes

χρόνον.

19 κήρυκας μὲν] b; κήρυκας (om. μὲν) m; ξίφη μὲν p; ξίφη τε v.

E has the word κήρυκας.

ὑποστρωννύμενοι] pv (comp. E); ὑποστρωννύμενοι b;

ὑπεστρωμένοι m.

ποικίλων βασάνων ἰδέαις] m (but written εἰδέαις), comp. E (as

quoted in the next note); ποικίλαις βασάνοις bpv.

καὶ ἀσβέστου πυρός, καίπερ πρόσκαιρον ὄν. See also below, § 11 πῦρ ἀπειλείς κ.τ.λ.

14. τὰ τηρούμενα κ.τ.λ.] *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 6 τὰ ἡτοιμασμένα τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν ἀγαθά.

τοῖς ὑπομείνασιν κ.τ.λ.] For this mixed quotation (*Is.* lxxv. 16, 1 *Cor.* ii. 9), see the note on *Clem. Rom.* 34.

19. κήρυκας] 'heralds' or 'trumpeters,' the Greek name for a certain mollusc of the whelk family (*buccinidae*); see *Aristot. Hist. An.* v. pp. 544, 546, 547, *Part. An.* iv. pp. 679, 683, and elsewhere. *Pliny N.H.* ix. 36 explains the reason of the Latin name, 'Bucinum...concha ad similitudinem ejus bucini quo sonus editur, unde et causa nomini.' There is a play on the word in a saying of Stratoniceus related by Machon in

*Athen.* viii. p. 349 μή ποτ' ἐπιβάς κήρυκι τὸν πόδ' ἀναπαρῶ, which is explained in the context. Owing to this ambiguity Eusebius goes out of his way to paraphrase the passage by τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάττης κήρυκας καί τινες ὀξεῖς ὀβελίσκους. Commentators seem disposed here to explain the word as designating some manufactured implement of torture, just as the Latin *murices* is several times used of iron spikes. But there is no reason for this interpretation. Sea-shells, potsherd, and the like, appear not unfrequently as instruments of torture in the accounts of martyrdoms: *Act. S. Vincent.* 7 (*Ruinart* p. 403, *Ratisb.* 1859, comp. p. 408); *Act. Tarach. Prob. etc.* 3 (*ib.* p. 457); *B. Felicis Conf. Vit.* in *Bedae Op.* v. 790, ed. Migne.

κίλων βασάνων ιδέαις κολαφιζόμενοι, ἵνα, εἰ δυνηθείη, διὰ τῆς ἐπιμόνου κολάσεως εἰς ἄρνησιν αὐτοὺς τρέψῃ· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐμηχανᾶτο κατ' αὐτῶν ὁ διάβολος.

III. Ἀλλὰ χάρις τῷ Θεῷ· κατὰ πάντων γὰρ οὖν ἴσχυσεν. ὁ γὰρ γενναιότατος Γερμανικὸς ἐπερρών- 5 νυεν αὐτῶν τὴν δειλίαν διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπομονῆς· ὃς καὶ ἐπισήμως ἐθηριομάχησεν. βουλομένου γὰρ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου πείθειν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγοντος τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ κατοικτεῖραι, ἐαυτῷ ἐπεσπάσατο τὸ θηρίον προσ-

1 κολαφιζόμενοι] bnp; κολαζόμενοι m. Zahn quotes E, διὰ παντὸς εἵδους κολάσεων καὶ βασάνων, for κολαζόμενοι, but this seems to be derived from the preceding δεινὰς κολάσεις. εἰ] ἡ b. 2 διὰ] txt m; praef. ὁ τύραννος bnp. τρέψῃ] στρέψῃ p. 3 ἐμηχανᾶτο κατ' αὐτῶν] κατ' αὐτῶν ἐμίχανάτο (sic) m alone. In b the word is written ἐμηχανάτω. 4 κατὰ πάντων γὰρ] bv; κατὰ πάντων μὲν m; ὅτι κατὰ πάντων p. οὖν] οὐκ G; but L omits the negative, *gratia domino nostro iesu christo qui (l. quia?) contra omnes fidus servorum suorum defensor adssistit.* 5 ἐπερρώννυεν...δειλίαν] om. m alone. E paraphrases as if he had

1. εἰ δυνηθείη κ.τ.λ.] The nominative ὁ τύραννος, which is supplied in the common texts, is not very appropriate, as applied to the proconsul, and savours of a later age. As it is absent from the Moscow MS, which generally gives the best text, and does not appear either in Eusebius or in the Latin version, I have omitted it. With this omission we are obliged to connect the sentence πολλὰ...ὁ διάβολος with the preceding words, in order to obtain a subject for δυνηθείη and τρέψῃ. It is commonly made the beginning of the next chapter. The late postponement of this nominative διάβολος has given occasion to a scribe to insert τύραννος.

4. οὖν ἴσχυσεν] So I venture to correct the text. The ordinary reading οὐκ ἴσχυσεν must mean one of two things; either (1) 'He (i. e. the devil) did not prevail against all

of them,' but against the great majority, which statement the writers cannot have intended to make; or (2) 'He did not prevail against any of them' (for this sense of πᾶς οὐκ, equivalent to οὐδεῖς, see Winer *Gramm.* § xxvi. p. 214 sq.), which is untrue, for Quintus is mentioned immediately afterwards (§ 4) as being overcome. With the reading which I have substituted, the meaning will be κατὰ πάντων (τῶν μηχανημάτων) ἴσχυσεν (ὁ Θεός).

5. Γερμανικὸς] The day of Germanicus in the Latin Martyrologies is Jan. 19, though they place the martyrdom of the companions of S. Polycarp, whom they make ten or eleven in number, on the same day with his, Jan. 26. The Greek Calendar contains no mention of Germanicus (see Tillemont *Mémoires* II. p. 314).

7. τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου] L. Statius Quadratus; see the note on § 21. He was



10 βιασάμενος, τάχιον τοῦ ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνόμου βίου αὐτῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι βουλόμενος. ἐκ τούτου οὖν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, θαυμάσαν τὴν γενναιότητα τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς καὶ θεοσεβοῦς γένους τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἐπεβόησεν· Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους, ζητείσθω Πολύκαρπος.

15 IV. Εἰς δὲ ὀνόματι Κόϊντος, Φρὺξ προσφάτως ἐληλυθὼς ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας, ἰδὼν τὰ θηρία ἐδειλίασεν. οὗτος δὲ ἦν ὁ παραβιασάμενος ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τινας

read ἑαυτοῦ (αὐτοῦ) for αὐτῶν.

6 ὑπομονῆς] praeſ. γενναίας m alone.

7 ἐπισήμως] ἐπισίμως p.

ἐθηριομάχησεν] ἐθηριωμάχησεν b.

γὰρ]

bpv; γέ τοι [E]; om. m.

8 πείθειν] πείθην m.

λέγοντος] p; λέγειν

mbv.

9 κατοικτεῖραι] κατοικτῆραι b.

10 τάχιον] b; τάχειον v; καὶ

τάχιον m (but written τάχειον) p.

ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνόμου] ἀνόμου καὶ ἀδίκου m

alone.

αὐτῶν] bpE (but some MSS om.); αὐτὸν mv.

12 θαυμάσαν] θαυ-

μάσας b alone.

13 αἶρε] αἶραι b.

15 δὲ] bpv; οὖν m; tunc L.

Κόϊντος] κυστός v.

Φρὺξ] txt mbpL; add. τῷ γένει v (so φρύγα τινὰ τὸ

γένος E).

προσφάτως] προσφάτος (sic) b.

16 ἐδειλίασεν] ἐδηλί-

ασεν b.

17 τινας] add. ἄλλους b alone, but E says σὺν ἑτέροις.

a rhetorician and a friend of the rhetorician Aristides (Aristid. *Op.* i. pp. 451, 521, ed. Dindorf) and should probably be identified with 'the consul Quadratus' mentioned by Philostratus (*Vit. Sophist.* ii. p. 250) as the master of Varus. He was a great builder and restorer of the city of Pergamum (Aristid. *Op.* i. p. 116), if indeed the same Quadratus be meant here again. His name occurs in a Magnesian inscription *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3410. The name Statius Quadratus is also found elsewhere in inscriptions in other parts of the world (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 337, 5996). For the date of this proconsulship, see the general introduction.

9. ἑαυτῷ ἐπεσπάσατο κ.τ.λ.] See the note on Ign. *Rom.* 5 προσβιάσονται.

12. θεοσεβοῦς γένους κ.τ.λ.] So Melito in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26 calls

the Christians τὸ τῶν θεοσεβῶν γένος, a passage quoted by Jacobson; comp. *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 2 τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεοσεβὲς γένος. For this use of θεοσεβεῖς, θεοσέβεια, see Heinichen's note on Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 32. See also below, § 14 τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων.

13. Αἶρε] 'Away with,' i.e. to execution, as below, § 9; comp. Luke xxiii. 18, Acts xxi. 36 (comp. xxii. 22).

τοὺς ἀθέους] See the note on Ign. *Trall.* 3.

15. Φρὺξ] Thus illustrating the proverbial cowardice of the Phrygians; comp. Tertull. *de Anim.* 20 'Comici Phrygas timidos illudunt,' and see *Colossians etc.* p. 312 (378), note 2. Another Phrygian however acted in a very different way in the persecutions in Gaul; *Ep. Lugd. et Vienn.* 49 sq. (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1).

προσελθεῖν ἐκόντας. τοῦτον ὁ ἀνθύπατος πολλὰ ἐκλιπαρήσας ἔπεισεν ὁμόσαι καὶ ἐπιθῦσαι. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς προδιδόντας ἑαυτούς, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

V. Ὁ δὲ θαυμασιώτατος Πολύκαρπος τὸ μὲν 5  
πρῶτον ἀκούσας οὐκ ἐταράχθη, ἀλλ' ἐβούλετο κατὰ  
πόλιν μένειν· οἱ δὲ πλείους ἔπειθον αὐτὸν ὑπεξελθεῖν.  
καὶ ὑπεξῆλθεν εἰς ἀγρίδιον οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς  
πόλεως, καὶ διέτριβε μετ' ὀλίγων, νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν  
οὐδὲν ἕτερον ποιῶν ἢ προσευχόμενος περὶ πάντων καὶ 10  
τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν· ὅπερ ἦν σύνηθες

1 προσελθεῖν] ἐλθεῖν p alone. τοῦτον...ἔπεισεν] bp; τοῦτον ἐκλιπαρήσας πολλὰ ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν v (Jacobson); τοῦτον ὁ ἀνθύπατος πολλὰ ἐξελεπάρησεν m. ἐκλιπαρήσας] ἐκλειπαρήσας b. 2 ὁμόσαι] ὁμῶσαι mbv (but corr.). 3 προδιδόντας ἑαυτούς] προδιδόντας ἑαυτοῖς v; προσίοντας ἑαυτοὺς m; προσίοντας ἑαυτοῖς bp (but ἑαυτοῖς without accent in p); *quæ se ultro offerunt* L. 5 θαυμασιώτατος] mb (comp. E); θαυμάσιος p; τίμιος καὶ θαυμασιώτατος v. 7 πόλιν] mbp; τὴν πόλιν v. The MSS of E vary. ὑπεξελθεῖν] ὑπεξιέναι m alone. 8 καὶ ὑπεξῆλθεν] bp; ὑπεξῆλθεν οὖν m; καὶ πεισθεὶς ὑπεξῆλθεν v. ἀγρίδιον] bm; ἀγρήδιον p; τὸ ἀγρίδιον v (Jacobson). ἀπέχον] ἀπέχων mb. ἀπὸ] om. m. alone. 9 διέτριβε] mp (comp. E); ἔτριβε[v] bv. μετ' ὀλίγων] pm (μετὰ), and so E, σὺν ὀλίγοις; μετ' ὀλίγων ἀδελφῶν v; μετ' ὀλίγον b. ἡμέραν] ἡμέρα m. 10 οὐδὲν] bp (comp. E οὐτι); μηδὲν mv. καὶ] om.

4. οὐχ οὕτως κ.τ.λ.] See Matt. x. 23, Joh. vii. 1, viii. 59, x. 39, etc. 'A communi priscae ecclesiae sententia,' writes Zahn, 'Tertullianus recessit, cum *fugendum in persecutione non esse* studeret demonstrare (*de Fuga* 4 sq.).'

6. κατὰ πόλιν] If we adopt this reading, it must be 'in town' (as opposed to κατὰ χώραν 'in the country'), and this is quite a possible meaning in itself. As a matter of fact however κατὰ πόλιν commonly means 'from city to city,' e.g. Luke viii. 1, 4, xv. 21, xx. 23, Tit. i. 5.

11. σύνηθες αὐτῷ] This accords

with his own injunctions, Polyc. *Philipp.* 12; comp. *Mart. Ign. Aut.* 6.

15. Δεῖ με κ.τ.λ.] See the note on § 12, where this presentiment is fulfilled.

17. ἐπιμενόντων] 'persisting in their search,' as again below §§ 8, 10; see Plato *Laches* 194 A ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ζητῇ ἐπιμενόμεν τε καὶ καρτερήσωμεν. It is paraphrased by Eusebius ἐπικειμένων σὺν πάσῃ σπουδῇ.

22. οἰκείοι ὑπῆρχον] Matt. x. 36 ἐχθροὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οἱ οἰκιακοὶ αὐτοῦ. Here again the martyrdom of Polycarp was κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (see above, § 1), for Christ likewise was

αὐτῷ. καὶ προσευχόμενος ἐν ὀπτασίᾳ γέγονεν πρὸ  
 τριῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ συλληφθῆναι αὐτόν, καὶ εἶδεν τὸ  
 προσκεφάλαιον αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ πυρὸς κατακαίόμενον· καὶ  
 15 στραφεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, Δεῖ με ζῶντα  
 καῆναι.

VI. Καὶ ἐπιμενόντων τῶν ζητούντων αὐτόν, μετ-  
 έβη εἰς ἕτερον ἀγρίδιον· καὶ εὐθέως ἐπέστησαν οἱ  
 ζητοῦντες αὐτόν. καὶ μὴ εὐρόντες συνελάβοντο παι-  
 20 δάρια δύο, ὧν τὸ ἕτερον βασανιζόμενον ὠμολόγησεν·  
 ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἀδύνατον λαθεῖν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ προδι-  
 δόντες αὐτὸν οἰκεῖοι ὑπῆρχον. καὶ ὁ εἰρήναρχος, ὁ

p alone. 12 γέγονεν] or γέγονε, bpv; om. m (comp. E). 13 τριῶν] mpv  
 LE; τῶν b. καὶ εἶδεν] καὶ ἔδεν mpb; ἔδεν γὰρ v. τὸ] mpv; om. b.  
 15 σὺν] m (comp. E τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν); συνόντας bpv; dub. L (*qui cum eo*  
*erant*). αὐτῷ] txt mL; add. προφητικῶς bpv (comp. E μονονουχί τὸ μέλλον  
 προθεσπίσαντα). Δεῖ] prae. ἀδελφοὶ καὶ τέκνα v alone. 16 καῆναι]  
 κάηναι (sic) m; καυθῆναι bpv. Ussher read κατακαυθῆναι and was followed by some  
 later edd. 18 ἀγρίδιον] ἀγρήδιον p. εὐθέως] ἅμα τοῦ ἐπαναχωρήσαι  
 v. 20 ὧν...ὠμολόγησεν] ἃ καὶ βασανιζόμενα ὠμολόγησαν v alone. ἕτερον]  
 ἐτέρων b; στερερόν p. 21 ἐπεὶ] ἐπειδὴ v alone. προδιδόντες] προδιδούν-  
 τες m. 22 αὐτόν] om. p alone. ὑπῆρχον] v omits all after this to the  
 end of the chapter.

betrayed by one of His own house-  
 hold (Joh. xiii. 18). It does not ap-  
 pear whether this ἀγρίδιον was Po-  
 lycarp's own or not. The most  
 natural explanation however is that  
 these were his own slaves (see *Colos-*  
*sians* p. 329); and this supposition  
 at all events agrees with the old  
 story that he possessed consider-  
 able property.

εἰρήναρχος] 'the captain of the  
 police,' though in some respects 'the  
 high-sheriff' would be a nearer e-  
 quivalent. This officer (εἰρήναρχος,  
 εἰρηνάρχης, εἰρηναρχεῖν) is mentioned  
 not unfrequently in the inscrip-  
 tions in connexion with cities of  
 Asia Minor; *Corp. Inscr. Graec.*

2768 (Aphrodisias), 2882 (Miletus),  
 2929, 2930 b (Tralles), 3496 (Thya-  
 tira), 3831 a<sup>4</sup> (Aezani), 4020 (Ancyra),  
 4085 (Pessinus). At Attalia (*ib.*  
 4341 f) such a person is described  
 in hexameter verse as εἰρήνης ἄρξας,  
 owing to the necessities of the metre;  
 and at Smyrna itself (*Corp. Inscr.*  
*Graec.* 3151) we have mention of a  
 στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, who is  
 doubtless the same officer. See also  
 Pallad. *Hist. Lausiaca*. c. 116 ὁ ἐπὶ  
 τῆς εἰρήνης, translated 'irenarcha'  
 in the Latin. It was a λειτουργία  
 and seems to have been regarded as  
 an honourable office. The rhetori-  
 cian Aristides, himself a native of  
 Smyrna, thus describes the way in



κεκληρωμένους τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα, Ἡρώδης ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἔσπευδεν εἰς τὸ στάδιον αὐτὸν εἰσαγαγεῖν, ἵνα ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὸν ἴδιον κλῆρον ἀπαρτίσῃ, Χριστοῦ κοινωνὸς γενόμενος, οἱ δὲ προδόντες αὐτὸν τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰούδα ὑπόσχοιεν τιμωρίαν.

5

VII. Ἐχοντες οὖν τὸ παιδάριον, τῇ παρασκευῇ περὶ δείπνου ὥραν ἐξηλθον διωγμῖται καὶ ἱππεῖς μετὰ τῶν συνήθων αὐτοῖς ὅπλων, ὡς ἐπὶ ληστὴν τρέχοντες. καὶ ὁψὲ τῆς ὥρας συνεπελθόντες, ἐκείνον μὲν εὖρον ἐν τινι δωματίῳ κατακείμενον ἐν ὑπερώῳ· κάκειθεν δὲ 10

- 1 κεκληρωμένους] mp; καὶ κληρονόμος (sic) b. ἐπιλεγόμενος] bp; λεγόμενος m. 2 ἔσπευδεν] bp; ἔσπευσεν m. 3 ἀπαρτίσῃ] ἀπαρτήσῃ b; ἀπαρτήσῃ m. 4 τὴν αὐτοῦ] bp; τῆς αὐτῆς m. 5 ὑπόσχοιεν τιμωρίαν] b (ὑπόσχυν) p; τύχῳσιν τιμωρίας m (comp. L *proenam accipiant*). 6 τὸ παιδάριον] τὰ παιδάρια v alone. 7 περὶ] m; om. pbn. ὥραν] mb; ὥρα pn (comp. L). διωγμῖται] διωγμῆται bn. 8 ληστὴν] ληστήν v. τρέχοντες] bpn; ἀπερχόμενοι m. 9 συνεπελθόντες] Ussher; συναπελθόντες bn; ἐπελθόντας E; ἀπελθόντες m; καταλαβόντες p. 10 δωματίῳ] δοματίῳ bn. κατακείμενον] here, bpn; after ὑπερώῳ, mE (who however omits ἐν τινι δωματίῳ). ἐν sec] vE; om. mbp. δὲ] mpv; om. b. 11 ἡβουλήθη] mpv; ἐβουλήθη b. 12 Θεοῦ] pnLE (but with v.l. κυρίου); κυρίου bm (with Acts xxi. 14). γενέσθω] G; γινέσθω E. οὖν] mpL; δὲ

which these irenarchs were appointed; *Or. Sacr.* iv (*Op.* i. p. 523, Dindorf) ἐπέμπετο τοῖς ἡγεμόσι κατ' ἐκεῖνους τοὺς χρόνους ἀφ' ἐκάστης πόλεως ἐκάστου ἔτους ὀνόματα δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων ταῦτα ἔδει σκεψάμενον τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὃν προκρίνειεν ἐξ ἀπάντων καθίσταται φύλακα τῆς εἰρήνης. On the 'irenarchae' see also Gothofred on *Cod. Theodos.* Lib. xii. Tit. xiv (iv. p. 647), and Valois on Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15.

ὁ κεκληρωμένος] 'who had had assigned to him' by a providential fitness; as in Epiphan. *Haer.* lxxvi. 10 (p. 923) σὺ ἀνόμιος γέγονας, κληρωθεὶς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα. The reading ὁ καὶ κληρονόμος is obviously corrupt.

1. τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα] 'the same name' with the persecuting tyrant in the Gospel. The meaning is explained by the following words, Ἡρώδης ἐπιλεγόμενος. Zahn emends the text by reading Ἡρώδη for Ἡρώδης, and omitting [ἐπι]λεγόμενος. Having dealt thus violently with the text, he explains his reading, 'Herodis nomen quod Smÿrnaeorum irenarcha sortitus est, revocavit Herodem tetrarcham.'

6. παρασκευῇ] On the meaning of this word here see the general introduction.

7. διωγμῖται] 'gens d'armes,' literally 'pursuers'; Amm. Marc. xxvi. 9 'adhibitis semiermibus paucis quos diocmitas appellat,' Jul. Ca-

ἡδύνατο εἰς ἕτερον χωρίον ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἡβουλήθη, εἰπών· τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ γενέσθω. ἀκούσας οὖν [αὐτοὺς] παρόντας, καταβὰς διελέχθη αὐτοῖς, θαυμαζόντων τῶν παρόντων τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐ-  
 15 σταθές, [καὶ] εἰ τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ἦν τοῦ συλληφθῆναι τοιοῦτον πρεσβύτερον ἄνδρα. εὐθέως οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσε παρατεθῆναι φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, ὅσον ἂν βούλωνται· ἐξητήσατο δὲ αὐτούς, ἵνα δώσιν αὐτῷ ὥραν πρὸς τὸ προσεύξασθαι ἀδεῶς. τῶν δὲ ἐπιτρε-  
 20 ψάντων, σταθεῖς προσηύξατο πλήρης ὢν τῆς χάριτος

lv. 13 αὐτοὺς παρόντας] pv; τοὺς παρόντας b; παρόντας αὐτοὺς m; παρόντας [E]. καταβὰς] p [E] (comp. L); καὶ καταβὰς bv; om. (altogether) m. διελέχθη] διηλέχθη p. θαυμαζόντων] pv; add. δὲ b; praef. καὶ m. 15 καὶ εἰ] [E]; εἰ m; καὶ ὅτι p; τινὲς ἔλεγον ἡ b; ἡ alone v. τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ἦν] v; τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ἦ b (adding ἦν after ἄνδρα); τοσαύτη σπουδὴ (sic) εἰ (sic) m; τοσαύτη γένοιτο σπουδὴ E; τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ἔχρησαντο p. 16 τοιοῦτον] add. θεοφιλεῖ m alone. αὐτοῖς] here, b; after ἐκέλευσεν, m; after παρατεθῆναι, v; αὐτοὺς here p. 18 βούλωνται] βούλονται p. αὐτοὺς] mb; αὐτοῖς pv. δώσιν] bp; δώσωσιν] mv. αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν m alone. 19 πρὸς τὸ προσεύξασθαι] mv; πρὸς τὸ εὐξασθαι p; προσεύξασθαι b; ὡς ἂν προσεύξοιτο [E]. 20 σταθεῖς] add. πρὸς ἀνατολὰς m alone.

pitol. *Vit. M. Anton.* 21 'armavit et diocmitas,' *Cod. Justin.* x. 30. 4 τῶν διωγητικῶν, *Corf. Inscr. Graec.* 3831 a<sup>8</sup> παρασχόντα τῷ κυρίῳ Καίσαρι σύμμαχον διωγμείτην παρ' ἑαυτοῦ (at Aezani). With this last passage comp. Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* c. 116 ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης...πρὸς τὸν ἐχόμενον σύμμαχον εἶπεν, whence it appears that these διωγμῖται were under the command of the irenarch.

μετὰ τῶν...ὅπλων] *Joh.* xviii. 3 λαβὼν τὴν σπεῖραν...ἔρχεται ἐκεῖ μετὰ...ὅπλων.

8. ὡς ἐπὶ ληστήν] *Matt.* xxvi. 55 ὡς ἐπὶ ληστήν ἐξήλθατε; comp. *Mark* xiv. 48, *Luke* xxii. 52.

11. χωρίον] 'farm', 'estate'; see the note on *Ign. Rom.* inscr.

12. τὸ θέλημα κ.τ.λ.] *Acts* xxi. 14

τοῦ Κυρίου τὸ θέλημα (v. l. τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου) γινέσθω (v. l. γενέσθω); see also *Matt.* vi. 10, xxvi. 42 (comp. *Luke* xxii. 42).

14. τὸ εὐσταθές] 'his firmness', 'constancy'; see the note on *Ign. Polyc.* 4.

15. εἰ...ἦν] This is the reading to which the variations in the authorities point. For the construction θαυμάζειν εἰ, followed by an indicative, see Kühner's *Gramm.* II. p. 887 sq.

18. δώσω] If the other reading δώσωσιν be correct, see for this future conjunctive *Winer Gramm.* § xiii. p. 89, § xv. p. 102.

20. σταθεῖς] For this attitude in prayer see e.g. *Matt.* vi. 5, *Luke* xviii. 11, 13.

τοῦ Θεοῦ οὕτως, ὡς ἐπὶ δύο ὥρας μὴ δύνασθαι σιγῆσαι, καὶ ἐκπληττεσθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας, πολλοὺς τε μετανοεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐληλυθέναι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον θεοπρεπῇ πρεσβύτην.

VIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε κατέπαυσε τὴν προσευχήν, 5 μνημονεύσας ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν πώποτε συμβεβληκότων αὐτῷ, μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων, ἐνδόξων τε καὶ ἀδόξων,

1 ὥς] m [E]; ὥστε b<sup>pn</sup>. σιγῆσαι] m<sup>n</sup>; σιωπῆσαι b<sup>p</sup>. 2 καὶ] ἀλλ' v alone.  
πολλοὺς τε] b<sup>p</sup>E; πολλοὺς δὲ m; καὶ (om. πολλοὺς τε) v. 3 ἐπὶ τῷ] E; ἐπὶ  
τὸ m<sup>bn</sup>; καὶ p. θεοπρεπῇ] p [E]; θεοπρεπεῖ b<sup>n</sup>; θεοφιλῇ m. 5 Ἐπεὶ  
δέ ποτε] mE; ὥς δὲ b<sup>pn</sup>. From this point onward Eusebius quotes directly from  
the document. 6 ἀπάντων] πάντων m alone. καὶ τῶν πώποτε] p<sup>n</sup>  
E; καὶ τῶν ποτὲ b; τῶν καὶ ποτὲ (sic) m. συμβεβληκότων] E (best MSS, Ruf);  
συμβαλόντων m; συμβεβηκότων b<sup>pns</sup>. 8 πάσης] mE; ἀπάσης b<sup>pn</sup>.  
9 ὄνῳ] m<sup>n</sup>E; ἐν ὄνῳ b<sup>p</sup>. 10 ἡγαγον] mE (best MSS, but v. l. ἦγον);  
ἦγον b<sup>pn</sup>. 11 ἐπὶ τῷ] m<sup>n</sup>E; om p. 11 ὑπήντα] b<sup>m</sup>E;

9. ὄνῳ] Evidently regarded by the writers as a parallel to the incident in the Gospels; Matt. xxi. 2 sq., Joh. xii. 14 sq.

10. σαββάτου μεγάλου] 'a high sabbath'; see the general introduction.

12. Νικήτης] The name occurs more than once in the inscriptions at Smyrna and in the immediate neighbourhood; *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3148, 3359. As it is not a common name until a later date, this fact is not without its value. It was borne by a great sophist, a citizen of Smyrna, who lived in the time of Nerva and was highly esteemed by his fellow-townsmen (Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* i. 19, p. 511 sq.; i. 21, pp. 516, 518; ii. 16, p. 596). He is styled 'Sacerdos' (Plin. *Ep.* vi. 6, [Tacit.] *Dial.* 15), which appears to be an official title, not a proper name. It is apparently this Smyrnæan, whose oratory is described by Automedon in Anthol. II. p. 210. Fabricius (*Bibl. Graec.* VII. p. 755, ed. Harles)

would identify him with our Nicetes, but chronological considerations make this hardly possible. The rhetorician of this name mentioned by the elder Seneca (*Suas.* 3, *Controu.* i. 5, 7, 8, iv. 25, 29, v. 31, 33, 34) seems to have been a different person from the Smyrnæan, for it is hardly possible that the same man who lived under or before Tiberius (Senec. *Suas.* 3) can have been flourishing still under Nerva (Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* i. 20, p. 512). Possibly however Philostratus has misnamed the emperor in question. In the Clementine fiction Nicetes and Aquila are the brothers of Clement (*Clem. Hom.* ii. 1, etc., esp. xiii. 6, 7). They are made bishops τῶν κατὰ Ἀσίαν παροικίων, *Apost. Const.* vii. 46. An account of all the writers bearing the name Nicetas or Nicetes is given in Fabricius *Bibl. Graec.* VII. p. 745 sq.

καροῦχαν] As in Is. lxvi. 20 (Symm.), *Edict. Diocl.* 15. 9 (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* III. p. 835). It is the



καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλη-  
σίας, τῆς ὥρας ἐλθούσης τοῦ ἐξιέναι, ὄνῳ καθίσαντες  
10 αὐτὸν ἤγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὄντος σαββάτου μεγάλου.  
καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῷ ὁ εἰρήναρχος Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ πατὴρ  
αὐτοῦ Νικήτης, οἱ καὶ μεταθέντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν καροῦ-  
χαν ἔπειθον παρακαθεζόμενοι καὶ λέγοντες· Τί γὰρ  
κακὸν ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, Κύριος Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐπιθῆσαι, καὶ τὰ

ὑπάντα (sic) p; ὑπαντᾶ v.

αὐτῷ] mpE; αὐτὸν bv\* (but corr. v\*\* marg).

Ἡρώδης] praef. ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς v alone.

12 Νικήτης] bmvE; Νικήτας p. Praef.

ὀνόματι v alone. Add. ἐπὶ τὸ ὄχημα (ῶχημα v) bpv; om. mE. It is obviously a gloss on ἐπὶ τὴν καροῦχαν just below, and has crept into the text at the wrong place. οἱ] om. m alone.

ἐπὶ τὴν καροῦχαν] bpv; ἐπὶ καροῦχαν m; εἰς τὸ ὄχημα

E.

14 Κύριος] G; Κύριε E (comp L).

ἐπιθῆσαι] G; θῆσαι E.

καὶ

τὰ τοῦτοις ἀκόλουθα] mbv (comp. L); τὰ τοῦτοις ἀκόλουθα (om. καὶ) p; om. (altogether) E.

Latin word *carruca*, somewhat transformed for the sake of a common Greek termination (-ουχα from ἔχω). In *Edict. Diocl.* l. c., where it is written *καροῦχον*, it is distinguished from the *rheda*, the *dormitorium*, etc. It was a stately, covered carriage, used by high functionaries or by ladies. See Ducange *Gloss. Med. Lat.* s. v. 'carruca.'

14. Κύριος Καῖσαρ] 'Caesar is Lord.' This, combined with the further demand § 9 λοιδορήσον τὸν Χριστόν, was a defiance of 1 Cor. xii. 3 οὐδεὶς ἐν πνεύματι Θεοῦ λαλῶν λέγει Ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς, καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται εἰπεῖν Κύριος Ἰησοῦς εἰ μὴ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (the correct text). In a certain sense Κύριος Καῖσαρ might have been said innocently; but, as intended, it was a direct negation of Κύριος Ἰησοῦς and a virtual deification of the emperor: see Tertull. *Apol.* 34 'Dicam plane imperatorem dominum, sed more communi, sed quando non cogor ut Dominum Dei vice dicam,' quoted by the commentators. The reading of the Greek

MSS is Κύριος Καῖσαρ, for which the vocative Κύριε Καῖσαρ of Eusebius is a very natural but less expressive substitute.

On the title 'Dominus' see Marquardt *Röm. Alterth.* II. 3, p. 304, note 1353 (ed. 1), and esp. Mommsen *Römisches Staatsrecht* II. p. 737 sq. Augustus and Tiberius had declined to be so called; but at a later date emperors entertained no scruples on this point. On coins and documents of Antoninus Pius for instance, under whom Polycarp was martyred, it occurs; Eckhel *Num.* VIII. p. 365, Orelli *Inscr.* 4370 (this last belonging to the year 155, and therefore nearly synchronous with Polycarp's martyrdom), passages quoted by Mommsen. The title Κύριος is applied to the emperor in more than one extant Smyrnaean inscription; Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3295, 3384. Though it occurs in the connexion 'dominus et deus' as early as Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 13; comp. Martial v. 8), it was not in itself connected with the deification of the

τούτοις ἀκόλουθα, καὶ διασώζεσθαι; ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν  
 πρῶτα οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς, ἐπιμενόντων δὲ αὐτῶν  
 ἔφη· Οὐ μέλλω ποιεῖν ὃ συμβουλεύετε μοι. οἱ δέ,  
 ἀποτυχόντες τοῦ πείσαι αὐτόν, δεινὰ ῥήματα ἔλεγον  
 καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς καθήρουν αὐτόν, ὡς κατιόντα ἀπὸ τῆς 5  
 καρούχας ἀποσύραι τὸ ἀντικνήμιον. καὶ μὴ ἐπιστρα-  
 φεῖς, ὡς οὐδὲν πεπονθώς, προθύμως μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐπο-  
 ρεύετο, ἀγόμενος εἰς τὸ στάδιον, θορύβου τηλικούτου  
 ὄντος ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ὡς μηδὲ ἀκουσθῆναί τινα δύνασθαι.

1 ὁ δὲ] add. ἅγιος πολύκαρπος v. 2 αὐτοῖς] bpv; αὐτοὺς m; om.  
 E. 3 μέλλω] μέλω b. ποιεῖν] G; πράττειν E. συμβουλεύετε]  
 συμβουλεύεται mp. 4 αὐτόν] add. διὰ πειθανολογίας v. ἔλεγον] mE;  
 add. αὐτῷ bpv. 5 σπουδῆς] præf. πολλῆς v alone. καθήρουν] καθή-  
 ρον v; καθήρουν (sic) p; καθήρον b. αὐτόν] G; om. E. Add ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀχή-  
 ματος bpv; om. mE. It is obviously a gloss on ἀπὸ τῆς καρούχας just below. ὡς]  
 txt mpE; add. καὶ bv. ἀπὸ τῆς καρούχας] G; ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀχήματος E.  
 6 ἀποσύραι] (ἀποσύραι m) mE; ἀποσυρῆναι bpv. In L the sentence runs, *ut suas*  
*aliqua ex parte quassaret.* καὶ] G; ἀλλὰ γὰρ E. μὴ] μὴδὲ v alone.  
 7 ὡς] G; οἷα E. προθύμως] mbv; πρόθυμος pE (but v.l. προθύμως).  
 8 ἀγόμενος...στάδιον] εἰς τὸ στάδιον ἀγόμενος m alone. θορύβου] txt G; add.  
 δὲ E, omitting it in τῷ (δὲ) Πολυκάρῳ, just below, so as to begin the new sen-  
 tence here. 9 μὴδὲ] txt G; add. πολλοῖς E. ἀκουσθῆναί τινα δύνασθαι]  
 G; πολλοῖς ἀκουσθῆναι E. For ἀκουσθῆναι m has ἀκουτισθῆναι. τινα] G; om.  
 [E]. 10 Τῷ δὲ] add. μακαρίῳ v alone. For τῷ δὲ...εἰσίσιντι m alone has τοῦ

emperor, as Tertullian seems to think (*Apol.* 34 'Augustus...ne dominum quidem se dici volebat, et hoc enim Dei est cognomen'), but rather implied that his subjects were his slaves (Plin. *Paneg.* 2 'non enim de tyranno sed de cive, non de domino sed de parente loquimur'). The Christians, having their own Κύριος, imported a corresponding meaning into it when applied to the emperor, and so regarded it as blasphemous.

ἐπιθύσαι] 'to offer incense'. This compound is used especially, though not solely, in the sense 'thus impose', 'thurificare'; see esp. Porphy. *de Abst.* ii. 58 αὐτὸ τὸ θύειν τοῦ θυ-

μιᾶν εἶχετο ('was allied to') καὶ τοῦ νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένου ἐπιθύειν· ὁ γὰρ ἡμεῖς νῦν θύειν λέγομεν, ἔρδειν ἔλεγον κ.τ.λ. Comp. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vii. 3. 3 τεκμήριον ἐμπαρέχειν οἰόμενος τὸ ἐπιθύειν, ὥσπερ νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν κ.τ.λ. (of Antiochus Epiphanes), Diod. Sic. xviii. 60 ἐπέθνον ἐκ κιβωτίου χρυσοῦ πάντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες τὸν τε λιβανωτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐωδῶν τὰ πολυτελέστατα καὶ προσεκύνουν ὡς θεὸν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον (a good illustration of our text). See Wesseling's note on Diod. Sic. xii. 11, from which these references are taken. For the offering of incense to the emperors see Tertull. *Apol.* 30, Arnob. *ad Nat.* vii. 36, Euseb.

10 IX. Τῷ δὲ Πολυκάρπῳ εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸ στάδιον  
 φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐγένετο· Ἰσχυε Πολύκαρπε καὶ  
 ἀνδρίζου. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα οὐδεὶς εἶδεν, τὴν δὲ  
 φωνὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ παρόντες ἤκουσαν. καὶ λοιπὸν  
 15 προσαχθέντος αὐτοῦ θόρυβος ἦν μέγας ἀκουσάντων  
 ὅτι Πολύκαρπος συνείληπται. προσαχθέντα οὖν αὐτὸν  
 ἀνηρώτα ὁ ἀνθύπατος, εἰ αὐτὸς εἶη· τοῦ δὲ ὁμολο-  
 γοῦντος, ἔπειθεν ἀρνεῖσθαι λέγων, Αἰδέσθητί σου τὴν  
 ἡλικίαν, καὶ ἕτερα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς

δὲ πολυκάρπου εἰσιόντος.

11 ἐγένετο] G; γέγονεν E. Add. λέγουσα v (Jacob-

son) alone.

Πολύκαρπε] here, mE; after ἀνδρίζου, b<sup>pn</sup>.

After πολύκαρπε

add. μετὰ σοῦ γάρ εἰμι v (from Acts xviii. 9, 10).

12 εἶδεν] bE; οἶδεν p<sup>n</sup>;

ἶδεν m.

13 ἡμετέρων] οἱ μετέρων b.

οἱ παρόντες] G (comp. L, *qui in*

*arena erant*); πολλοὶ E.

καὶ λοιπὸν προσαχθέντος] G; προσαχθέντος οὖν E.

15 Πολύκαρπος] ὁ πολύκαρπος m alone; πολύκαρπον v.

συνείληπται] συνή-

ληπται b; συνελήφθη v alone.

προσαχθέντα οὖν] m; προσαχθέντα δὲ p;

λοιπὸν προσαχθέντα b; λοιπὸν οὖν προσελθόντα E; τοῦ δὲ προσαχθέντος ἐπὶ τοῦ

βήματος v. αὐτὸν] here, m<sup>bp</sup>; after ἀνηρώτα, v alone.

16 εἶη] m; εἰ

πολύκαρπος p; εἶη πολύκαρπος bE; εἶη πολύκαρπος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος v.

τοῦ δὲ

ὁμολογοῦντος] G; καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος E.

17 ἔπειθεν] add. ὡς ἐνόμιζεν v.

18 ἡλικίαν] Add. ᾧ καλὲ πολύκαρπε καὶ φίλε ἡμῶν καὶ θύσον τοῖς θεοῖς ἵνα καὶ τιμῶν

μεγίστων καὶ δωρεῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀξιωθεῖς v.

ἕτερα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα] ἔλεγεν

ἀκόλουθα m alone.

ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς] b<sup>n</sup>; ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἔθος p; ὦν ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς

m; ᾧ σύνηθες αὐτοῖς E.

H. E. vii. 15, and esp. Plin. *Ep.* x. 97 'Qui negant esse se Christianos aut fuisse, quum praeceunte me deos appellarent et imagini tuae, quam propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, *tunc* ac vino *supplicarent*, praeterea maledicerent Christo, quorum nihil posse cogi dicuntur, qui sunt vera Christiani, dimittendos esse putavi.'

καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα] sc. λέγοντες, 'and the like'. This clause appears not to be given as forming part of the words of the magistrates; comp. § 9 καὶ ἕτερα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα. These words καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα are omitted by Eusebius and therefore by Rufinus. It is a mistake of Cotelier to say that they are repre-

sented in his '*de caetero*'; for '*de caetero vivere securum*' is an attempt to give the full force of the compound διασώζεσθαι.

2. ἐπιμενόντων δέ] See the note on § 6.

11. φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κ.τ.λ.] This is apparently related as a parallel to the incident in the Gospel, Joh. xii. 28 ἦλθεν οὖν φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κ.τ.λ. The actual words however, ἰσχυε καὶ ἀνδρίζου, are taken from Josh. i. 6, 7, 9 (comp. Deut. xxxi. 7, 23); see Ps-Ign. *Hero* 8.

12. τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Acts ix. 7.

16. εἰ αὐτὸς εἶη] 'if it were the man himself', αὐτὸς being the predicate, not the subject.



λέγειν· "Ομοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, μετανόησον, εἶπον, Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος ἐμβριθεῖ τῷ προσώπῳ εἰς πάντα τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἀνόμων ἐθνῶν ἐμβλέψας καὶ ἐπισείσας αὐτοῖς τὴν

1 λέγειν] *mpn*; λέγειν ἐστίν *E* (but *v. l.* ἐστι λέγειν); λέγων *b.* "Ομοσον] *ὁμωσον b.* τύχην] *τύχειν b.* 2 εἶπον] *mE*; εἰπέ *bpv.* τοὺς] *om. v* alone. ἀθέους] *θεοὺς b.* ὁ δὲ] *add. τίμιος καὶ μακάριος v.* ἐμβριθεῖ] *ἐμβριθεῖς m*; ἐμβριθῇ *v.* 3 τῷ προσώπῳ] *add. καὶ στιβαρῷ v.* τὸν] *mn[E]*; τῶν *bp.* 4 ἀνόμων ἐθνῶν] *G (comp. L)*; *om. E.* καὶ] *G*; *om. E.*

I. τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην] This is called in Latin either 'genius' or 'fortuna' or 'numen Caesaris'—most commonly the first. This oath was invented under Julius Cæsar, and caused some scandal at the time; Dion Cass. xlv. 6 τὴν τε τύχην αὐτοῦ ὀμνύναι (*comp. c. 50*). Under Augustus days were set apart for the worship of the genius of the emperor (see Marquardt *Röm. Alt.* II. 3, p. 270). During the same emperor's reign we have the notice, Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 10. 8 Συλλαίου τὴν σὴν τύχην ἐπομόσαντος. This oath however was repudiated at first by Tiberius (Dion Cass. lvii. 8 οὗτ' ὀμνύναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην συνεχώρει), though afterwards we hear that the name of Sejanus was associated with his own in it (*ib.* lviii. 2 τὴν τε τύχην αὐτῶν ὥμνυσαν). At a subsequent date it became very common. The emperor Gaius even punished persons because they had never pronounced it; Suet. *Calig.* 27 'quod numquam per genium suum dejerassent.' In a form of this oath found in two Baetican inscriptions of the time of Domitian (*C.I.L.* II. 1963, 1964, pp. 253, 255, 257), the genius of the living emperor is mentioned after the names of the deceased and deified emperors; 'Per Jovem et divom Augustum et divom Claudium et divom Vespa-

sianum Augustum et divom Titum Augustum et genium imperatoris [Caesaris] Domitiani Augusti deosque Penates.' Sometimes it runs 'per salutem et genium'; e.g. Dion Cass. xlv. 50 οὗ τὴν τε ὑγίειαν τὴν τε τύχην ὥμνυσαν. Hence the oath of the mad emperor Gaius, who glorifying a certain horse τὴν τε σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τύχην ὥμνε (*Dion Cass. lix. 14*). The Christians were prepared to accept the first, *per salutem*, but repudiated the second, on the ground that the 'genius' or 'fortune' was a demon, a false god, which they could only adjure for the purpose of exorcising; Tertull. *Apol.* 32 'sed et juramus, sicut non per genios Caesarum, ita per salutem eorum, quae est augustior omnibus geniis: nescitis genios daemones dici...ceterum daemones, id est genios, adjurare consuevimus, ut illos de hominibus exigamus, non dejerare, ut eis honorem conferamus', Minuc. Fel. 29 'sic eorum numen vocant, ad imagines supplicant, genium, id est, daemonem ejus, implorant', Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 65 τύχην μέντοι βασιλέως οὐκ ὥμνυμεν...εἴτε γάρ, ὡς ὠνόμασάν τινες, ἐκφορὰ μόνον ἐστίν...οὐκ ὥμνυμεν τὸ μηδαμῶς ὅν ὡς θεόν...εἴτε καὶ...δαίμων ἐστίν ἢ τύχη τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανητέον ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ὀμόσαι κ.τ.λ., *Exhort. ad*

5 χεῖρα, στενάξας τε καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, εἶπεν· Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους. ἐγκειμένον δὲ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου καὶ λέγοντος· Ὅμοσον, καὶ ἀπολύω σε· λαιδόρησον τὸν Χριστὸν· ἔφη ὁ Πολύκαρπος· Ὁγδοήκοντα καὶ ἔξ

6 ἀθέους] add. ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς v (comp. Acts xxii. 22). ἐγκειμένον] ἐν-  
κειμένον b. ἀνθυπάτου] G; ἡγουμένου E; *praeseptor* L. 7 Ὅμοσον]  
ὁμωσον (sic) b. ἀπολύω σε] ἀπολύο σε b. λαιδόρησον] λυδώρησον b.  
8 ἔφη ὁ Πολύκαρπος] mE; *tunc ait polycarpus* L; ὁ (add. μακάριος v) πολύκαρπος  
ἔφη bpn. Ὁγδοήκοντα] ἐγδοήκοντα b.

*Martyr.* 7 πηλίκον ἀμάρτημα εἶναι νομιστέον τὸ ὀμνῆναι τύχην τινός (*Op.* I. p. 278, ed. Delarue). Pliny (*Paneg.* 52) makes it a merit of Trajan that 'non apud genium tuum bonitati tuae gratias agi, sed apud numen Iovis Optimi Maximi pateris'; and yet he himself punished the Bithynian Christians for repudiating the cultus of this emperor (*Ep.* x. 97, quoted above on § 8 ἐπιθῆναι). This worship of the emperor's genius was a natural outcome of Roman polytheism, for we meet in the inscriptions with 'genius oppidi, municipi, cohortis, legionis, populi Romani, etc.', and even private individuals had their 'genii.' But it outran all bounds, and this was held the most terrible of all oaths; Tertull. *Apol.* 28 'Citius denique apud vos per omnes deos quam per unum genium Caesaris pejeratur', Minuc. Fel. l. c. 'et est eis tutius per Jovis genium pejerare quam regis'; see also Melito *ad Antonin.* 4 (p. 425, Otto) with Otto's notes, p. 464 sq. Tiberius indeed, when Rubrius was accused of violating the 'numen Augusti' by perjury, deprecated his punishment on the ground that 'perinde aestimandum quam si Jovem fefellisset; deorum injurias diis curae' (Tac. *Ann.* i. 73); but this was not an insult offered to a living emperor.

4. ἀνόμων] An epithet of the Gentiles, Acts ii. 23, 1 Cor. ix. 21. See also the antithesis of Ἰουδαῖοι and παρανομοί in a passage from an early writer in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 16 quoted below, p. 967.

7. λαιδόρησον κ.τ.λ.] This was the test applied by Pliny in the Bithynian persecution; *Ep.* x. 97 'praeterea maledicerent Christo ... ii et Christo maledixerunt.'

8. Ὁγδοήκοντα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Polycrates in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24 ἐγὼ οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἔτη ἔχων ἐν Κυρίῳ κ.τ.λ. It is doubtful whether Polycarp means that he was a Christian from his birth and was now 86 years old, or that it was 86 years since he became a Christian. With the reading ἔχω δουλεύων (for δουλεύω) the former interpretation seems more natural, as it is also more probable in itself. In favour of the latter Halloix (I. p. 588), followed by others, quotes the dying words of Hilarion, 'Egredere, anima mea; quid dubitas? septuaginta prope annis servisti Christo, et mortem times?' (Hieron. *Vit. Hilar.* 45, *Op.* II. p. 39), spoken when he was in his 80th year (*ib.* 44). But even if we take the reading δουλεύω, this parallel only shows that Polycarp might have meant the 86 years to reckon from his conversion, not that he did actually mean it.



ἐτη [ἔχω] δουλεύω[ν] αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδέν με ἡδίκησεν· καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου, τὸν σῶσαντά με;

X. Ἐπιμένοντος δὲ πάλιν αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος, Ὅμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, ἀπεκρίνατο· Εἰ κενοδο- 5  
 ξεῖς ἵνα ὁμόσω τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, ὥς σὺ λέγεις, προσποιεῖ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν με τίς εἰμι, μετὰ παρρησίας ἄκουε, Χριστιανός εἰμι. εἰ δὲ θέλεις τὸν τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ μαθεῖν λόγον, δὸς ἡμέραν καὶ ἄκουσον. ἔφη ὁ ἀνθύπατος· Πείσον τὸν δῆμον. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος εἶπεν· 10

1 ἔχω δουλείω] bpn (comp. L, *octogesimum jam et sextum annum aetatis ingredior, nomini ejus probatus et serviens semper*); δουλεύω mE [*Chron-Pasch.*], αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν v. οὐδέν με ἡδίκησεν] bpnE [*Chron-Pasch.*] (but add.

ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλλον διεφίλαξέν με ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ v); *numquam ab eo laesus, semperque servatus* L; ἐφύλαξέν με m. 2 βασιλέα μου] κυριόν μου καὶ βασι-

λέα v alone, but L expands in another way. σῶσαντά με] add. ἀπὸ πολλῶν θλίψεων καὶ ἀναγκῶν v. 3 με] μαι b. 4 πάλιν] om. m alone.

αὐτοῦ] τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου v alone. 5 τύχην] τύχειν b (and so below). Add. καὶ ἀπολύω σε v. ἀπεκρίνατο] G (but add. ὁ μακάριος v); αἶτ L; ὁ πολύ-

καρπος E (adding φησὶν after κενοδοξεῖς). Εἰ κενοδοξεῖς] E; ἐκεῖνο δόξης m; ἐκεῖνο δόξειν bv; μή μοι γένοιτο p; *quid...cogis* L. 6 σὺ] G; om.

E. 7 προσποιεῖ δέ] G (but προσποιῇ p, προσποιεῖς m); προσποιού-μενος E. με τίς] G; ὅστις E. 8 θέλεις...λόγον] E; θέλῃς

τὸν χριστιανισμοῦ μαθεῖν λόγον m; μαθεῖν θέλεις τὸν τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ λόγον bpn. 9 ἔφη ὁ ἀνθύπατος] mE; ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἔφη bpn. 10 δῆμον] add.

καὶ ἀκούω σου v. ὁ δέ] mbr; ὁ ἅγιος v; om. E. εἶπεν] G;

5. κενοδοξεῖς] ‘*vainly imaginest*’, ‘*vainly expectest*’. For the two senses of κενοδόξος -ξεῖν, -ξία, (1) ‘vain-glory’, (2) ‘vain opinion,’ see the note on Ign. *Magn.* 11.

6. ἵνα ὁμόσω] ‘*that I would swear*’. For examples of similar uses of ἵνα see Winer *Gramm.* § xlv. p. 422 sq., liii. p. 577. As κενοδοξεῖν involves a latent *desire*, the expression here has a parallel in θέλειν ἵνα, which is not uncommon. It would appear that ὁμόσω is the conjunctive.

7. μετὰ παρρησίας] ‘*plainly*’, lit.

‘*with unreservedness of speech* on my part’, as in *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 10 ἄκουε γοῦν μετὰ παρρησίας. The phrase is generally used with λαλεῖν, εἰπεῖν, etc.: Acts ii. 29, iv. 29, 31, xxviii. 31, Demosth. *Phil.* ii. p. 73. In Clem. Rom. 34, as in Lev. xxvi. 13, 1 Macc. iv. 18, it signifies ‘with boldness, with confidence’, all reference to speech being lost.

8. Χριστιανός εἰμι] See *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* 10, 19, 20, etc., in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1; *Act. Justin. et Soc.* 2, 3, 4 (*Ruinart*, p. 106 sq., *Ratisb.* 1859);



Ὡς μὲν καὶ λόγου ἡξίωσα· δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναις τιμὴν κατὰ τὸ προσήκον τὴν μὴ βλάπτουσιν ἡμᾶς ἀπονέμειν· ἐκείνους δὲ οὐκ ἀξίους ἡγοῦμαι τοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς.

- 15 XI. Ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν· Θηρία ἔχω, τούτοις σε παραβαλῶ, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσης. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Κάλει· ἀμετάθετος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω μετάνοια· καλὸν δὲ μετατίθεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δίκαια. ὁ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτόν·  
20 Πυρί σε ποιῶ δαπανηθῆναι, εἰ τῶν θηρίων καταφρονεῖς,

ἔφη E. 11 Σὲ μὲν] add. ὦ ἀνθύπατε v. kân] mpv; καὶ b (Jacobson) E. ἡξίωσα] bpnE; ἡξίωκα m. 12 Θεοῦ] mE; τοῦ θεοῦ bpn. τίμην...ἀπονέμειν] mbv; ὑποτάσσεσθαι κατὰ τὸ προσήκον καὶ τίμην ἀπονέμειν τὴν μὴ βλάπτουσιν ἡμᾶς p. 14 οὐκ ἀξίους ἡγοῦμαι] E; οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι ἀξίους bpn; οὐκ ἡγοῦμαι ἀξίους εἶναι m (where the οὐκ points to the order in E). αὐτοῖς] αὐτοὺς m alone. 15 Ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν] mE (but with v. l. ἔφη); ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος πρὸς αὐτόν εἶπεν bp; ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ ἀνθύπατος v. 16 παραβαλῶ] printed παραλαβῶ by an error in Jacobson. μετανοήσης] μετανοήσεις b. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν] bpE (comp. L); ὁ δὲ πολύκαρπος εἶπεν m; ἀπεκρίθη ὁ ἅγιος πολύκαρπος v. Κάλει] add. αὐτὰ ἐν τάχει v. 17 ἀμετάθετος] ἀπαράδεκτος p alone. ἡμῖν ἢ] εἰμὶ m alone. 18 καλὸν] καλῶν b. μετατίθεσθαι] μεταθέσθαι b alone. Add με bpn; om. mE. 19 χαλεπῶν] χαλαιπῶν b. ὁ δὲ] add. ἀνθύπατος v. 20 ποιῶ] bpn; ποιήσω mE. δαπανηθῆναι] G; δαμασθῆναι E (translated however *consumi* by Ruf.). εἰ...καταφρονεῖς] here, mbp; before πυρί σε κ.τ.λ., v. For εἰ...καταφρονεῖς E has ἐὰν...καταφρονῆς.

Act. *Perp. et Felic.* 3, 6; and comp. Plin. *Ep.* x. 97.

10. Πείσον τὸν δῆμον] It is not clear with what motive the proconsul says this; whether (1) like Pilate, with a sincere desire to release the prisoner, or (2) as an excuse for his execution, knowing such an appeal to be useless.

11. δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] See *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 6 ὑποτασσομένους ἄρχουσιν, ἐν οἷς ἀκίνδυνος ἢ ὑποταγή κ.τ.λ., with the notes (comp. *ib.* 2 χάριτας...τὰς μὴ βλαπτούσας ψυχὴν). The reference in δεδιδάγμεθα is espe-

cially to Rom. xiii. 1 sq., 1 Pet. ii. 13 sq.

17. ἀμετάθετος γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Again imitated in *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 9 καλόν, ὁ βασιλεῦ, ἢ ἐκ κακῶν μετάνοια κ.τ.λ.

18. καλὸν δὲ κ.τ.λ.] From the choice of the words here, τὰ χαλεπὰ and τὰ δίκαια, it appears that this clause is intended to refer to the proconsul himself; 'It is you, not I, who have need to repent and to practice justice instead of cruelty'. The insertion of με therefore in some texts arises from a misunderstanding.

ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσης. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος· Πῦρ ἀπει-  
 λείς τὸ πρὸς ὥραν καίόμενον καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον σβεν-  
 νύμενον· ἀγνοεῖς γὰρ τὸ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως καὶ  
 αἰωνίου κολάσεως τοῖς ἀσεβέσι τηρούμενον πῦρ. ἀλλὰ  
 τί βραδύνεις; φέρε ὃ βούλει.

5

XII. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα λέγων, θάρσους  
 καὶ χαρᾶς ἐνεπίμπλατο, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ χάρι-  
 τος ἐπληροῦτο, ἅστε οὐ μόνον μὴ συμπεσεῖν ταραχ-  
 θέντος ὑπὸ τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τούναν-  
 τίον τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐκστῆναι πέμψαι τε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ 10

1 ὁ δὲ] mb; ὁ δὲ ἅγιος p; ὁ ἅγιος v; om. (altogether) E. Πολύκαρπος] bp;  
 add. λέγει v; add. εἶπεν mE; add. *respondit* [L]. Πῦρ] add. μοι m alone.  
 ἀπειλεῖς] ἀπειλῆς b; μοι ἀπολεῖς m. 2 τὸ] om. E alone. 3 κρίσεως...  
 κολάσεως] κολάσεως...κρίσεως (transp.) p alone. 4 ἀλλὰ] καὶ ἄλλα m alone.  
 5 τί βραδύνεις] μὴ βραδύνῃς v. ὃ] mp; ἃ vE (but with v. l. ὃ); ὦ b. βού-  
 λει] add. ἐν τάχει v. 6 δὲ] τοίνυν v alone. ἕτερα] mE;  
 ἄλλα bpn. πλείονα] b (πλείονα) pn; πλείω E (with v. l. πλείονα); om. m.  
 λέγων] εἰπὼν v alone. 7 ἐνεπίμπλατο] pE; ἐνεπήμπλατω b; ἐνεπιπλάτο  
 m; ἀνεπιμπλάτω v. χάριτος] add. θείας v. 8 ὥστε] ὥσπερ v alone. οὐ]  
 G; μὴ E. μὴ] bpnE (but some MSS omit); om. m. ταραχθέντος] pn;  
 ταραχθέντα mbE. 9 ἀλλὰ] add. καὶ p alone. τούναντίον]

1. Πῦρ ἀπειλεῖς κ.τ.λ.] See the note on § 2 πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.

8. μὴ συμπεσεῖν κ.τ.λ.] If ταραχ-  
 θέντος be read, the subject of συμπε-  
 σεῖν will be τὸ πρόσωπον; if ταραχ-  
 θέντα, the subject must be Polycarp  
 himself, and the construction will  
 be μὴ συμπεσεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ προσ-  
 ὄπῳ. Both constructions are illus-  
 trated by the LXX of Gen. iv. 5, 6,  
 Κάιν...συνέπεσε τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ εἶπε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Κάιν...ἵνα  
 τι συνέπεσε τὸ πρόσωπόν σου;

13. Ἰουδαίων] See also § 17.  
 There is ample independent evidence  
 of the presence of Jews at Smyrna.  
 In Rev. ii. 8 reference is made in  
 Smyrna to τὴν βλασφημίαν τῶν λε-  
 γόντων Ἰουδαίους εἶναι ἑαυτούς, καὶ  
 οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ συναγωγή τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

In Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 9897  
 is a Greek sepulchral inscription of  
 Smyrna mentioning two Jewish el-  
 ders, father and son, and concluding  
 with the Hebrew דָּלָשׁ. In another  
 Smyrnæan inscription (*ib.* 3148), be-  
 longing to Hadrian's reign, mention  
 is made of οἱ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι—appa-  
 rently renegades who had conformed  
 to heathenism—as making large con-  
 tributions to certain public works.  
 The presence of a Judaic Docetism  
 in Smyrna, as shown in Ign. *Smyrn.*  
 2, 5, etc., is also a significant fact.  
 The Jews appear likewise at the  
 martyrdom of Pionius and his  
 companions, who also suffered at  
 Smyrna in the Decian persecution;  
*Act. Pion.* 3 'Innumerae quoque  
 aderant feminarum catervae, quia



κήρυκα, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ σταδίῳ κηρῦξαι τρίς· Πολύκαρπος  
 ὡμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν χριστιανὸν εἶναι. τούτου λεχθέντος  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος, ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἐθνῶν τε καὶ Ἰου-  
 δαίων τῶν τὴν Ἐμύρναν κατοικούντων ἀκατασχέτω  
 15 θυμῷ καὶ μεγάλη φωνῇ ἐπεβόα· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς  
 Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν χριστιανῶν, ὁ τῶν  
 ἡμετέρων θεῶν καθαιρέτης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ  
 θύειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν. ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπεβόων καὶ  
 ἡρώτων τὸν Ἀσιάρχην Φίλιππον, ἵνα ἐπαφῇ τῷ Πολυ-

τοῦναντίων b. 10 ἐκστήναι] bE; ἐκστήναι (sic) m (transposing the words,  
 ἐκστήναι τὸν ἀνθύπατον); μᾶλλον ἐκστήσαι v; ἐκπλήξαι p. πέμψαι τε] πέμψεται  
 b; καὶ πέμψαι v. ἑαυτοῦ] G; om. E. 11 ἐν μέσῳ] ἐμμέσῳ b. τῷ  
 σταδίῳ] bE; τοῦ σταδίου mpv. κηρῦξαι] mbE; καὶ κηρῦξαι p v. τρίς] m  
 E; τρίτον bpv. 12 ὡμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν] ὁμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν b; ἑαυτὸν ὡμολό-  
 γησεν m alone. τούτου] add. δὲ m alone. 13 ἐθνῶν] G; τῶν ἐθνῶν E  
 (but some MSS om. τῶν). 14 Ἐμύρναν] σμύρνην p alone. κατοικούντων]  
 οἰκούντων p alone. 15 ἐπεβόα] mbv; ἐβόα pE. 16 Ἀσίας] mEL;  
 ἀσεβείας bpv. ὁ τῶν] καὶ τῶν v alone. 18 προσκυνεῖν] txt mE;  
 add. τοῖς θεοῖς bpv. ἐπεβόων] bvE; ἐπεβόουν m; ἐβόουν p. 19 ἡρώτων]  
 ἡρώτουν m alone.

erat dies sabbati et Judaeorum fe-  
 minas ab opere diei festivitas re-  
 laxabat' (comp. § 4). This explains  
 the large concourse of Jews at Poly-  
 carp's martyrdom, which occurred  
 also at a festival time. As in  
 the Apostolic times, so also in sub-  
 sequent ages, the Jews took an ac-  
 tive part in instigating the persecu-  
 tions of the Christians; Tertull.  
*Scorp.* 10 'synagogas Judaeorum,  
 fontes persecutionum', comp. Justin  
 Mart. *Apol.* i. 31 (p. 72), with Otto's  
 note for other references in Justin.  
 Their activity in this respect in  
 Proconsular Asia appears from an  
 anonymous writer in Euseb. *H. E.*  
 v. 16, where twitting the Montanists  
 he says, ἔστι τις τῶν ἀπὸ Μοντανοῦ...  
 ὅστις ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἐδιώχθη ἢ ὑπὸ  
 παρανόμων ἀπεκτάνθη; οὐδεὶς ... οὐδὲ  
 μὴν οὐδὲ ἐν συναγωγαῖς Ἰουδαίων τῶν

γυναικῶν τις ἐμαστιγώθη ποτὲ ἢ ἐλιθο-  
 βολήθη; οὐδαμῶσε οὐδαμῶς.

14. ἀκατασχέτω] 'ingouvernable',  
 as in the v. l. in James iii. 8, where  
 however the correct reading is ἀκα-  
 τάστατον.

19. Ἀσιάρχην] The Asiarch was the  
 head of the *Commune Asiae*, the  
 confederation of the principal cities  
 of the Roman province of Asia. As  
 such he was the 'chief-priest' of  
 Asia (§ 21) and president of the  
 games. For more see the excursus  
 on the Asiarchs at the end of this  
 Letter.

Φίλιππον] This Philip is mention-  
 ed as a Trallian below § 21, and  
 Strabo tells us that owing to the  
 wealth of Tralles its citizens were  
 constantly appointed Asiarchs, xiv.  
 p. 649 καὶ αἰεὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰσὶν οἱ  
 πρωτεύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὓς



κάρπῳ λέοντα. ὁ δὲ ἔφη μὴ εἶναι ἐξὸν αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ  
 πεπληρώκει τὰ κυνηγέσια. τότε ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ὁμοθυ-  
 μαδὸν ἐπιβοῆσαι, ὥστε τὸν Πολύκαρπον ζῶντα κατα-  
 καῦσαι. ἔδει γὰρ τὸ τῆς φανερωθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκε-  
 φαλαίου ὀπτασίας πληρωθῆναι, ὅτε ἰδὼν αὐτὸ καιόμενον 5  
 προσευχόμενος εἶπεν ἐπιστράφεις τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ πιστοῖς  
 προφητικῶς· Δεῖ με ζῶντα καῆναι.

XIII. Ταῦτα οὖν μετὰ τοσούτου τάχους ἐγένετο,  
 θάττον ἢ ἐλέγετο, τῶν ὅχλων παραχρῆμα συναγόντων

1 ὁ δὲ] mE (comp. L); add φιλιππος b<sup>pn</sup>. αὐτῷ] pE; αὐτὸ (but transp.  
 αὐτὸ ἐξὸν) m; αὐτὸν b; αὐτῶν v. 2 αὐτοῖς] αὐτοὺς m alone. 3 ζῶντα]  
 om. b alone, which reads πολὺκαρπον ἐπιβοῆσαι κατακαυθῆναι. E places ζῶντα  
 after ὥστε. κατακαῦσαι] E (not κατακαῆναι, as stated in Jacobson); καῦσαι (sic)  
 m (some letters being omitted by homœoteleuton ζῶν[τα κα]τακαῦσαι); κατακαυθῆναι  
 b<sup>pn</sup> (derived from the passage just below); ut vivunt polycarpum ignis exureret L.  
 4 ἔδει] εἶδη b. φανερωθείσης] b<sup>pn</sup>; add. αὐτῷ mE. 5 αὐτὸ] αὐτῷ b<sup>p</sup>.  
 καιόμενον] om. p alone. 6 σὺν αὐτῷ] G; μετ' αὐτοῦ E. 7 Δεῖ] ὅτι  
 δεῖ v alone. με] μαι p. καῆναι] mE (but some MSS κατακαῆναι); κατα-  
 καυθῆναι b<sup>p</sup>; καυθῆναι v. 8 ἐγένετο] mbvE; ἐγίνετο p. 9 ἢ ἐλέγετο]

Ἀσιάρχας καλοῦσιν. The name Philip occurs in connexion with Tralles, Galen *Op.* XIII. p. 105 (ed. Kühn) ἐδόθη ὑπὸ Φιλίππου Τραλλιανοῖς; and in two Trallian inscriptions, Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 2932, 2933, there is mention of one Γ. Ἰούλιος Φίλιππος ἐπίτροπος τῶν Σεβαστῶν and his son Ἰούλιος Φίλιππος συγκλητικὸς στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων, the father, if not the son also, being mentioned as ἀγωνοθέτης. Boeckh (see his note on no. 2790 at Aphrodisias, where the father is again mentioned) conjectures that this person derived his name from the emperor Julius Philippus; but an inscription recently discovered at Olympia seems to show that he is wrong. This inscription, published by Dittenberger in the *Archäologische Zeitung* XXXVIII (1880), Hft. I, and commented on by R. A. Lipsius in *Fahrh. f. Protest. Theol.* 1881, p.

575, runs thus; Ἡ Ὀλυμπι[κῇ] βουλῇ Γ[άϊον] Ἰούλιο[ν] Φίλιππον Τραλλιανὸν τὸν Ἀσιάρχην ἡθῶν ἕνεκα, Ὀλυμπιάδι σλβ'. The proximity of date (Olymp. 232 = A.D. 149) points to the same person who presided over the martyrdom of Polycarp. He is apparently also the same whose name appears in the Trallian inscriptions. Perhaps also this is the person mentioned in the Anthology (II. p. 450), where there is an epigram by Theodoretus the grammarian (see Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* VI. p. 320) εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα Φιλίππου ἄρχοντος ἐν Σμύρνῃ, from which it appears that the Philadelphians sent offerings in recognition of his justice. A much later Philip is commemorated on coins as Recorder (γραμματεὺς) of Tralles in the age of the Gordians; Mionnet IV. p. 192 (no. 1119), *ib.* *Suppl.* VII. p. 465 (no. 683).

10 ἔκ τε τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ βαλανείων ξύλα καὶ φρύ-  
 γανα, μάλιστα Ἰουδαίων προθύμως, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, εἰς  
 ταῦτα ὑπουργούντων. ὅτε δὲ ἡ πυρκαϊὰ ἡτοιμάσθη,  
 ἀποθέμενος ἑαυτῷ πάντα τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ λύσας τὴν  
 15 τοῦτο ποιῶν διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ ἕκαστον τῶν πιστῶν σπου-  
 δάζειν ὅστις τάχιον τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ ἄψηται  
 [ἐν] παντὶ γὰρ ἀγαθῆς ἔνεκεν πολιτείας καὶ πρὸ τῆς

mE; τοῦ λεχθῆναι bpn. τῶν] καὶ τῶν m alone. συναγόντων] mpE (but  
 v. l. συναγαγόντων); συναγαγόντων bn. 10 τε] G; om. E. καὶ βαλα-  
 νείων] om. m alone. βαλανείων] βαλανίων b. καὶ φρύγανα] om. m alone.  
 12 ὑπουργούντων] ὑπουργεῖν v. πυρκαϊὰ] bpn; πυρὰ mE 13 ἑαυτῷ] b  
 E; ἑαυτοῦ pn; αὐτοῦ m. πάντα] om. m alone. 14 ζῶνῃ] E; add.  
 ἑαυτοῦ p; add. αὐτοῦ mbv. ὑπολύειν ἑαυτόν] ἑαυτὸν ὑπολύειν v. 15 αἰεὶ]  
 om. m alone. 16 ὅστις] bpE; τίς mn. τάχιον] E; τάχειον mrv;  
 ταχίαν b (Jacobson). ἄψηται] G; ἐφάψηται E. 17 ἐν παντὶ γὰρ] E  
 (comp. L); παντὶ γὰρ καλῶ b; πράξεις γὰρ καλὰς pn; πάσης γὰρ m. ἀγαθῆς  
 ἔνεκεν πολιτείας] m (but ἔνεκα for ἔνεκεν) bvE; καὶ ἀγαθὰς καὶ θεομίμητον πολιτείαν p.

2. πεπληρώκει] For the omission of the augment see Winer *Gramm.* § xii. p. 85.

τὰ κυνηγέσια] representing the Latin 'venationes', as e.g. in Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 2511 φαμίλια μονομάχων καὶ ὑπόμνημα κυνηγεσίων Νεμερίου Καστρικίου Λευκίου Πακωνιανοῦ Ἀσιάρχου καὶ Αὐρηλίας Σαπφούς Πλάτωνος Δικιννιανῆς ἀρχιερείας γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, where, as here, it stands in connexion with an Asiarch; comp. also no. 3650, a similar inscription but mutilated. Thus κυνηγέσια would comprise all fights with wild beasts in the circus, whether dogs were employed or not. On the 'venatio' see Friedländer *Sittengeschichte Roms* II. p. 218 sq., Marquardt *Röm. Staatsverw.* III. pp. 507, 542 sq.

4. ἔδει γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. John xviii. 32 ἵνα ὁ λόγος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πληρωθῇ, ὃν εἶπεν σημαίνων ποῖω θανάτῳ ἡμελλεν ἀποθνήσκειν. It would seem

that this unexpected fulfilment of Polycarp's presentiment is regarded by the writer or writers of this epistle, after their wont, as a parallel to the unexpected fulfilment of Christ's prediction: see above, § 1.

6. εἶπεν κ.τ.λ.] See above, § 5.

7. καῖναι] For this form see Winer *Gramm.* § xv. p. 106, Veitch *Irregular Verbs* s.v. καίω.

10. ξύλα καὶ φρύγανα] 'wood and fuel', the former from the workshops etc, and the latter from the baths; comp. Cic. *in Verr.* II. i. 69 'ligna et sarmenta circumdare, ignemque subicere coeperunt,' quoted by Usher, who also refers to Tertull. *Apol.* 50 'Licet nunc sarmenticios et semaxios appelletis, quia ad stipitem dimidii axis revincti sarmentorum ambitu exuremur.'

17. ἀγαθῆς κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Vit. Polyc.* 6 ἐν πολλῇ προκοπῇ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν

πολιᾶς ἐκεκόσμητο. εὐθέως οὖν αὐτῷ περιετίθετο τὰ πρὸς τὴν πυρὰν ἡρμοσμένα ὄργανα. μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ προσηλοῦν εἶπεν· Ἐφετέ με οὕτως· ὁ γὰρ δοὺς ὑπομεῖναι τὸ πῦρ δώσει καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐκ τῶν ἡλῶν ἀσφαλείας ἀσκυλτον ἐπιμεῖναι τῇ 5 πυρᾷ.

XIV. Οἱ δὲ οὐ καθήλωσαν μέν, προσέδησαν δὲ αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω τὰς χεῖρας ποιήσας καὶ προσδεθείς, ὥσπερ κριὸς ἐπίσημος ἐκ μεγάλου ποιμνίου εἰς προσφο-

1 πολιᾶς] E; μαρτυρίας b<sup>pn</sup>L. All the words καὶ πρὸ τῆς μαρτυρίας (or πολιᾶς) are omitted in m; and this is best accounted for by supposing that the scribe had πολιᾶς in his copy and after writing πολιτείας his eye passed on inadvertently to it, so as to omit the intervening words. ἐκεκόσμητο] ἐκεκόσμιτο b; ἐκέκμητο p alone. οὖν] δὲ m alone. αὐτῷ] ἐαυτῷ p. περιετίθετο] προετίθετο p alone. 3 αὐτῶν καὶ] αὐτόν (om. καὶ) m alone. προσηλοῦν] txt b<sup>pn</sup>; add. αὐτόν E; add. ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ v. εἶπεν] add. ὁ ἅγιος v. 4 δοὺς] G; διδοὺς E. Add. μοι bL; om. m<sup>pn</sup>E. ὑμετέρας] ὑμῶν p alone. 5 ἐκ τῶν ἡλῶν] om. m alone. ἀσκυλτον] m; ἀσκήλως E; ἀσάλευτον b<sup>pn</sup>. 7 μέν] om. E alone. προσέδησαν] mE; ἔδησαν p v; ἔδεισαν b. 8 ὁ δὲ] add. ἅγιος πολύκαρπος v. 9 ἐπίσημος] ἐπίσημος p. Add. ἀναφερόμενος E; om. G. 10 ὀλοκαύτωμα] m<sup>n</sup>E; ὀλοκάρπωμα b<sup>r</sup>. τῇ Θεῷ] G; θεῷ παντοκράτορι E.

ἀγαθὴν πολιτείαν ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἐγίνετο, comp. *ib.* § 20.

καὶ πρὸ τῆς πολιᾶς] i.e. 'even before his advanced years called for this assistance.' This reading which is found in Eusebius seems to be correct. The omission of the whole clause in the Moscow MS, which is the best and which most commonly agrees with Eusebius, may be explained in the manner suggested in the upper note. Comp. the language of Macar. Magn. *Apocr.* iii. 24 (p. 109) καὶ δὴ πρὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ... καλῶς ἔσχεν ἅπαντα, speaking of Polycarp.

9. ὥσπερ κριὸς κ.τ.λ.] Imitated in *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 2 ὥσπερ κριὸς ἐπίσημος, ἀγέλης καλῆς ἡγούμενος, said of Ignatius under similar circumstances. For προσδεθείς ὥσπερ κριὸς comp.

Melito *Fragm.* 9 (p. 416, ed. Otto) ὡς γὰρ κριὸς ἐδέθη, where he dwells on the κριὸς in the sacrifice of Isaac, as a type of Christ.

10. ὀλοκαύτωμα] The adoption of the other reading would not alter the sense. In the LXX ὀλοκάρπωμα, ὀλοκάρπωσις, are synonyms for ὀλοκαύτωμα, ὀλοκαύτωσις, all the four words being renderings of חָלָץ. In Lev. xvi. 24 we have ὀλοκαύτωμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀλοκάρπωμα τοῦ λαοῦ, where the same word חָלָץ stands in both places in the original.

12. παιδός σου] 'Thy son,' rather than 'Thy servant'; see the note on Clem. Rom. 59.

15. τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων] So again, § 17. Comp. *Hermas Sim.* ix. 17 quoted by Zahn. See also the note on § 3.



10 ράν, ὁλοκαύτωμα δεκτὸν τῷ Θεῷ ἡτοιμασμένον, ἀνα-  
 βλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παν-  
 τοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδὸς σου  
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ, δι' οὗ τὴν περὶ σοῦ ἐπίγνωσιν  
 εἰλήφαμεν, ὁ Θεὸς [ὁ] ἀγγέλων καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ πάσης  
 15 κτίσεως παντός τε τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων οὐ ζῶσιν ἐνώ-  
 πιον σου· εὐλογῶ σε, ὅτι κατηξίωσάς με τῆς ἡμέρας  
 καὶ ὥρας ταύτης, τοῦ λαβεῖν με μέρος ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν  
 μαρτύρων ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ [σου] εἰς ἀνά-

ἡτοιμασμένον...οὐρανὸν] G (comp. L); om. E.

11 Κύριε...παντοκράτωρ]

GL; om. E.

12 καὶ εὐλογητοῦ] om. v by homœoteleuton.

σου] here, bv

E; after ἀγαπητοῦ, p (Jacobson). For παιδὸς σου m has σου υἱοῦ.

13 δι'

οὔ] om. p alone.

σοῦ] G; σὲ E.

14 ὁ ἀγγέλων] bv; ἀγγέλων (om.

ὁ) mspE.

15 κτίσεως] mvE (but with v. l. τῆς κτίσεως); τῆς κτίσεως p;

τῆς κτήσεως b. Add. δημιουργός v alone.

παντός τε] mE; καὶ παντὸς bpv.

δικαίων] bpvLE; ἀνθρώπων m.

16 κατηξίωσάς] mE; ἡξίωσάς bpv. ἡμέρας

καὶ ὥρας ταύτης] bpE; ὥρας ταύτης καὶ ἡμέρας v; ἡμέρας ταύτης m; hac passione L.

17 λαβεῖν] λαβεῖ b.

με] bv; om. mpE.

μέρος] add. καὶ

κλήρον v.

18 μαρτύρων] txt mE; add. σου bpv.

σου] msbv;

om. pE.

16. τῆς ἡμέρας κ.τ.λ.] 'This day of persecution and this hour of death.' As the ἡμέρα denotes the period of suffering, so the ὥρα denotes the climax of that period. There is no reference to the day of the month, or the hour of the day, as some have thought. In such a connexion any chronometrical reference would be altogether out of place. The significance of the words is in fact explained by the following clause τοῦ λαβεῖν με μέρος κ.τ.λ. When in John xii. 27 our Lord says σῶσόν με ἐκ τῆς ὥρας ταύτης (quoted by Steitz and others after him), the last idea which any one would think of importing into the text would be a reference to the exact hour of the day or night; and the case before us is a parallel. See also above § 2 ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ βασανιζόμενοι, § 7 φα-

γεῖν καὶ πιεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, and comp. *Acta Joannis* p. 6 (ed. Zahn) ἡμαρτον, πάτερ Πέτρε, ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ κ.τ.λ. The meaning is best explained by *Vita Cypriani* 16 (Cypr. *Op.* III. p. cvii, Hartel) 'Inluxit denique dies alius, ille signatus, ille promissus, ille divinus, quem si tyrannus ipse differre voluisset, numquam prorsus valeret,' and below § 18 is the expression 'clarificationis hora matura.' For the false inferences which have been drawn from these words, see the general introduction, where also the seeming parallel in S. E. Assem. *Act. Mart. Orient.* I. p. 31 is considered.

18. τῷ ποτηρίῳ] 'the cup,' which is mentioned Matt. xx. 22, 23, Mark x. 38, 39; Matt. xxvi. 39, 42, Mark xiv. 36, Luke xxii. 42; John xviii. 11: see *Galatians* p. 274.

CTACIN ZΩΗC αἰωνίου ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος ἐν ἀφθαρσία  
 πνεύματος ἁγίου· ἐν οἷς προσδεχθείην ἐνώπιόν σου σή-  
 μερον ἐν θυσίᾳ πίονι καὶ προσδεκτῇ, καθὼς προητοίμασας  
 καὶ προεφάνέρωσας καὶ ἐπλήρωσας, ὁ ἀψευδὴς καὶ ἀλη-  
 θινὸς Θεός. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πάντων σὲ αἰνῶ, σὲ 5  
 εὐλογῶ, σὲ δοξάζω διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ἀρ-  
 χιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός, δι' οὗ  
 σοι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ [ἡ] δόξα καὶ νῦν [καὶ  
 αἰ.] καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

XV. Ἀναπέμψαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμήν καὶ πλη- 10  
 ρώσαντος τὴν εὐχὴν, οἱ τοῦ πυρὸς ἄνθρωποι ἐξῆψαν

2 προσδεχθείην] mE; accipiam L; προσδεχθείη b; προσδεχθείημεν pv. 3 ἐν  
 θυσίᾳ] θυσία m alone. 4 καὶ προεφάνέρωσας] G; προφανερῶσας E. καὶ  
 ἐπλήρωσας] bpv; καὶ πληρώσας E; om. m. δ] om. p alone, inserting ὦν  
 after θεός. 5 Θεός] here bpmE; after ἀψευδὴς v. σὲ αἰνῶ...δοξάζω]  
 mE; αἰνῶ σε (add. καὶ p) εὐλογῶ σε δοξάζω σε bpv. 6 διὰ τοῦ...παιδός]  
 m, and so generally E (but om. καὶ ἐπουρανίου and ins. τοῦ before ἀγαπήτου);  
 per aeternum pontificem omnipotentem iesum christum L; σὺν τῷ αἰωνίῳ (αἰῶνι v)  
 καὶ ἐπουρανίῳ (ἐπ' οὐρανίῳ v) Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἀγαπητῷ σου παιδί bpv. 7 δι'  
 οὗ] mE; per quem L; μεθ' οὗ bpv. 8 σὺν αὐτῷ] mE; et cum ipso  
 L; om. bpv. ἡ] bpv; om. mE. δόξα] add. κράτος m alone. καὶ  
 pri.] bpE; om. mv[L]. καὶ αἰ.] m (comp. L which has et in futurum in saecula  
 saeculorum); om bpvE. 9 μέλλοντας αἰῶνας] bvE; αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων mp;  
 saecula saeculorum L (see the last note). 10 Ἀναπέμψαντος...ἀμήν]

1. εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς] These words occur John v. 29.

3. ἐν θυσίᾳ] 'as a sacrifice.' For a similar use of the preposition comp. Acts vii. 14 ἐν ψυχαῖς ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε.

5. σὲ αἰνῶ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 47 αἰνοῦμέν σε, ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως κ.τ.λ., from the *Gloria in excelsis*.

6. αἰωνίου...ἀρχιερέως] The same expression which is used in Polycarp's own epistle, *Phil.* 12; see the note there.

10. Ἀναπέμψαντος] Used of the offering up of prayer and speeding it to the throne of grace; as e.g. Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 65 (p. 97) αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ...ἀναπέμπει καὶ εὐχαριστίαν, *ib.* 67 (p. 98) ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας...ἀναπέμπει, Clem. Alex. *Paed.* iii. 12 (p. 311) αἶνον ἀναπέμψαι Κυρίῳ, *Strom.* vii. 6 (p. 848) ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν (τῆς εὐχῆς)...ἀναπέμπομεν, Euseb. *H. E.* x. 4, 5, etc. So it is used not unfrequently in the Greek Liturgies.

τὸ ἀμήν] With the definite article, as in 1 Cor. xiv. 16; see Otto's note on Justin *Apol.* i. 65 (p. 97). Comp.

τὸ πῦρ. μεγάλης δὲ ἐκλαμψάσης φλογός, θαῦμα  
 εἶδομεν, οἷς ἰδεῖν ἐδόθη· οἱ καὶ ἐτηρήθημεν εἰς τὸ ἀναγ-  
 γείλαι τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰ γενόμενα. τὸ γὰρ πῦρ καμά-  
 15 ρας εἶδος ποιῆσαν, ὥσπερ ὀθόνη πλοίου ὑπὸ πνεύ-  
 ματος πληρουμένη, κύκλῳ περιετείχισεν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ  
 μάρτυρος· καὶ ἦν μέσον, οὐχ ὡς σὰρξ καιομένη, ἀλλ'  
 ὡς ἄρτος ὀπτώμενος, ἢ ὡς χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν  
 καμίνῳ πυρούμενος. καὶ γὰρ εὐωδίας τοσαύτης ἀντε-  
 20 λαβόμεθα, ὡς λιβανωτοῦ πνέοντος ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν  
 τιμίων ἀρωμάτων.

XVI. Πέρας γοῦν ἰδόντες οἱ ἄνομοι μὴ δυνάμενον

om. v (by homœoteleuton), adding αὐτοῦ after πληρώσαντος. 11 εὐ-  
 χήν] G; προσευχήν E. ἄνθρωποι] bpE; ἐργάται καὶ ἄνθρωποι v; ὑπουργοὶ m.  
 12 θαῦμα] txt mE; add. μέγα pn; add. μέγαν b. 13 εἶδομεν] E; ἴδομεν  
 bpn; ἴδωμεν m. ἐτηρήθημεν] G; ἐτηρήθησαν E (comp. L). 15 ὀθόνη...  
 πληρουμένη] G; ὀθόνης...πληρουμένης E. πλοίου] πλοιοὶ b. πνεύματος]  
 ἀνέμου v alone. 16 κύκλῳ περιετείχισεν] περιετείχισεν κύκλῳ v alone.  
 περιετείχισεν] περιετίχισεν b. 17 μάρτυρος] ἀρχιερέως m alone. μέσον]  
 G; εἰς μέσον E. Add. τοῦ πυρὸς v alone. 18 ὡς ἄρτος...ἢ] G (comp. L);  
 om. E. ὀπτώμενος] ὀπτόμενος pn. ἢ ὡς...πυρούμενος] om. m. 19 γὰρ]  
 om. v alone. τοσαύτης] G; τοιαύτης E (but with v. l.). 20 πνέοντος]  
 om. m alone. ἄλλου] om. m alone. 22 γοῦν] vE; δ' οὖν m; οὖν  
 bp; itaque L. ἰδόντες] εἰδόντες m. μὴ] mE; οὐ bpn.

also Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 9 συνεπιφθεγ-  
 ξάμενον τὸ ἀμῆν.

14. τὸ γὰρ πῦρ κ.τ.λ.] For parallels  
 to this strange phenomenon, see the  
 general introduction.

18. ὡς ἄρτος κ.τ.λ.] This first com-  
 parison may have been omitted by  
 Eusebius from homœoteleuton, or  
 not improbably, because the homely  
 image offended his literary taste.  
 Ignatius adapts the image of 'bread'  
 to his own martyrdom in a different  
 way, *Rom.* 4.

ὡς χρυσὸς κ.τ.λ.] Euseb. *Mart. Pal.*  
 10 διὰ πυρὸς οἷα χρυσὸς ἀκραιφνέστα-  
 τος...τὴν δοκιμὴν ἀποδέδωκε. The idea  
 of the testing and refining power of

fine or precious metals was doubt-  
 less present here also to the writers'  
 mind, though not definitely ex-  
 pressed.

19. εὐωδίας κ.τ.λ.] On this sup-  
 posed miracle see the general intro-  
 duction.

22. πέρας γοῦν] 'at last,' 'finally.'  
 So πέρας γοῦν in Clem. Hom. i. 8,  
 iii. 62, xv. 5, xvii. 14, 16, 17, 18, xix.  
 24; and πέρας γέ τοι in Barnab.  
*Epist.* 5, 10, 12, 15, 16.

μὴ δυνάμενον] At S. Stefano on  
 the Cœlian, the text Ecclus. li. 6  
 'In medio ignis non sum aestuatus'  
 is written under Polycarp. See Us-  
 sher's note.



αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς δαπανηθῆναι, ἐκέλευσαν  
προσελθόντα αὐτῷ κομφέκτορα παραβῦσαι ξιφίδιον.

1 αὐτοῦ] G; om E. ἐκέλευσαν] ἐκέλευσε p alone. 2 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸ b.  
κομφέκτορα] κομφαίκτορα v; κονφέκτορα m. ξιφίδιον] G (ξίφη διὸν b);

2. κομφέκτορα] Sueton. *Octav.* 43 'Confectores ferarum et nonnquam ex nobilissima juventute, produxit,' *Nero* 12 'Confectores quoque ferarum et varia arenae ministeria,' Quintil. *Decl.* ix. 7 'Exspectabam cruentum illum confectorem,' *Act. S. Meletii* 39 (quoted by Gersdorf in Heinichen Euseb. *H. E.* i. p. xxxix) *τελεσάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν εὐχὴν προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ὁ κομφέκτωρ.* It was the business of these 'confectores', as their name implies, to give the 'happy despatch' to wild beasts which had been hunted in the arena, and sometimes to human beings also, as here and in *Act. Perp. et Felic.* 21 'Perpetua...errantem dexteram tirunculi gladiatoris ipsa in jugulum suum posuit,' *Act. Prob. Tarach.* etc. 10 ἐκέλευσεν *μαχαιοφόρους* (l. *μαχαιοφόρους*) τῶν λουδαρίων εἰσελθεῖν καὶ ἀποσφάττειν αὐτούς. In the present instance the *venationes* had only just ceased, and therefore a 'confelector' was at hand. Otherwise he was not a functionary connected with the death by fire. The 'confelector' has been wrongly confused with the 'bestiarius.' The work of the 'confelector' began where that of the 'bestiarius' ceased.

*παραβῦσαι ξιφίδιον*] The incident doubtless presents itself to the mind of the writers as a parallel to John xix. 34 εἰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγχῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἔνυξεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εὐθὺς αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ. In both cases the act of piercing with the spear or sword was an exceptional act, which could not have been foreseen from the mode of execution.

3. *περιστερὰ*] Whether this word

formed part of the original text or not, it must be explained by the belief that the human soul departed from the body at death in the form of a bird. In the case of a pure Christian soul, this bird would be a dove. So we are told of the martyrdom of Eulalia, Prudent. *Peristeph. Hymn.* iii. 33 sq.

Emicat inde columba repens,  
Martyris os nive candidior  
Visa relinquere, et astra sequi;  
Spiritus hic erat Eulaliae,  
Lacteolus, celer, innocuus...  
Vidit et ipse satelles avem  
Feminae ab ore meare palam,

which is an exact parallel to the incident before us. Again we read in the Latin Martyrologies (see Bedae *Op.* v. p. 1087, ed. Migne) under Nov. 1, concerning S. Benignus of Dijon, a reputed disciple of Polycarp, that at his martyrdom 'columba nivea de carcere Christianis aspicientibus ad caelos ascendit, et odor suavissimus quasi paradisi secutus est'. On the other hand in reference to the soul of a rapacious and unscrupulous impostor, Lucian (*de Morte Peregr.* 39), ridiculing this belief, invents the fiction how, when Peregrinus threw himself on the pyre and was burnt to death, a vulture rose out of the flames (see above, i, p. 132). It was perhaps to humour this superstition, or to emphasize the symbolism which it involved (*Artemid. Oneir.* ii. 20 ἔθος γάρ τι παλαιὸν τοὺς ἀποθανόντας τοὺς γε τοιοῦτους πλάσσειν τε καὶ γράφειν ἐπ' αἰσῶν ὀχομένους, speaking of kings and great men), that from the funeral pyre of the Roman em-

καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος, ἐξῆλθε [περιστερὰ καὶ] πλῆθος

*gladiunculum* L; τὸ ξίφος E.

3 ποιήσαντος] ποιήσαντες p alone.

περι-

στερὰ καὶ] G (comp. L); om. E.

perors an eagle was let fly as a token of their deification, Herodian iv. 2 ἀετὸς ἀφίεται σὺν τῷ πυρὶ ἀνελευσόμενος ἐς τὸν αἰθέρα, ὃς φέρειν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς οὐρανὸν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχὴν πιστεύεται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. This passage has reference more especially to the funeral of Severus. We have accounts also of the same ceremonial at the exequies of Augustus (Dion Cass. lvi. 42) and of Pertinax (Dion Cass. lxxiv. 4); comp. Justin *Apol.* i. 21 (p. 67).

Of all birds the dove most readily suggested itself as the emblem of a Christian soul. The image of the Psalmist (lv. 6), 'O that I had wings like a dove, etc.', had led the way. The proverbial innocence of this bird likewise recommended it (Matt. x. 16; comp. Tertull. *Scorp.* 15 'simplices animae et solummodo columbae'). It was a common belief also that there was no gall in the dove (*Horapollo* i. 57), though this view was not taken by more learned naturalists (Aristot. *Hist. An.* ii. 15, p. 506, Plin. *N. H.* xi. 37, 74); and this point was seized upon by Christian writers (Tertull. *de Baptism.* 8 'quod etiam corporaliter ipso felle careat columba'; comp. Cyprian *de Unit. Eccl.* 9). Hence in the catacombs we find pictures of doves with the legends 'Anima innocens', 'Anima simplex', etc., and the designation 'Palumbulus sine felle' is there given to the souls of little children. For these and similar representations in the catacombs, see Kraus *Roma Sotterranea* p. 237 sq. The caged bird represents the soul imprisoned in the body; while the bird set free suggests the soul soaring heavenward. For

the symbolism of the dove generally see Pitra *Spicil. Solem.* II. p. 484 sq., Martigny *Dict. Antiq. Chrét.* p. 162 sq. (s. v. 'Colombe'). It is not confined to Christian writers. Rabbinical commentators on Cant. i. 15, iv. 1, v. 2, 12, vi. 9, so interpreted the dove; see Leyrer in Herzog *Real-Encykl.* s. v. 'Tauben in Palestina', Bochart *Hieroz.* II. pp. 11, 17. In the spurious *Life of Polycarp*, ascribed to Pionius, it is related (§ 22) that at the time of his consecration one of the brethren εἶδεν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Πολυκάρπου περιστερὰν λευκὴν περὶ ἣν κύκλος ἦν φωτός.

But did this mention of the dove form part of the original text or not? Eusebius says nothing of it, but writes ἐξῆλθε πλῆθος αἵματος. The words περιστερὰ καὶ are wanting not only in all the extant Greek MSS, in the Latin of Rufinus, and in the Syriac Version, but also in writers like Nicephorus who borrowed from Eusebius. On the other hand they were certainly found in the archetypal MS which was the progenitor of all other existing MSS (both Greek and Latin) of the Letter itself; for the absence of the words in two Latin MSS means nothing, since these merely translate from Rufinus in this part (see above, II. p. 944). Our choice therefore lies between the authority of Eusebius and the authority of the extant form of the Acts of Martyrdom. In favour of the omission it may be urged: (1) As a question of internal evidence; that the dove seems out of place. The blood does its work by extinguishing the fire; but nothing more is heard of the dove. Unlike the doves of



αἵματος, ὥστε κατασβέσαι τὸ πῦρ καὶ θαυμάσαι πάντα  
τὸν ὄχλον, εἰ τοσαύτη τις διαφορά μεταξὺ τῶν τε  
ἀπίστων καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν· ἂν εἰς καὶ οὗτος γεγόνει  
ὁ θαυμασιώτατος [Πολύκαρπος], ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρό-  
νοις διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς γενόμενος, 5  
ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνη ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας· πᾶν γὰρ  
ῥῆμα, ὃ ἀφῆκεν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐτελειώθη  
καὶ τελειωθήσεται.

1 πάντα] om. m alone.

2 εἰ κ.τ.λ....] For these words to the end of

the chapter v substitutes, τῆς τοσαύτης διαφορᾶς τῶν τε πιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπίστων· καὶ οὕτως ἐτελειώθη ὁ ἅγιος ἱεράρχης καὶ ἔνδοξος μάρτυς τοῦ χριστοῦ πολύκαρπος τῇ εἰ-  
κάδι τρίτῃ τοῦ φεβρουαρίου μηνός. τοσαύτη τις διαφορά] τὸ σαύτη τῆς διαφορᾶς b.

τε] m[v]E; om. bp.

3 ἐκλεκτῶν] txt mbE; add. εἴη p.

οὗτος] οὕτως (sic) b.

γεγόνει] γεγόνι b; ἐγεγόνει p; γέγονεν E; om. m.

4 θαυμασιώτατος] E;

μακάριος καὶ θαυμασιώτατος m; θαυμασιώτατος μάρτυς b; θαυμάσιος μάρτυς p.

πολύκαρπος] G; om. E.

6 ἐπίσκοπος] txt mE; add. τε bp.

ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας]

m[L]; καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας bE; ἐκκλησίας τῆς καθολικῆς p.

7 ἀφῆκεν] mE;

ἐξαφῆκεν bp.

ἐτελειώθη] mE; om. p; καὶ ἐτελειώθη bm.

9 ἀντί-

Eulalia and Benignus, it does not fly up heavenward, as we should expect; (2) As a question of external evidence; that Eusebius is in all probability an older authority than the extant form of the *Acts* themselves; that as he in this part generally gives the words of the document *verbatim*, he may be assumed to have done so here; that there is no reason to suppose the dove would have been an offence to him, since elsewhere (*H.E.* vi. 29) he relates a somewhat similar portent, when Fabianus was designated Bishop of Rome, ἐκ μετεώρου περιστερὰν καταπτᾶσαν ἐπικαθεσθῆναι τῇ αὐτοῦ κεφαλῇ...μίμημα ἐνδεικνύμενον τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν σωτήρα τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς καθόδου; and lastly that the insertion may be explained by the superstition of a later age, as shown in the Acts of Eulalia and of Benignus. On the other hand, in favour of its retention it may be maintained that the text of the Acts

is generally a safer guide than Eusebius, who does not profess to give the document word for word, who omits clauses and expressions here and there, and whose taste might have been offended by this bald materialism, just as he omits the image of the ἄρτος ὀπτώμενος in § 15. On the whole the arguments against its genuineness seem to predominate.

But if it be not genuine, the alternative remains, that the words περιστερὰ καὶ were not a deliberate insertion but an unintentional corruption. On this hypothesis various conjectures have been offered; ἐξῆλθεν περὶ στερνὰ πλῆθος Ruchat, ἐξῆλθ' ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ πλῆθος Le Moyne, and such like. The only emendation however deserving consideration is Wordsworth's ἐξῆλθε περὶ στύρακα πλῆθος 'about the sword-haft' (*Hippolytus* p. 318, ed. 2), which is excellent of its kind and has been adopted by Lagarde (*Rel. Fur. Eccl. Gr.* p. 84),



XVII. Ὁ δὲ ἀντίζηλος καὶ βάσκανος καὶ πονηρός,  
 10 ὁ ἀντικείμενος τῷ γένει τῶν δικαίων, ἰδὼν τί τε μέγεθος  
 αὐτοῦ τῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνεπίληπτον  
 πολιτείαν, ἐστεφανωμένον τε τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέ-  
 φανον καὶ βραβεῖον ἀναντίρρητον ἀπεννηεγμένον, ἐπε-  
 τήδευσεν ὡς μηδὲ τὸ σωματίον αὐτοῦ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ληφθῆ-

ζηλος] bñE; ἀντίδικος p; ἀντικείμενος m. καὶ πονηρός] πονηρός (om. καὶ)  
 b appy. 10 ὁ] bpE; δαίμων ὁ πάντοτε v; ὁ καὶ m. ἀντικείμενος]  
 add. καὶ βδελυττόμενος v alone. τε] G; om. E. 11 ἀνεπίληπτον πολι-  
 τείαν] E; ἀνεπίληπτων (sic) πολιτείαν b; ἀνεπίληπτον αὐτοῦ πολιτείαν p; πολιτείαν  
 ἀνεπίληπτον m; καθάραν καὶ ἀνεπίληπτον πολιτείαν v; *inprehensibilem omnem*  
*vitam* L. 12 ἐστεφανωμένον τε] pñE; ἐστεφανωμένονται b; ἐστεφανώ-  
 μένον δὲ m. τῆς ἀφθαρσίας] add. καὶ δικαιοσύνης v alone. 13 ἀναντίρ-  
 ρητον] ἀναντίρρητον b; ἀναντήρρητον v. 14 ὡς μηδὲ] bñE; ὥστε μηδὲ m;  
 ὡς καὶ p (inserting μὴ before ὑφ' ἡμῶν). σωματίον αὐτοῦ] mE; *corpus eius* L;  
 λείψανον αὐτοῦ bp; τίμιον αὐτοῦ λείψανον v. ληφθῆναι] mñv; ληφθεῖν E;  
 λειφθῆναι p.

by Zahn, and by Funk. In this case the words *περὶ στύρακα* may have become blurred in a very early copy; and this illegibility would explain both the omission by Eusebius and the substitution of *περιστερὰ καὶ* in the extant form of the Acts. This solution however is open to the serious objection that *στύραξ* elsewhere seems always to mean the spike of a spear and never the haft of a sword or dagger. Reasons are given in the chapter on this Letter in the general introduction for suspecting that the words *περιστερὰ καὶ* were deliberately added by the spurious Pionius whose name occurs below, § 22.

1. ὥστε κατασβέσαι] Cyprian *Ep.* x (p. 491 Hartel) 'Fluebat sanguis qui incendium persecutionis extingueret, qui flammās et ignes gehennae glorioso cruore sopiret,' quoted by Jacobson.

6. ἀγίας] If the reading *καθολικῆς* be adopted, we have here the earliest example of this technical

sense of the 'Catholic' Church, as opposed to heretical and schismatical bodies; see the note on Ign. *Smyrn.* 8, and the remarks i. p. 398 sq. As a question of external authority, it would be difficult to decide between the two readings; but, as there would be a tendency to substitute *καθολικῆς*, I have without hesitation given the preference to *ἀγίας*; see the general introduction.

9. ἀντίζηλος] A LXX word (Lev. xviii. 18, Eccles. xxvi. 7, xxxvii. 11), but there always applied to a woman, and so also *Test. Duod. Patr.* Jos. 7.

10. ὁ ἀντικείμενος κ.τ.λ.] For ὁ ἀντικείμενος see the note on Clem. Rom. 51; for τῷ γένει τῶν δικαίων see above, § 14.

13. βραβεῖον] See the note on Clem. Rom. 5. For ἀποφέρεισθαι βραβεῖον, comp. such phrases as ἀποφέρεισθαι νίκην, ἀθλον, πρωτεία, etc.

14. ὡς μηδὲ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Ep. Lugd. et Vienn.* 62 ὅπως μηδὲ λείψανον αὐτῶν φαίνεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔτι.

ναι, καίπερ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμούντων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ  
κοινωνῆσαι τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ σαρκίῳ. ὑπέβαλεν γοῦν  
Νικήτην τὸν τοῦ Ἑρῳδου πατέρα, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀλκης,  
ἐντυχεῖν τῷ ἄρχοντι ὥστε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα,  
μή, φησὶν, ἀφέντες τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, τοῦτον ἄρξων- 5  
ται σέβεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα [εἶπον] ὑποβαλλόντων καὶ  
ἐνισχυόντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἱ καὶ ἐτήρησαν, μελλόντων  
ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι

- 1 ἐπιθυμούντων] ἐνθυμούντων v alone. 2 αὐτοῦ σαρκίῳ] σαρκίῳ αὐτοῦ  
p alone. ὑπέβαλεν γοῦν] b; ὑπέβαλον γοῦν τινες E; ὑπέβαλεν γὰρ p;  
summisit patrique L; ὑπέλαβεν (so Gebhardt, but ? ὑπέβαλεν) m; ὅθεν ὑπέ-  
βαλεν ὡς δεινὸς καὶ μισάγιος ὁ πονηρὸς v. 3 Νικήτην] Νικήταν p alone.  
Ἀλκης] bsvs; ἁλκῆς p; alces L; ἔλκεις m; δάλκης E (MSS, with some vv. ll.).  
4 ἐντυχεῖν] εὐτυχεῖν b. ἄρχοντι] bpn; rectorem L; ἡγεμόνι E; ἀνθυπάτῳ m.  
αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῖς p alone. σῶμα] add. ταφῇ b alone. 5 μὴ] μήποτε  
v alone. ἄρξωνται] ἄρξονται bpn. 6 καὶ] om. m alone. εἶπον] E;  
εἰπὼν pn; εἰπὼν b; om. m [L]. ὑποβαλλόντων] G; ὑποβαλόντων E.  
7 ἐνισχυόντων] G; ἐνισχυσάντων E. τῶν] pn; om. mb. In E the MSS vary.  
ἐτήρησαν] ἐτήρουν v alone. μελλόντων ἡμῶν] here, mbvE; before λαμβά-  
νειν, p. 8 αὐτὸν] pE; αὐτὸ m; τοῦτο v; om. b. λαμβάνειν] In v the

The reason however which is there given for the wish of the persecutors to obliterate the reliques is not, as here, to prevent the worship of the martyrs, but to crush out all hope of a resurrection. Again the motive of Ignatius in entertaining this wish for himself (*Rom.* 4 μηθὲν καταλίπωσιν τῶν τοῦ σώματος μου) is quite different from either, ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθεῖς βαρὺς τινι γένωμαι.

σωμάτιον] With a tinge of com-miseration, as in *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* (Eus. *H. E.* v. 1) § 23 τὸ δὲ σωμάτιον... ὅλον τραῦμα καὶ μῶλωψ: comp. §§ 24, 52 (v. l.); and see especially the index to Epictetus.

2. κοινωνῆσαι] i.e. by gathering together about his grave for the purpose of common worship.

σαρκίῳ] The diminutive is used in pity or tenderness, like σωμάτιον just above. These diminutives were

especially favourites of the Stoics, who employed them to express their philosophical contempt of the body, *M. Anton.* ii. 2 ὁ τί ποτε τοῦτό εἰμι, σαρκία ἐστὶ καὶ πνευμάτιον... ἀλλ' ὡς ἡδὴ ἀποθνήσκων τῶν σαρκίων... καταφρόνησον. Thus also Epictetus uses the double diminutive, i. 3. 5 sq. τί γὰρ εἰμί; ταλαίπωρον ἀνθρωπάριον· καὶ τὰ δυστηνά μου σαρκίδια κ.τ.λ., and elsewhere. So too the Latin 'caruncula,' e.g. in *Arnob. adv. Nat.* ii. 76 'nobis.....in carunculae hujus folliculo constitutis'.

3. Ἀλκης] A Christian of Smyrna; for she is doubtless to be identified with the Alce mentioned *Ign. Smyrn.* 13, *Polyc.* 8. See the note on the former passage, and also I. p. 353.

5. ἄρξωνται σέβεσθαι] See Lactant. *Inst. Div.* v. 11 'Nemo hujus tantae belluae immanitatem pro merito describere...non tantum artus hominum



οὔτε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτε καταλιπεῖν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν  
 10 ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας  
 παθόντα, ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν, οὔτε ἕτερόν τινα  
 σέβεσθαι. τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ προσκυ-  
 νούμεν, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ  
 Κυρίου ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως ἕνεκεν εὐνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς  
 15 εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα καὶ διδάσκαλον· ὧν γένοιτο καὶ  
 ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνοὺς τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς γενέσθαι.

XVIII. Ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ κεντυρίων τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων

remainder of the chapter is omitted. 9 οὔτε] om. m. ποτε καταλιπεῖν]  
 mE; ποτε κατάλειπεῖν (sic) b; καταλιπεῖν πάποτε p. 10 παντὸς] om. m  
 alone. τῶν σωζομένων] bpE; om. m. 11 παθόντα] ἀποθανόντα m  
 alone. ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν] G; om. E. In L the whole sentence runs  
*quī pro peccatis nostris pati tanta dignatus est.* 12 σέβεσθαι] G; σέβειν E.  
 13 τοῦ Κυρίου] bpE; αὐτοῦ m (comp. L). 14 ἕνεκεν] m; ἕνεκα bp. The MSS  
 of E vary. 15 ὧν] bpE; *ipsorum* L; ᾧ m. 16 συγκοινωνοὺς] pE;  
 κοινῶνους mb. συμμαθητὰς] mbpL; μαθητὰς E. 17 οὖν] om. v.  
 κεντυρίων] mv (comp. Chron-Pasch. p. 481); ἑκατοντάρχης E; ἑκατόνταρχος  
 κεντυρίων bp. τὴν] mvpE (comp. Chron-Pasch.); om. b. Ἰουδαίων  
 γενομένην] bp; *judaorum* L; λεγομένων Ἰουδαίων m v(?) (comp. Rev. ii. 9, iii. 9).

dissipat, sed et ossa ipsa comminuit et in cineres furit, ne quis extet sepulturae locus, quasi vero id affectent qui Deum confitentur, ut ad eorum sepulcra veniatur, ac non ut ipsi ad Deum perveniant.' See also Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 6, where he relates that the bones of the Nicomedian martyrs were dug up and thrown into the sea, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἐν μνήμασιν ἀποκειμένους προσκυνοῖεν τινες, θεοὺς δὴ αὐτοὺς, ὥς γε ᾤοντο, λογιζόμενοι: *Act. Fruct. Augur.* etc. 2 (p. 265 Ruinart) 'Aemilianus praeses Eulogio diacono dixit, Numquid et ne Fructuosum colis? Eulogius dixit, Ego Fructuosum non colo; sed ipsum colo, quem et Fructuosus,' on which saying Augustine, *Serm.* cclxxiii. 2 (*Op.* v. 1106), comments in the same spirit as our martyrologists here. See also August. *c. Faust.* xx. 21 (*Op.*

viii. 347) 'Populus autem Christianus memorias martyrum religiosa sollemnitate concelebrat...ita tamen ut nulli martyrum, sed ipsi Deo martyrum, quamvis in memoriis martyrum, constituamus altaria'; comp. *de Civ. Dei* viii. 26, 27, xxii. 10 (*Op.* vii. 215 sq., 673 sq.), where this father is especially careful to contrast the honour paid to the martyrs by the Christians with the worship offered to dead men by the pagans.

6. εἰπον] i.e. 'Nicetes and those who acted with him,' if the reading be correct; but a probable inference from the authorities is that εἰπον should be omitted, in which case καὶ ταῦτα κ.τ.λ. will mean 'this too at the instigation of the Jews', with a reference to the active part they had taken at a previous stage of the martyrdom, §§ 11, 12.



γενομένην φιλονεικίαν, θεὸς αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ, ὡς ἔθος  
 αὐτοῖς, ἔκαυσεν. οὕτως τε ἡμεῖς ὕστερον ἀνελόμενοι  
 τὰ τιμιώτερα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπὲρ  
 χρυσίον ὅστ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπεθέμεθα ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον  
 ἦν. ἔνθα ὡς δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συναγομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλιά- 5  
 σει καὶ χαρᾷ παρέξει ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ  
 μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἰς τε τὴν τῶν  
 προηθληκότων μνήμην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἀσκησὶν τε  
 καὶ ἐτοιμασίαν.

XIX. Τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, 10

1 αὐτὸν] mbpE (comp. Chron-Pasch.); *corpus* L; τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀγίου μάρ-  
 τυρος v. ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς] mE; τοῦ πυρὸς bp v(?); om. [L] (comp. Chron-  
 Pasch.). 2 ἔκαυσεν. οὕτως τε] mb (οὕτω for οὕτως b) pE; κατέκαυσεν αὐτὸ  
 τότε v. 3 δοκιμώτερα] δοκιμωτέρων p; δοκιμότερα bv. 4 χρυσίον]  
 χρυσίων b. ἀπεθέμεθα] ἀποθέμεθα b. Add. εἰς δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς τόπον  
 v alone. καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν] p vE; καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν ἦν b; ἀκολουθῶς m. 5 ἐνθα]  
 om. m alone. 7 μαρτυρίου] μάρτυρος m alone. ἡμέραν γενέθλιον] mbE;  
 ἡμέραν γενέσθαι p; γενέθλιον ἡμέραν v. τὴν] bv; om. mp. The mss of E  
 vary. τῶν προηθληκότων] mpE; τῶν ἡλθηκότων (sic) b; αὐτοῦ v. 8 μνήμην]  
 ἡμῖν p. 11 ὅς] here, G; before μόνος, E. δωδέκατος...μαρτυρήσας] G;

3. τιμιώτερα...ὑπὲρ] For this construction see Winer *Gramm.* xxxv. p. 301.

4. ἀπεθέμεθα] The grave of Polycarp is mentioned as being at Smyrna by one who lived in a neighbouring city and had already grown up to manhood when the martyrdom took place, Polycrates of Ephesus writing soon after A.D. 190, Euseb. *H. E.* ἐτι δὲ καὶ Πολύκαρπος ἐν Σμύρνῃ [κεκοίμηται] καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς. For these *martyria* or *memoriae* of the martyrs, see Bingham *Christ. Ant.* viii. 1. 9, xx. 7. 3.

ἀκόλουθον ἦν] 'it was consequent,' and so 'conformable,' 'convenient.' The place is not mentioned, lest it should be divulged to their enemies.

7. γενέθλιον] For the commemo-

ration of these 'birth-days' of the saints and martyrs, on which they were born into a higher life, see Bingham *Christ. Antiq.* xiii. 9. 5, xx. 7. 2. Comp. Tertull. *de Coron.* 3 'Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus,' and see Ducange *Gloss.* s. v. 'Natalis.' For the idea comp. Ign. *Rom.* 6 ὁ τοκετός μοι ἐπικείται...μὴ ἐμποδίσῃτέ μοι ζῆσαι (with the note), Tertull. *Scorp.* 15 'Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanae consequitur nativitatem, cum illic martyrii renascitur generositate.'

11. σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφίας] For the connexion between Philadelphia and Smyrna see above p. 240 sq. This notice has given rise to the false reading ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ for ἐν Φιλομηλίᾳ in the address of

ὃς σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφίας δωδέκατος ἐν Ἐμύρῃ  
μαρτυρήσας μόνος ὑπὸ πάντων [μᾶλλον] μνημονεύεται,  
ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ λαλεῖσθαι, οὐ  
μόνον διδάσκαλος γενόμενος ἐπίσημος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάρτυς  
15 ἔξοχος, οὗ τὸ μαρτύριον πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν μιμεῖσθαι,  
κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ γενόμενον. διὰ τῆς ὑπο-  
μονῆς καταγωνισάμενος τὸν ἄδικον ἄρχοντα καὶ οὕτως  
τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον ἀπολαβών, σὺν τοῖς  
ἀποστόλοις καὶ πᾶσιν δικαίοις ἀγαλλιώμενος δοξάζει  
20 τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εὐλογεῖ [τὸν]  
Κύριον [ἡμῶν] Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν σωτῆρα τῶν ψυχῶν

δωδέκα τοῦ...μαρτυρήσαντος E (the MSS).

12 μᾶλλον] E (comp. L *culturæ*

*meruit principatum*); om. G.

13 ὥστε] G; ὡς E. λαλεῖσθαι] The quotation

of E ends here.

14 μόνον] μόνος b alone. Add. γὰρ v alone.

διδάσκαλος]

mbv; add. ἐθνῶν p (comp. L *magister adhuc vocatur a populo*).

15 ἔξοχος]

τίμιος καὶ ἐξοχώτατος v alone.

μιμεῖσθαι] μιμήσασθαι m alone.

16 ὑπο-

μονῆς] txt pv; add. γὰρ msb.

19 ἀποστόλοις] txt mbpL; add. καὶ

μάρτυσι v.

πᾶσιν] bv; πᾶσι msp.

ἀγαλλιώμενος] ἀγαλιώμενος b.

20 τὸν

Θεὸν καὶ] θεὸν m alone.

παντοκράτορα] mL; om. bpv by homœote-

leuton. τὸν] m(?) bv; om. p.

21 ἡμῶν] bpvL; om. m.

Ἰη-

σοῦν...ψυχῶν ἡμῶν] om. b by homœoteleuton.

σωτῆρα] præf. κηδέμονα

καὶ v alone.

the letter (see above, p. 947); but, if the letter had been addressed to the Philadelphians the mention of their own martyrs would certainly not have been made in this casual way. For the idiomatic *δωδέκατος*, 'with eleven others,' see Kühner *Gramm.* § 468, II. p. 562. The most natural interpretation here is that all the eleven were Philadelphians (as taken above, p. 243); but *σὺν τοῖς κ.τ.λ.* may perhaps mean 'with eleven others including those from Philadelphia.' Of these eleven others one only, Germanicus, is mentioned in this letter by name (see above, § 3). It is not impossible however, that we have the names of others in

the list in the ancient Syrian Martyrology (published by Wright) under Feb. 23, 'In Asia of the number of the ancient confessors Polycarp the bishop; Arutus (?), Cosconius, Melanippus, and Zeno'; comp. also *Martyrol. Hieron.* vii Kal. Mart. (*Op.* XI. ii. p. 555), where the same names and others are given as martyred either 'Smyrnae' or 'in Asia,' with the usual confusion of this Latin Martyrology.

12. *μόνος κ.τ.λ.*] 'is singled out by all rather (than the others) to be remembered.'

18. *ἀπολαβών*] 'receiving as his due'; see the note on Gal. iv. 5, and comp. [Clem. Rom.] ii. 8.

ἡμῶν καὶ κυβερνήτην τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν καὶ ποιμένα τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.

XX. Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἡξιώσατε διὰ πλειόνων δηλωθῆναι ὑμῖν τὰ γενόμενα· ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ μεμηνύκαμεν διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν Μαρκιανοῦ. μαθόντες οὖν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἐπέκεινα ἀδελφοῖς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διαπέμψασθε, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δοξάσωσι τὸν Κύριον τὸν ἐκλογὰς ποιούμενον τῶν ἰδίων δούλων.

1 ἡμῶν pri.] pv (comp. L); om. m; def. b (but the omission by homoeoteleuton shows that the scribe had it in his copy). 2 τὴν] om. m alone. καθολικῆς] bpvL; ἁγίας m. ἐκκλησίας] mbp; add. *et spiritum sanctum per quem cuncta cognoscimus* L; add. καὶ τὸ πανάγιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν πνεῦμα, ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες τὸν μὲν χριστὸν προσκυνούμεν ὡς υἱὸν ἀληθινὸν ὄντα τοῦ θεοῦ, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μιμητὰς καὶ μαθητὰς τοῦ κυρίου ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως· ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς πάντας σὺνκοινωνοὺς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν σὺν χριστῷ ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν v (and so this MS ends).

4 γενόμενα] mb; γινόμενα p. ὡς ἐν] m; ἐπὶ bp; al L. 5 Μαρκιανοῦ] *marcianum* L; μαρκίωνος m; μάρκου bp. 7 διαπέμψασθε] διὰ πέμψασθαι b. δοξάσωσι] mp; δοξάζωσιν b. 8 ποιούμενον] m; ποιούντα ἀπὸ bp. L has *donorum electione*

5. διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ] For the possible meanings of the preposition see the note on Ign. *Rom.* 10. It cannot here denote the scribe, for his name Euarestus is given below; nor can it very well denote the bearer, for the word μεμηνύκαμεν seems to exclude this. It must therefore designate the composer of the letter, as in Dionys. Cor. quoted by Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23 τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφέϊσαν.

Μαρκιανοῦ] This is probably the correct reading. The change into Μαρκίωνος in one MS is explained by the fact that Marcion's name appears in the context of that same MS. The alteration into the more familiar name Μάρκου in other authorities is natural enough. On the variations here, and on similar confusions elsewhere, see Gebhardt in the *Zeitsch. f. Hist. Theol.* 1875,

p. 370 sq.; who however adopts the reading Μαρκίωνος. A Marcianus is mentioned by Eusebius *H. E.* v. 20 as a person to whom Irenæus dedicated one of his treatises; and this is not improbably the same man. The name however is not uncommon at this time. A contemporary of our Marcianus, a lawyer, is mentioned by Fronto *Epist.* p. 43 (ed. Naber).

6. τοῖς ἐπέκεινα] 'who are farther away'; comp. Ign. *Ephes.* 9 παροδύσαντάς τινας ἐκείθεν.

9. τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Rom. xvi. 25, Eph. iii. 20, Jude 24. On account of the parallel passages in S. Paul, Zahn would connect διὰ παιδὸς κ.τ.λ. with what follows: but the order rather suggests their connexion with the preceding words.

14. Εὐάρεστος] The name occurs three times in Smyrnan inscription (Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Græc.*



Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰσαγαγεῖν [ἐν] τῇ αὐ-  
 10 τοῦ χάριτι καὶ δωρεᾷ εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῦ βασιλεί-  
 αν, διὰ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,  
 δόξα, τιμή, κράτος, μεγαλωσύνη, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. προσ-  
 αγορεύετε πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους. ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν  
 προσαγορεύουσιν καὶ Εὐάρεστος ὁ γράψας πανοικεί.

15 XXI. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος μηνὸς  
 Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἵσταμένου, πρὸ ἐπτὰ καλανδῶν Μαρ-  
 τίων, σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ, ὥρα ὀγδόῃ· συνελήφθη ὑπὸ

*servorum.* 9 δὲ] m; om. bp. ἐν] bp; om. m. 10 ἐπου-  
 ράνιον] m; αἰώνιον bp. 11 παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς] b; τοῦ παιδὸς  
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς p; τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ παιδὸς m. 12 δόξα] m; præf.  
 ᾧ ἢ bp. τοῦς] m; om. bp. αἰῶνας] m; add. ἀμὴν bpL. 13 ὑμᾶς] bp; καὶ γὰρ ὑμᾶς m; omnes L. ἡμῖν]  
 γορεύετε] προσαγορεύεται b. 14 Εὐάρεστος] αὐτὸς εὐάρεστος m alone.  
 txt bvL; add. ἀδελφοὶ m. 15 Μαρτυρεῖ] bp; ἐμαρτύρησεν m. μηνὸς]  
 γράψας] txt bpL; add. τὴν ἐπιστολὴν m (comp. Rom. xvi. 22). πανοικεί]  
 here, bpL; after εὐάρεστος, m. 16 Ξανθικοῦ] ἐξανθηκοῦ b.  
 μὲν m. Præf. κατὰ μὲν Ἀσianaοὺς m alone. 17 ὀγδόῃ] bpL (comp. Chron-Pasch.); ἐνάτῃ m.  
 ἵσταμένου] b; εἵσταμένου p; om. m. πρὸ] præf. κατὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίους m  
 alone. Μαρτίων] m (and so also in the heading; see p. 947); ματῶν bpL;  
 ἀπριλίων Chron-Pasch. 17 ὀγδόῃ] bpL (comp. Chron-Pasch.); ἐνάτῃ m.  
 συνελήφθη] txt bL; add. δὲ p; præf. ἧ (sic) καὶ m.

3148, 3152, 3162), and not elsewhere in the collection, except in two Pisi-  
 dian inscriptions (4380 m, n). See also *Mittheilungen d. Deutsch. Arch-  
 chäol. Instit. in Athen* VIII (1883).  
 p. 325 sq. It is found also on coins  
 of Miletus, Pergamum, and Tralles.  
 It appears likewise in a notice of  
 Aristides (*Op.* I. p. 508, ed. Dindorf),  
 relating to these same regions and  
 this same time, though the person  
 in question is described as a Cretan.  
 The early bishop of Rome bearing  
 this name is said to have been a  
 Palestinian Jew, but the tradition has  
 no value.

ὁ γράψας] As in Rom. xvi. 22, where  
 in like manner the scribe sends a  
 greeting.

15. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ] On these supple-

mentary paragraphs generally, and  
 more especially on the dates given  
 in the first, see the chapters on the  
 Letter of the Smyrnæans and on the  
 Date of the Martyrdom in the gen-  
 eral introduction.

17. σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ] So also in  
 the body of the document, § 8 ὄντος  
 σαββάτου μεγάλου.

συνελήφθη] Connected by Zahn  
 with the preceding words. But there  
 would be no special reason for de-  
 scribing the exact hour of his ap-  
 prehension, as distinct from his  
 martyrdom; and moreover it is clear  
 from the narrative that he cannot  
 have been apprehended at the eighth  
 hour, whether 8 A.M. according to  
 the Roman reckoning, or 2 P.M. ac-  
 cording to the Eastern.

Ἡρώδου ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου Τραλλιανοῦ, ἀνθυπατεύοντος Στατίου Κοδράτου, βασιλεύοντος δὲ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα, τιμή, μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος, ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν. ἀμήν.

XXII. 1. [Ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχόμεθα, ἀδελφοί, στοι- 5  
χοῦντας τῷ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον λόγῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·  
μεθ' οὗ δόξα τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἀγίων ἐκλεκ-  
τῶν· καθὼς ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος, οὗ  
γένοιτο ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἔχνη  
εὐρεθῆναι ἡμᾶς.] 10

2. Ταῦτα μετεγράψατο μὲν Γαῖος ἐκ τῶν Εἰρη-  
ναίου μαθητοῦ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου, ὃς καὶ συνεπολιτεύσατο  
τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ.

3. Ἐγὼ δὲ Ὡκράτης ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐκ τῶν Γαίου  
ἀντιγράφων ἔγραψα. ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων. 15

1 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως] bp ; *pontifice* L (but it translates ἀνθυπατεύοντος by *proconsule*);  
ἀρχιεραρχούντος (sic) μὲν m. Φιλίππου] add. τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς (sic) m alone.  
Τραλλιανοῦ] bp ; τραϊανοῦ mL. ἀνθυπατεύοντος] add. δὲ m alone. 2 Στατίου]  
L ; στρατίου b ; τατίου Chron-Pasch. ; om. m. Both words στατίου κοδράτου are  
omitted in p, so that Philippus is made proconsul as well as chief priest. Κοδρά-  
του] κοράτο.. b ; for p see the last note. 3 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] txt bp ; præf. τοῦ κυρίου  
ἡμῶν m[L]. ᾧ...ἀμήν] bL ; om. mp. μεγαλωσύνη] με...λοσυνη b.  
5 Ἐρρῶσθαι] ἔρρωσθε p. The whole of this paragraph ἐρρῶσθαι...εὐρεθῆναι ἡμᾶς is

1. ἀρχιερέως] In the body of the letter (§ 12) he is styled 'Asiarch'. On the identity of the two offices see the excursus On the Asiarchate.

ἀνθυπατεύοντος] The proconsul is mentioned several times in the body of the document (§§ 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12), but his name is not given there. The year of the proconsulship of Statius Quadratus is fully discussed in the general introduction. See also above, p. 952 sq.

2. βασιλεύοντος δὲ κ.τ.λ.] On the objection that this mode of expression indicates a much later age see the

chapter on this Letter in the general introduction.

3. ᾧ ἡ δόξα κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Clem. Rom. 65 δι' οὗ αὐτῷ δόξα, τιμή, κράτος καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος, ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων κ.τ.λ.

6. τῷ...λόγῳ] For this dative of the rule or standard with στοιχεῖν see Rom. iv. 12, Phil. iii. 16, Gal. v. 25, vi. 16 (with the notes).

8. οὗ γένοιτο κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Ign. Ephes. 12 οὗ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἔχνη εὐρεθῆναι.

11. Ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.] For a discussion of the questions relating to the three

4. Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν Πιόνιος ἐκ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου  
 ἔγραψα ἀναζητήσας αὐτά, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν φανερώ-  
 σαντός μοι τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου, καθὼς δηλώσω  
 ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς, συναγαγὼν αὐτὰ ἡδὴ σχεδὸν ἐκ τοῦ  
 20 χρόνου κεκμηκότα, ἵνα καμὲ συναγάγῃ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς  
 Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον  
 βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα σὺν πατρὶ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύ-  
 ματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

[The three preceding paragraphs as read in the Moscow MS.]

2. [Ταῦτα μετεγράψατο μὲν Γάϊος ἐκ τῶν Εἰρηναίου  
 25 συγγραμμάτων ὃς καὶ συνεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ,  
 μαθητῇ γεγονότι τοῦ ἀγίου Πολυκάρπου. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ  
 Εἰρηναῖος, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου  
 Πολυκάρπου γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ, πολλοὺς ἐδίδασκεν· οὐ  
 καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοῦ συγγράμματα κάλλιστα καὶ ὀρθότατα  
 30 φέρεται· ἐν οἷς μέμνηται Πολυκάρπου, ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῦ

omitted in mL.

6 τῷ] τὸ bp.

Χριστοῦ] Ἰω b.

7 δόξα] b;

πάσα δόξα p.

Θεῷ] txt p; add. καὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι b.

σωτηρίᾳ]

b; σωτηρίῳ p.

8 μακάριος] b; ἅγιος p.

οὐ] b; ὃν p.

11

Ταῦτα...μετὰ πάντων bpL. For these words m substitutes the more extended paragraphs which are given in brackets Ταῦτα...ἀμήν. Εἰρηναίου] εἰρηνέου b.

12 τοῦ] add. ἀγίου p alone.

15 ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων] bp (but add. ἡμῶν p);

om. L.

20 συναγάγῃ] συναγάγει b.

Κύριος] add. ἡμῶν p.

21 ἐπ-

ουράνιον] p (comp. m); οὐράνιον b.

29 ὀρθότατα] ὀρθώτατα m.

paragraphs, which follow, see the general introduction.

24. Ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.] Though the Moscow MS generally preserves the older and better readings, the form which these three paragraphs assume in it is evidently due to a later hand. This is clear (besides other indications) from the omission of the words καθὼς δηλώσω ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς, which seemed out of place when this Letter of the Smyrnæans was detached from the Pionian Life of Polycarp

in which it had been incorporated; see the general introduction.

28. οὐ] If both οὐδὲ and αὐτοῦ be retained, the former should perhaps be translated 'where' (i.e. in Rome). A redundant αὐτοῦ however, following upon οὐδὲ, would not be without many parallels; see Winer *Gramm.* § xxii. p. 184 sq.

30. ἐν οἷς κ.τ.λ.] In three writings of Irenæus, extant whole or in part, we have mention of Polycarp; (1) *Haer.* iii. 3. 4; (2) *Epistle to Florinus*



ἔμαθεν· ἱκανῶς τε πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἤλεγξεν, καὶ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα καὶ καθολικόν, ὡς παρέλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ παρέδωκεν. λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι συναντήσαντός ποτε τῷ ἁγίῳ Πολυκάρπῳ Μαρκίωνος, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ λεγόμενοι Μαρκιωνισταί, καὶ εἰπόντος, Ἐπι- 5 γίνωσκε ἡμᾶς, Πολύκαρπε, εἶπεν αὐτὸς τῷ Μαρκίῳνι, Ἐπιγινώσκω, ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Κατανᾶ. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ φέρεται ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Εἰρηναίου συγγράμμασιν, ὅτι ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ὥρα ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ Πολύκαρπος, ἠκουσεν φωνὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει 10 ὑπάρχων ὁ Εἰρηναῖος, ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγούσης, Πολύκαρπος ἐμαρτύρησεν.

3. Ἐκ τούτων οὖν, ὡς προλέλεκται, τῶν τοῦ Εἰρηναίου συγγραμμάτων Γαῖος μετεγράψατο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Γαίου ἀντιγράφων Ἰσοκράτης ἐν Κορίνθῳ. 15

4. Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν Πιόνιος ἐκ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους ἀντιγράφων ἔγραψα, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυκάρπου ζητήσας αὐτά, συναγαγὼν αὐτὰ ἤδη σχεδὸν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου κεκμηκότα ἵνα καμὲ συναγάγῃ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐπου- 20 ράνιον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν· ᾧ ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.]

4 Μαρκίωνος] μαρκίων m.

6 εἶπεν] εἰπεῖν m.

10 πόλει] πόλι m.

12 ἐμαρτύρησεν] ἐμαρτύρισεν m.

13 τούτων] τούτου m.

Εἰρηναίου]

εἰρηναῖος m.

quoted in Eus. *H. E.* v. 20; (3) *Epistle to Victor* quoted in Eus. *H. E.* v. 24. In the two former passages he speaks of his own con-

nexion with Polycarp. The story of his encounter with Marcion is in the first passage.

## On the Asiarchate.

As regards the literature of this subject, it will be sufficient to mention here Eckhel *Doctr. Num. Vet.* iv. p. 207 sq.; Gothofred *Cod. Theod.* vi. 3, xii 1. 103, 112, xv. 5. 1, xv. 9. 2, xvi. 10 paratitl.; Krause *Neocores* p. 71 sq. (Lips. 1844); Waddington in Lebas *Voyage Archéologique* Inscr. iii. no. 885; Babington *On an unpublished coin of Laodicea bearing the name of an Asiarch* (Numismatic Society of London, 1866); Marquardt *De Provinciis Romanarum Conciliis et Sacerdotibus in Ephemeris Epigraphica* 1. p. 200 sq. (1872), and again *Römische Staatsverwaltung* 1. p. 374 sq. (1873). Further particulars relating to the literature will be found in Eckhel, Babington, and Marquardt.

Under the Roman government the principal cities of the several provinces were united together in confederations for certain religious and civil purposes, called *Commune Bithyniae, Ciliciae, Galatiae, Pamphyliae*, etc. The presiding officers of these unions bore the titles, Bithyniarch, Cilicarch, Galatarch, Pamphylarch, etc., respectively. In some instances, as for example in Lycia<sup>1</sup>, these organizations appear to have existed before the establishment of the Roman supremacy, in which case they were merely adapted by the Romans. Of these confederations the most famous was the *Commune Asiae*, τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας, as belonging to the earliest and prerogative province; and accordingly we hear much more of the Asiarchs than of the others. The earliest Asiarch recorded is Pythodorus, the friend of Pompeius (Strabo xiv. 1. 42, p. 649); the latest mention of the office as still existing is in a rescript of Honorius and Theodosius A.D. 409 (*Cod. Theod.* xv. 9. 2, v. p. 438, ed. Gothofred). When we find Justinian speaking of the Phoenicarchs and Syriarchs as obsolete offices (*Novell.* lxxxix. 15), it is a tolerably safe inference that the Asiarchate likewise had been abolished or fallen

<sup>1</sup> This follows from the language of Strabo when describing the *Commune Lyciae* with the Lyciarch at its head; xiv. 3. 3 (p. 665) καὶ περὶ πολέμου δὲ καὶ εἰρή-

νης καὶ συμμαχίας ἐβουλευόντο πρότερον, νῦν δ' οὐκ εἰκός, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ταῦτ' ἀνάγκη κείσθαι.

into disuse. In the tenth century the character of the office was so little remembered that Constantine Porphyrogenitus identifies the Asiarch with the proconsul (*de Themat.* i. 3 ὁ ταύτης [i.e. Ἀσίας μικρᾶς] κρατῶν ἀνθύπατος Ἀσιάρχης ἐλέγετο, *Patrol. Græc.* cxiii. p. 85, ed. Migne)<sup>1</sup>.

It was the object of these confederations, while a certain amount of local self-government was thus given to the provinces, to connect them more closely with the empire. To secure this end more effectually a religious bond was necessary. Hence the establishment of the worship of the emperor, often connected with that of Rome and sometimes with that of the senate. The assumption of the title Augustus was a preliminary step (*Veget.* ii. 5 ‘imperator cum Augusti nomen accepit, tamquam praesenti et corporali deo fidelis est praestanda devotio’); and the idea was further strengthened by the Greek rendering Σεβαστός (*Dion Cass.* liii. 16 Ἀγνουςτος, ὡς καὶ πλεῖόν τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὢν, ἐπεκλήθη...ἐξ οἷπερ καὶ Σεβαστὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλληνίζοντες πως, ὥσπερ τινὰ σεπτόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβάζεσθαι προσείπον). The next stage was the erection of temples (σεβαστεῖα) and the establishment of priesthoods for the maintenance of this worship. A city which established such worship bore the title νεωκόρος or ‘temple warden’. Proconsular Asia was one of the earliest provinces to adopt these rites (B.C. 19); and here they flourished with exceptional vigour. In six at least of the cities comprised in the *Commune Asiae* (Smyrna, Ephesus, Pergamum, Sardes, Philadelphia, and Cyzicus) periodic festivals and games were held under the auspices of the confederation, κοινὸν (or κοινὰ) Ἀσίας ἐν Σμύρνῃ, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, ἐν Περγάμῳ, κ.τ.λ.; see Marquardt *Ephemeris Epigraphica* i. p. 209, Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Græc.* Index p. 43. Each of these had likewise its temple or temples dedicated to the worship of the emperors. The local chief-priest of each city was designated accordingly, ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν [or ναοῦ τοῦ] ἐν Σμύρνῃ, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, ἐν Κυζίκῳ, etc. (see below, p. 992), or more fully ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας (*C. I. G.* 3858 e). The provincial chief-priest, who had the control of the whole, was styled ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας or ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας. He is also to be identified with the Ἀσιάρχης, as will be shown presently. His chief functions were the general direction of the cultus of the emperor throughout the province and the superintendence and presidency of the festivals and games. Hence Rufinus in the account of Polycarp’s

<sup>1</sup> The passage indeed is a tissue of blunders. Constantine speaks of S. Luke as μεμνημένος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τότε πρωτεύ-

οντος τῶν Ἐφεσίων, Ἀσιαρχὴν αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν. Alexander (*Acts* xix. 33) is quite distinct from the Asiarchs.



martyrdom (*H. E.* iv. 15) translates Ἀσιάρχης by *municiparius*. Hence also the language in *Cod. Theod.* xv. 9. 2 'Asiarchis et ceteris, quorum nomen festivitatis solennitas dedicavit' (A.D. 409). The expenses of these exhibitions fell to a considerable extent upon him, so that only men of substance could properly fulfil the requirements of the office (*Cod. Theod.* vi. 2. 3, xii. 1. 103, xii. 1. 148, xv. 5. 1, xv. 9. 2, with Gothofred's notes). Hence the statement of Strabo (see above ii. p. 967 sq.), that the Asiarchs were frequently chosen from the citizens of Tralles on account of their wealth. But besides these more directly religious and ceremonial duties, the confederation superintended the erection of monuments and other public works, the imposition and collection of taxes for the maintenance of the temples, and the like. It was also the medium of communication with the emperor and the senate. As involving the presidency of this confederation, the Asiarchate was an office of great dignity and influence. After the proconsul, the Asiarch was probably the most important person in the province; and his name, like that of the proconsul, was frequently used for marking the epoch on coins and in documents. An account of the steps taken for the purpose of electing an Asiarch by the confederation is given by Aristides (*Or.* i. p. 531 sq.)<sup>1</sup>. There are grounds for thinking, as I have shown in the first volume (on the Date of the Martyrdom), that this was the very occasion on which Philip the Trallian, who presided at Polycarp's martyrdom, was elected.

Without entering more fully into the duties of the Asiarch, I purpose discussing three points, relating to this office, which present some difficulty, while at the same time they affect the notices in early Christian writings.

<sup>1</sup> In the first public assembly at Smyrna in the beginning of the year (ἱσταμένου τοῦ ἔτους καὶ γιγνομένης ἐκκλησίας τῆς πρώτης) the name of Aristides was put forward for the chief-priesthood of Asia (τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὴν κοινὴν τῆς Ἀσίας), though he himself deprecated it. He continues, καὶ συμβαίνει μετὰ τοῦτο συνέδρους μὲν ἐξίεναι Συμυρναίων εἰς Φρυγίαν ἄνω καὶ μέλλειν φέρειν τοῦτον ὄνομα ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῷ κοινῷ.....καὶ γίγνομαι τρίτος ἢ τέταρτος τῇ χειροτονίᾳ. It is inferred by Marquardt (*R. S.* p. 370 sq.) and others from these last words, that three or four names were submitted by the confederation to the proconsul, who selected the

Asiarch from among them. But it seems more natural to take them as meaning that his desire had been fulfilled and he had not been elected.

Of the corresponding election of the Lyciarch Strabo (xiv. 3. 3, p. 664 sq.) tells us that the representatives of the cities which have votes meet together in general session (εἰς κοινὸν συνέδριον) at a city which they have selected and approved (ἣν ἂν δοκιμάσωσι πόλιν ἐλόμενοι); that some cities have three votes, some two, some one; and that in the session (ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ) the Lyciarch is first chosen, then the other officers (ἀρχαί) of the union (τοῦ συστήματος).

1. *Identity of the Asiarch and High-priest.*

The identity of the two has been disputed by Waddington (*Lebas Voyage Archéologique*, Inscr. III. 885), by Babington (*On an unpublished coin of Laodicea* p. 12 sq.), and by Perrot (*De Galatia Provincia* p. 150 sq.): but Eckhel (*Doctr. Num. Vet.* iv. p. 208 sq.) can hardly be claimed on this side, since he says explicitly (p. 209) ‘Verisimile est, cum quis generatim dicitur ἀρχιεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας...tum intelligendum Asiarcham’ (see also p. 205), thus conceding everything for which the advocates of the identity contend. Notwithstanding the authority of such names, the facts and arguments recently adduced, more especially by Marquardt (*Ephem. Epigr.* i. p. 210 sq., *Röm. Staatsv.* i. p. 374 sq., 1873), not to mention the valuable investigations of an older critic Gothofred (*Cod. Theod.* vi. 3. 1, xii. 1. 112, xv. 9. 2, xvi. 10 paratitlon), seem to place the identity beyond a doubt. It is not possible to add much to Marquardt’s arguments, but his position has been strengthened by one or two lately discovered inscriptions, and some other considerations which he has overlooked seem to favour his view.

(i) The Asiarchate, Bithyniarchate, etc., are spoken of as the priesthoods or chief-priesthoods of the several provinces; e.g. by Modestinus [c. A.D. 230] in the *Digest.* xxvii. 1. 6, § 14 (p. 354, ed. Mommsen) ἔθνους ἱεραρχία [v. l. ἱερωσύνη], οἷον Ἀσιαρχία, Βιθυνιαρχία, Καππαδοκαρχία, παρέχει ἀλειτουργήσιαν ἀπὸ ἐπιτροπῶν, τοῦτ’ ἐστίν, ἕως ἂν ἄρχῃ. This same language is used respecting the ἀρχιεὺς. Thus we read of Chrysanthius that he received τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους (Eunap. *Vit. Soph.* p. 111, quoted by Marquardt *R. S.* p. 374), while we have been told before of this same Chrysanthius that Julian ἀρχιερέα [ἀπέδειξε] τὸν τε ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς Λυδίας. Again, in a law of Constantine (*Cod. Just.* v. 27. 1) we find the words ‘quos in civitatibus duumviralitas vel sacerdotii, id est Phoenicarchiae vel Syriarchiae, ornamenta condecorant’. Nor can there be any doubt that the Asiarchate is intended in the following passage from Papi- nianus in *Digest.* l. 5. 8 ‘sed in Asia sacerdotium provinciae suscipere non coguntur numero liberorum quinque subnixa; quod optimus maximus- que princeps noster Severus Augustus decrevit ac postea in ceteris provinciis servandum esse constituit’. So in like manner there can be little question that the office which Aristides (*Or.* i. p. 531) calls τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὴν κοινὴν τῆς Ἀσίας was the Asiarchate. This is the more evident when we compare the election which he describes with the account of the election of the Lyciarch given by Strabo xiv. 3. 3,



p. 664 sq. Even in strictly Christian times we meet with a sacerdotium or ἀρχιερωσύνη; and the character of the office may be inferred from the language of Innocent I, *Epist.* 23 'Neque de curialibus aliquem ad ecclesiasticum ordinem venire posse, qui post baptismum coronati fuerint vel sacerdotium (quod dicitur) sustinuerint et editiones publicas celebraverint' (Labb. *Conc.* III. p. 37, ed. Coleti), where the celebration of the games, which was the main function of the Asiarchate, etc., is especially singled out as the chief duty of the 'so-called priesthood'. The religious character of the office disappeared with the downfall of heathendom and the establishment of Christianity; but the title 'high-priest' was still continued, though the bearer of it was now little more than president of the games. See the references already given to Gothofred, especially *Cod. Theod.* vi. 3. 1, xvi. 10 paratitl., where the relation of the 'priesthood' to the games is exemplified from the law books. This connexion may be amply illustrated likewise from the inscriptions; e.g. *C. I. G.* 3422 ἀρχιερασάμενον ἐνδόξως μετὰ μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων καὶ δόντα κοντροκυνηγέσιον κ.τ.λ., 2719 ἀρχιερατεύσαντος μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἐν ᾗ ἀρχιερωσύνη καὶ μονομαχίας καὶ κυνηγεσίας ἐπετέλεσεν κ.τ.λ., 2766 ἀρχιερατεύσαντα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα καὶ δις ἐστιάσαντα τὸν δῆμον καὶ πάντα ποιήσαντα μεγαλοπρεπῶς λαμπρότατα καὶ πολυτελέστατα ἐκ τῶν ιδίων: comp. 2934, 3489, etc. Perhaps however the two following inscriptions, placed side by side, will exhibit the parallelism more effectively:

*C. I. G.* 2759 b

φамиλία Ζήνων[ος] τοῦ Ὑψικλέους  
τοῦ Ὑψικλέους τοῦ φύσει Ζήνωνος  
Ὑψικλέους ἀρχιερέως μονομάχων καὶ  
καταδίκων καὶ ταυροκαθαπτῶν (comp.  
2194 b).

*C. I. G.* 2511

φамиλία μονομάχων καὶ ὑπόμνημα  
κυνηγεσιῶν Νεμερίου Καστρικίου  
Λευκίου Πακωνιανοῦ Ἀσιάρχου καὶ  
Ἀνρηλίας Σαπφoῦς Πλάτωνος Λικιν-  
νιανῆς ἀρχιερείας γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ (see  
also no. 3213, 3677).

The passages quoted show that the two names appear in the same connexions; that their functions are identical; that the exemptions and immunities are the same in both cases; and that generally they are convertible. There is indeed nothing left for the high-priest to do which is not already exhausted in the office of the Asiarch, and conversely. The one is in all respects the double of the other.

(ii) Another fact also indicates the identity of the two offices. The wives of the chief priests (ἀρχιερεῖς) were styled 'chief-priestesses' (e.g. Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3092, 3489, 3495, etc.), just as we have seen (p. 990) in the case of Chrysanthius that his wife shared the



high-priestly office. In like manner the Asiarch's wife takes the title of her husband, *C. I. G.* 3324 M. *Ἀρ. Ζήνων. καὶ* M. *Κλ. Ἰουλιανῇ Ἀσιάρχαι δῖς.* Accordingly a law of Constantine (*Cod. Justin.* v. 27. 1; see above, p. 990) forbids a 'sacerdos provinciae', i.e. a Phoenicarch, Syriarch, etc., to marry a slave. In the light of these facts we must interpret another inscription which gives the one title to the husband and the other to the wife, *C. I. G.* 3677 *Πλω[τ]. Ἀρ. Γράτου Ἀσιάρχου καὶ Ἰουλίας Ἀρ. Ἀσκληπιωδώρας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερείας*, as showing that the titles are interchangeable. So again *C. I. G.* 2511 quoted above (p. 991); and also Lebas and Waddington 244 *Ἀντωνίου Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀσιάρχου καὶ Κ[λ]. Β[η]ρεΐνης[ς] Ἡ[ρ][α]κλεαίνης (?) ἀρχιερείας.*

(iii) But again; just as there was a high-priest and high-priestess of the province of Asia, so there were high-priests and high-priestesses of the temples in each several city belonging to the confederation; *C. I. G.* 2965 *φιλοσεβάστου καὶ ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* (under Hadrian), *C. I. G.* 2987 b *ἀρχιερέα Ἀσ[ί]ας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* (under Antoninus Pius), *C. I. G.* 3858 e *ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας, σεβαστοφάντην καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην διὰ βίου*, *C. I. G.* 3831 a<sup>13</sup> *ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας ναῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ*, *C. I. G.* 3508 *ἀρχιέριαν τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ* (comp. 3211), *C. I. G.* 3415 *ἀρχιέριαν Ἀσίας τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, etc. In the same way, while there is an 'Asiarch' *par excellence*, we meet likewise with 'Asiarchs' of the temples in particular cities, or at least in Ephesus; *C. I. L.* III. 296, 297 'Asiarch[a] templ[orum] splendid[issimae] civit[atis] Ephes[iorum]', *C. I. G.* 2464 *φιλοσέβαστον Ἀσιάρχην ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, Lebas and Waddington 158 a *Ἀσιάρχης τῇ[ς] πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσί[ας] καὶ β' νεωκόρων τῶν Σεβαστῶν Ἐφεσίων πόλε[ως]*. In *C. I. G.* 2741 we have the record of a person who is elected at the same time to the high-priesthood of the province and to that of a particular city (the latter for the second time), *ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ἀποδεδειγμένο[ς] ναῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ τὸ β'.* A similar combination appears in a Macedonian inscription, *C. I. G.* 2007 *ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην τοῦ κοινοῦ Μακεδόνων, ἀρχιερέα δὲ καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην καὶ τῆς Ἀμφιπολειτῶν πόλεως.*

And not only so, but the same person is designated by each title separately in two inscriptions found in the Great Theatre at Ephesus; Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus*, Inscr. vi. pp. 62, 68:

p. 62.

ἀγωνοθετοῦντος δι' αἰῶνος  
Τιβ. Ἰουλ. Πηγείνου  
ἀρχιερέως β' ναῶν τῶν  
ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.

p. 68.

ἀγωνοθετοῦντος δι' αἰῶνος  
Τιβ. Ἰουλ. Πηγείνου  
Ἀσιάρχου β' ναῶν τῶν  
ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.

Now it is inconceivable that the high-priest of a particular city in Asia should be called the Asiarch of that city, unless the high-priest of the province of Asia already bore the name of Asiarch. The narrower application of the title is only explicable, as an analogy derived from the wider.

(iv) I have left to the last the very conclusive evidence of the identity of the two offices derived from the document before us, the Letter of the Smyrnæans itself. In the body of this document (§ 12) Philip of Tralles is called Asiarch, and as such he presides over the games; but in the appended chronological notice (§ 21) he is styled High-priest (ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου). By some critics, who deny the identity of the office implied in the two titles, this fact has been taken to discredit the genuineness either of the body of the document or of the chronological postscript, as if the two statements were inconsistent, or at least divergent. This position can hardly be justified in any case; for on any showing both parts of the document were written while the Asiarchate was still an existing office, and therefore the forger of either or both would be acquainted with the facts relating to the office. Indeed, reasons have been given in the first volume for believing that the postscript proceeded from the same hand as the body of the document. Moreover, an inscription recently discovered at Olympia, and quoted above (p. 968), shows that Philip of Tralles was Asiarch about this time; and in consequence Lipsius (*Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1881, p. 575) has retracted the objection previously urged against the genuineness of the Letter on this ground, and he now admits the identity of the two functions so called respectively. In three Trallian inscriptions again, belonging to the age of Antoninus Pius, this same Philippus is designated ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας. Thus in the inscriptions, as in the Acts of Martyrdom, the two titles are brought into connexion. But the exact year of the Trallian inscriptions is not ascertained beyond a doubt. The point is discussed in the chapter on the Date of the Martyrdom in the general introduction.

Against this identification only one argument has been adduced which deserves consideration. In *C. I. G.* 4016, 4017, there is mention of one T. Fl. Gaïanus as ἀρχιερέα τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν, Γαλατάρχην, σεβαστοφάντην καὶ κτίστην τῆς μητροπόλεως Ἀγκύρας, and in *C. I. G.* 4031 of one Aelius Macedon as ἀρχιερασάμενον τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν, Γαλατάρχην, σεβαστοφάντην διὰ βίου τῶν θεῶν Σεβαστῶν. It is argued that as both titles, Galatarch and Chief-priest of the Galatian confederacy, are mentioned, they cannot designate the same office. Marquardt (p. 375) in answer to this objection explains ἀρχιερέα τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν

Γαλατῶν as referring to the municipal priesthood of the confederation in Ancyra, not to the provincial high-priesthood. But this explanation will hardly stand; for we should then expect some limiting words, such as τῶν ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ. But is there any force at all in the objection? It is the commonest thing in the world to accumulate titles referring to the same office, especially in honorific inscriptions such as these. Thus we say, 'Her Majesty the Queen', 'His Holiness the Pope', though the one title is practically a mere repetition of the other; and the Romans themselves spoke of 'Imperator...Augustus' (Αὐτοκράτωρ...Σεβαστός), though the two terms are coextensive, and neither adds anything to the other.

In the West the *flamines provinciarum* seem to have borne no designation corresponding to Asiarch, Galatarch, etc.; and the assumption of such titles in Asia Minor and the East illustrates the reproach of Dion Chrysostom (*Orat.* 38, II. p. 148), who speaking to the Nicomedians says that, in their childish fondness for empty decorations, the Greeks would condone any insult or injury for the sake of titles (ὀνόματα) and, he adds, 'If they only call you or write you down *chiefs* (εἰ εἶπον ὑμᾶς πρώτους ἢ ἔγραψαν), from that day forward they can with impunity treat you with the greatest indignity'. These things, he continues, are despised by all sensible men, and excite ridicule in the Romans more especially<sup>1</sup>.

## 2. *Duration of tenure.*

It is generally, though not universally, assumed that the Asiarchate was an annual office; and this view is adopted by Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* I. p. 368 sq. The reasons however given for this opinion seem inadequate to sustain it.

Marquardt starts from the assumption that, as the office was not for life, therefore it must have been annual. We are not however limited to this alternative. In some cases these provincial chief priests were

<sup>1</sup> In another passage this same rhetorician (*Orat.* 35, II. p. 66), addressing the people of Celaenae in Phrygia, has language which (if we could be sure of the interpretation) points definitely to the identification of the two offices; καθάπερ τοὺς ἱερέας τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν τοὺς μακαρίους λέγω, τοὺς ἀπάντων ἄρχοντας τῶν ἱερέων, τοὺς ἐπωνύμους τῶν δύο ἡπείρων τῆς ἐσπέ-

ρας ὕλης. Perhaps the simplest explanation of the last words is 'who bear the names of (territories in) the two continents throughout the West', e.g. Helladarchs, Asiarchs, etc. But whatever sense be given to ἐπωνύμους τῶν δύο ἡπείρων, the Asiarchs would seem to be included.



certainly elected for a period of years, as will be seen presently. Again he alleges the example of the Tuscan and Umbrian priests who were elected annually (Henzen-Orelli, no. 5580). But this is not a sufficiently close analogy, and far truer parallels can be produced on the other side. Still less to the point is the case of the priest of the Ubii mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 57), where moreover it is doubtful whether an annual office is intended. Nor is it correct to say that the Asiarch is the eponym for the *year*. Coins indeed are very frequently inscribed as struck during a particular person's Asiarchate, e.g.  $\epsilon\pi\iota\cdot\tau\epsilon\rho\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\gamma\cdot\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\upsilon\gamma$  (Mionnet iii. p. 250); but such language is equally consistent with a tenure for a long period or even for life, as with an annual office; e.g. Wood's *Ephesus* Inscr. viii. 3 (p. 22), Boeckh *C. I. G.* 3211. Indeed such expressions as Mark ii. 26  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  Ἀβιάθαρ ἀρχιερέως, Luke iii. 2  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  ἀρχιερέως Ἀννα καὶ Καϊάφα, Acts xi. 28  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  Κλαυδίου, are a caution against any rigorous inferences from the particular expression. In the case before us the Asiarchs are probably mentioned not for the sake of precision in dating, but as the chief magistrates of the confederation to which the cities striking the coins belonged. Again Marquardt urges that in order to transact its business the confederation must have met every year, and that therefore the president's office must have been annual (*Eph. Epigr.* p. 213 sq.). Here we may accept his premiss, while we reject his conclusion.

On the other hand there are very good reasons for supposing that the term of office was longer than a year. The chief and characteristic function of the Asiarch was the presidency of the general festival of the confederation, called κοινὰ Ἀσίας *par excellence*. This must be distinguished from the minor festivals celebrated in the several cities of the confederation, κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Σμύρνῃ, κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Περγάμῳ, etc. Now it stands to reason that such a general festival must have been celebrated once at least during each Asiarchate. If therefore it should appear that this general festival recurred at longer intervals than a year, the Asiarchate cannot have been an annual office. But there are good grounds for believing that it was a πενταετηρίς, like the Olympia and Pythia (Pind. *Ol.* iii. 38, x. 70, *Nem.* xi. 33), or in other words that there was an interval of four years between each recurrence. These grounds are as follows :

(i) Evidence seems to show that these festivals were generally though not universally quinquennial. Suetonius (*Octav.* 59) speaking of the beginning of this cult of the emperor says, 'Provinciarum pleraeque super templa et aras ludos quoque quinquennales paene oppidatim constituerunt'. Accordingly we find this to have been the case in several

places of which notices are preserved. The festival of the *Commune Cretae* is one of these; Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2583 ἱεροῦ ἀγῶνος πενταετηρικοῦ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Κρητῶν. Again, the *Ludi Augustales* at Neapolis (Naples), which were strictly analogous, were quinquennial, as appears from *C. I. G.* 5805 νικήσαντι Ἱταλικά Ῥωμαῖα Σεβαστὰ ἰσολύμπια τῆς μὲν Ἱταλίδος κ.τ.λ. (see Boeckh's comments, III. p. 732)."

An inscription copied by Sir C. Wilson in Attalia, and recently published by Mr. W. M. Ramsay in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1883, VII. p. 263, is important enough in its bearing on this subject to deserve a place here. The words are as follows;

Καλπούρνιον Κοδράτου υἱὸν Διόδωρον, υἱὸν βουλῆ[ς] δήμου γερουσίας, φιλοκαῖσα[ρα] καὶ φιλόπατριν, ἱερέα διὰ βίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἀρχηγέτου καὶ θεοῦ μεγάλου Διονύσου καὶ θεοῦ Ἀρεως καὶ θεᾶς Ἀρτ[έ]μιδος Ἐλαφη[β]όλου πρῶτον καὶ ἱερέα διὰ βίου θεᾶς Λητο[ῦς] τῆς Περγαίων πόλεως· ἀρχι[ε]ρασάμενον τετραετίαν καὶ ἐπιτελέσαντα κυνηγεσί[α] καὶ μονομαχίας μεγαλοπρ[ε]πῶς καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τοὺς μεγάλους πενταετηρικοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τοὺς λο[ι]ποὺς πάντας ἐν τῇ τετραετίᾳ.

The high-priesthood here mentioned is, as Mr Ramsay says, that of the cultus of the emperors; but I cannot agree with him that 'the penteteric games were probably those named on a coin struck under Saloninus, ἱερὸς Ὀλύμπιος οἰκουμενικὸς [ἀγών]'. They would naturally be the κοινὰ Παμφυλίας, the festival of the *Commune Pamphyliæ*, of which he held the high-priesthood; unless indeed the 'Olympian sacred oecumenical festival' may be identified with this. This Calpurnius then would be the Pamphyliarch—an officer who is mentioned likewise in Boeckh *C. I. G.* 4340 b, Add.

If I am right in assuming (and this is Mr Ramsay's view also) that this person was the chief-priest of the whole province of Pamphylia, and not of the particular city of Attalia, the inscription shows that the Pamphyliarch held office for four years, thus celebrating the great pentaeteric games of his *Commune* once during his term of office. It is reasonable to suppose (in the absence of any evidence to the contrary) that the same would be the case with the Asiarchs.

(ii) The local festivals of the κοινὸν Ἀσίας in the several cities of the confederation were quinquennial. So *C. I. G.* 3674 νεικήσας κοινὸν Ἀσίας ἐν Κυζίκῳ παίδων παγκράτιον πενταετηρίδι ζ.

(iii) Lastly, the festival in question is itself directly co-ordinated with quinquennial festivals in such a way as to leave no escape from the conclusion that it was one. The passages seem to have escaped notice, or otherwise perhaps the common opinion would have been different. They are found in Boeckh *C. I. G.* 1420 νεικήσαντα τραγω-

δοὺς Οὐράνια μέγала γ' καὶ Πύθια καὶ Ἀκτια καὶ κοινὰ Ἀσίας...καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀγῶνας πενταετηρικοὺς τε καὶ τριετηρικοὺς (where there is a lacuna for the number of victories), *ib.* 1421 [τὴν ἐξ Ἀργους ἀσ]πίδα, Ἰσθμια, κοινοὺς Ἀσίας, καὶ ἄλλους πενταετηρικοὺς πλείστοις ἀγῶνας.

Connected with the length of tenure is the fact that we read of persons holding the office more than once. Thus there are records of those who have been Asiarchs twice (*C. I. G.* 3190, 3324 Lebas and Waddington 158 a, Mionnet *Suppl.* vii. pp. 359, 619)<sup>1</sup>, and in one case at least thrice (Babington *l. c.* pp. 1, 27, 35, Mionnet iv. p. 328). This last case is L. Æl. Pigres on Laodicean coins, and it seems to stand alone; for the other instance is a retouched piece (Mionnet vii. p. 358, see Babington p. 30), and appears to be incorrect. The legend ἀσιαρχ. Δ on another coin (Mionnet iv. p. 128) is probably read incorrectly.

### 3. *Plurality of Asiarchs.*

In Acts xix. 30 it is stated that 'certain of the Asiarchs' (τινὲς δὲ τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν), being friendly to S. Paul, tried to dissuade him from entering the theatre. Similarly we read in Aristides (*Or.* i. p. 518) 'an Asiarch, methinks, was present likewise (καὶ Ἀσιαρχῆς, οἶμαι, προσῆν).' Such language implies that more than a single person held the title at the same time. The same inference likewise has been drawn from Strabo xiv. p. 649, καὶ αἰεὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰσιν οἱ πρωτεύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὓς Ἀσιάρχας καλοῦσιν. Here however the inference is not certain, for αἰεὶ would signify 'from time to time'; but still the plural τινες would not naturally be used, if only one person bore the title at any given time. This is explicable in two ways.

(1) The Asiarchs, after laying down their office, still retained their title and formed a sort of order. There are some grounds for this belief. In the West this was certainly the case. The Spanish inscriptions speak of certain persons as *flamines* (*C. I. L.* ii. 983 'viro flaminali provinciae Bacticae', *ib.* 4248 'statuam inter flamines viros positam'), where the 'flamen provinciae' corresponds to the ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας, and therefore to the Asiarch. In like manner in Africa we read of the *sacerdotes* of the province (*C. I. L.* viii. 1827, 2343, 4252,

<sup>1</sup> Another instance is furnished in a Trallian inscription recently discovered and published by Sterrett (*Mittheil. d. Deutsch. Archäol. Inst. in Athen* viii. p. 330 sq., 1883) ἐπὶ ἱερέως διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς

τοῦ Λαρ[α]σίου Φλαουίου Κλεισοθένου τοῦ κρατίστου, δις Ἀσιάρχου, πρῶτο[υ] Ἀσίας, πατρὸς ὑπατικοῦ κα[ὶ] πάππου συγκλητικῶν, τῆς ἐννάτης αὐτοῦ πενταετηρίδος.



5338); and the *sacerdotes* are frequently mentioned in the law books in reference to this district (*Cod. Theod.* xii. 1. 145, 176; xii. 5. 2; xvi. 10. 20, etc.), though it is not always clear that these had been *flamines*. In Asia Minor itself too an extant inscription describes a person as *Λυκιαρχικός* (Lebas and Waddington 1224). It is not unlikely therefore that, after their term of office was ended, they continued to be called 'Asiarchs' by courtesy; and this would account for the fact that we find the holders of other offices in so many cases designated Asiarchs; e.g. Wood's *Ephesus* Inscr. ii. 13 (p. 14) Ἀριστοβούλου Ἀσιά[ρχου] γραμματέως τοῦ [δήμου], *ib.* vi. 3 (p. 46) γραμματεύοντος Ποπλίου Οὐηδίου Ἀντονείνου Ἀσιάρχου, *C. I. G.* 6541 Λ. Ἀντωνίῳ Ὑακίνθῳ, Λαοδικεῖ τῆς Ἀσίας, στρατηγῷ, Ἀσιάρχῃ. Accordingly we find persons commemorating their descent from holders of this office in a way which seems to indicate a permanent title; e.g. Lebas and Waddington 158 a ... Διονύσιον τὸν ἱεροκέρυκα καὶ β' Ἀσιάρχου ἑ[κγ]ο[νον], i.e. his father and grandfather before him were Asiarchs (comp. *C. I. G.* 2463 c, 3420, 3495, 3665 Lebas and Waddington 158 a, 244). These facts however are not absolutely conclusive.

(2) It has been shown already that the chief-priest of the imperial worship at Ephesus was likewise called 'Asiarch' of the Ephesian temples (see above, p. 992). Though no direct evidence is forthcoming that the chief-priests of this worship in the other cities belonging to the confederation were similarly styled, yet as their titles in other respects corresponded, there is at least a presumption that they would be correspondingly designated here also.

The fact that more persons than one are called Asiarchs at the same time may be explained from either or both of these causes.

APPENDIX  
POLYCARPIANA.

1. *POLYCARPIAN FRAGMENTS.*
2. *LIFE OF POLYCARP.*



## POLYCARPIAN FRAGMENTS.

FEUARDENTIUS in his notes on a passage of Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 3. 4), where this father mentions several other letters of Polycarp besides the extant Epistle to the Philippians, published as fragments of these lost writings certain extracts which he had discovered, introducing them with the following words;

‘Harum [epistolarum] porro quinque non aspernanda fragmenta a me superioris quadragesimæ tempore Virduni in quadam vetustissimis characteribus manu descripta super quatuor evangelistas Catena inventa, ut a Victore episcopo Capuano ante mille et centum annos ibidem laudantur, hoc loco inserere operæ pretium visum est. Haec itaque ibidem leguntur; *Victor episcopus Capuæ ex responsione capitulorum sancti Polycarpi Smyrnensis episcopi, discipuli Joannis evangelistæ.*’

The fragments are then given as I have printed them below, but with the heading, ‘Divi Polycarpi Smyrnensis episcopi et martyris b. Joannis evangelistæ quondam discipuli responsionum fragmenta. *Matthæus* Dominum dixisse testatur etc.’ (see below, p. 1003).

After the close Feuardentius adds;

‘Haec Victor Capuanus vir Graece et Latine doctus circa annum Dom. 480 ex Graeco Responsionum capitulorum b. Polycarpi, quem nactus erat, codice a se Latina facta recensuit; et in supra nominata Catena manuscripta, quam penes me habeo et, quum per typographos licebit, studiosis communicabo, citantur.’

The Catena however was never printed, and the manuscript is lost.

The fragments were reprinted from Feuardentius by Halloix (*Illustr. Eccl. Orient. Script.* i. p. 532 sq., Duaci 1633) and by Ussher (*Ign. et Polyc. Mart.* p. 31 sq.), and have frequently been reproduced by later writers. Ussher (*ib.* pp. 31, 72 sq.; comp. *Polyc. et Ign. Epist.* p. iv) speaks as if the Catena itself were the work of Victor of Capua, and this has been the language of later writers generally before

Zahn. This inference however is not justified by the statement of Feuardentius himself.

Pitra (*Spicil. Solesm.* i. p. 266 sq., Paris 1852) added two other fragments also as 'ex libro *Responsorum* inscripto' by Polycarp. He found them in an *Expositio in Heptateuchum* by Joannes Diaconus, contained in the Paris ms 838 (*Songerm.* 60). This John the Deacon is the same who wrote a biography of Gregory the Great and lived in the 9th century (see i. p. 4). On investigation however we do not find any authority for ascribing these two fragments to Polycarp. The first, a comment on Gen. ii. 7, is introduced with the words 'Victor episcopus Capuae in libro suo Responsorum capitulo [ms capitula] vigesimo primo' etc. Here Pitra boldly omits 'suo', and on the strength of the fragments given by Feuardentius assigns them to this supposed work of Polycarp, the *Responsions*<sup>1</sup>. But, if 'suo' be retained, the *Responsions* are distinctly attributed to Victor of Capua; and a correction must be made accordingly, as Zahn (*Prol.* p. xlvii sq.) has pointed out, in the heading of the Feuardentian fragments, which should be read 'Victor episcopus Capuae ex Responsorum capitulo [ ]', where the -rum of 'capitulorum,' whether contracted or not, is a corruption of some numeral; and the words which follow, 'Sancti Polycarpi Smyrnensis episcopi, discipuli Joannis evangelistae' are the heading of Victor's extract from his supposed Polycarp. It would indeed have been strange, that nothing should have been heard elsewhere of an elaborate work by Polycarp consisting of more than twenty-one chapters.

The *Responsions* therefore were the work of Victor, and the Catena was compiled by some still later writer. Pitra himself (pp. liii, lviii) suspects that the compiler was Joannes Diaconus, and this seems probable. In this Catena the *Responsions* of Victor were quoted; and these quotations contained extracts ascribed by Victor to Polycarp.

Victor's work is roughly assigned, as we have seen, by Feuardentius to A.D. 480; and various other dates have been ascribed to this writer by different critics. But it appears from his epitaph, which is preserved (Ughelli *Italia Sacra* vi. p. 306, Venet. 1720; comp. *Spicil. Solesm.* i. p. 1), that he died A.D. 554, having held the see thirteen years.

For the reasons given, Pitra's fragments must be rejected at once, as having nothing to do with Polycarp. Nor are those published by Feuardentius certified on authority which is beyond question. A Catena is a highly precarious voucher for the authorship of an extract, the dis-

<sup>1</sup> He adheres to this view also in his recently published volume (1884), *Anal.* *Solesm.* II. pp. xxiv sq., 201, though Zahn had meanwhile pointed out the error.

placement of names being frequent in such cases. Moreover in this instance Polycarp's name is only given in a quotation of a quotation. It is much to be regretted likewise that owing to the loss of the ms we cannot verify the form in which the Polycarpian extracts were quoted. Altogether it is extremely improbable that writings of Polycarp, which were unknown to Irenæus and Eusebius, should have been accessible to Victor. Though Irenæus, in his *Letter to Florinus*, speaks of letters which Polycarp wrote to individuals and churches (Euseb. *H.E.* v. 20), yet we may infer from his language elsewhere (*Haer.* iii. 3. 4), that the Epistle to the Philippians alone was in his hands.

And when we turn to internal evidence, our suspicions are confirmed. The words 'Legitur et in dolio etc.' at the end of *Fragm.* 2 obviously cannot have been written by Polycarp, and were condemned even by Halloix (p. 597) as an addition by a strange hand. Again the contents of *Fragm.* 3 seem to point to a later date, though remembering the language of Irenæus on this same subject, the characteristics of the four evangelists (*Haer.* iii. 11. 8), we ought not to speak with too great confidence on this point.

### FRAGMENTA POLYCARPIANI.

#### I.

Matthaeus Dominum dixisse testatur, quod Moyses scribit Adam locutum fuisse hoc modo : *Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro ex carne mea, propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem etc.* [Matt. xix. 5.] Sed non concordant Domini verba cum Moysis sermonibus. Quia enim Adam praebens officium inspiratione divina prophetavit, ipse a Moyse hoc dixisse refertur ; Deus vero, qui per inspirationem divinam in corde Adam ista verba formavit, ipse pater a Domino recte locutus fuisse refertur. Nam et Adam hanc prophetiam protulit et pater, qui eam inspiravit, recte dicitur protulisse.

#### 2.

Idem ad haec verba Christi : *Calicem meum bibetis etc.* [Matt. xx. 23.]

Per huiusmodi potum significat passionem, et Jacobum quidem novissimum martyrio consummandum, fratrem vero eius Joannem transiturum absque martyrio, quamvis et afflictiones plurimas et exilia tolerarit, sed praeparatam martyrio mentem Christus martyrem iudicavit. Nam apostolus Paulus *Quotidie*, inquit, *mori* ; cum impossibile sit quotidie mori hominem ea morte qua semel vita haec finitur. Sed quoniam pro evangelio ad mortem iugiter erat praeparatus, se mori quotidie sub ea



significatione testatus est. Legitur et in dolio ferventis olei pro nomine Christi beatus Joannes fuisse demersus.

## 3.

Idem de initio evangelii secundum Marcum

Rationabiliter evangelistae principiis diversis utuntur, quamvis una eademque evangelizandi probetur intentio. Matthaeus, ut Hebraeis scribens, genealogiae Christi ordinem texuit, ut ostenderet ab ea Christum descendisse progenie, de qua eum nasciturum universi prophetae cecinerant; Joannes autem ad Ephesum constitutus, qui legem tamquam ex gentibus ignorabant, a causa nostrae redemptionis evangelii sumpsit exordium; quae causa ex eo apparet, quod filium suum Deus pro nostra salute voluit incarnari. Lucas vero a Zachariae sacerdotio incipit, ut eius filii miraculo nativitatis et tanti praedicatoris officio divinitatem Christi gentibus declararet. Unde et Marcus antiqua prophetici mysterii competentia adventui Christi declarat, ut non nova sed antiquitus prolata eius praedicatio probaretur vel per hoc. Evangelistis curae fuit eo uti prooemio, quod unusquisque iudicabat auditoribus expedire. Nihil ergo contrarium reperitur, ubi licet diversis scriptis ad eandem tamen patriam pervenitur.

## 4.

Idem in illud: *Noli vocare amicos tuos sed pauperes et debiles* etc. [Luke xiv. 12 sq.].

Praecepit non amicos, sed infirmos quosque vocandos ad prandium. Quodsi claudus aut quilibet eorum sit amicus, sine dubio talis pro amicitia minime est rogandus, unde ipsa quasi videntur se impugnare mandata. Nam si non amici, sed claudi et caeci sunt invitandi, ipsosque quoque amicos esse contingat, nequaquam rogare debemus. Sed amicos arbitror intelligi hoc loco debere illos, quos mundi huius terrena consideratione diligimus, non pro divinae contemplationis intuitu. Hi sunt igitur amici relinquendi. Denique ideo debilium exempla proposuit, quos pro nullius possumus appetere necessitate, nisi tantum pro fructu retributionis aeternae.

## 5.

Idem in illud: *Opus consummavi, quod dedisti mihi, ut faciam* [John xvii. 4.].

Quomodo opus salutis humanae adimplere commemorat, cum necdum crucis vexillum conscenderat? Sed definitione voluntatis, de qua cuncta venerandae passionis insignia adire decreverat, iure se opus perfecisse significat etc.

## LIFE OF POLYCARP.

THIS document was first published by the Abbé L. Duchesne under the title *Vita Sancti Polycarpi Smyrnaeorum Episcopi, Auctore Pionio* (Paris. 1881). The MS used was *Paris. Bibl. Nation.* 1452, of the 10th century. I have already had occasion to mention this MS (see p. 940 sq.). It contains lives, martyrdoms, and eulogies of various saints for the month of February. The Life of Polycarp, which is assigned to Feb. 23, occupies fol. 182 a—192 b. On this last-mentioned page it ceases, and is followed immediately by the *Letter of the Smyrnaeans* containing the account of the martyrdom, Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα κ.τ.λ. Some of the leaves are displaced so that they run in this order, 182, 185, 183, 184, 187, 188, 186, 189—192. In the Catalogue (*Catal. Codd. MSS Bibl. Reg.* II. p. 322, Paris 1740), it is wrongly entered ‘Martyrium S. Polycarpi’, followed by a correct entry ‘Eccles. Smyrn. de S. Polycarpi Martyrio Epistola’ (see above, p. 941). Doubtless owing to this false entry it has so long eluded observation. Besides the editio princeps, it has been printed likewise in Funk’s *Patres Apostolici* II. p. 315 sq. (1881). Funk made use of the yet unpublished sheets of Duchesne’s edition, before they had received the editor’s last revision (see p. lvii sq.); and he was thus enabled to bring it out shortly after that edition had appeared.

But, though the first publication of the Greek text is so recent, use had been made of the work at a much earlier date. As early as 1633, Halloix (*Ill. Eccl. Orient. Script. Vit.* I. p. 471 sq., Duaci) in his Latin life of Polycarp gave at length the substance of this document, quoting from time to time in his notes short passages from the original. Of his authorities he says;

‘Latine nemo adhuc integre edidit; sed aliqui martyrium duntaxat, alii paucula quaedam ex Eusebio desumpta adjunxerunt; sed primam ejus [Polycarpi] aetatem, progressum ad ordines, virtutes miraculorum nequaquam attigerunt. Quae Pionius homo Graecus admonitu divino perquisivit et perscripsit. Haec autem hactenus non

edita; sed tantum in manuscriptis codicibus conservata sunt. Quorum exemplar unum atque alterum nactus cum Menaeo Graecorum contuli, et quidquid utrobique ad praesentem vitam facere comperi, Latine reddidi atque concinnavi'.

In his notes he speaks of 'Graecum manuscriptum', 'Manuscriptum Pionii', etc., in the singular. He also treats the account of the martyrdom (the Letter of the Smyrnæans) as part of the same document, quoting from this as 'the manuscript of Pionius', the 'manuscript Life' and so forth (pp. 584, 588, 591, 592, 593). Thus the notice of the date, *μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος μὲν τὸς Ξανθικοῦ κ.τ.λ.* (§ 21), is quoted by him as occurring 'in extrema vita Graeca MS' (p. 593). Speaking of this Letter of the Smyrnæans, he designates it 'epistola scripta codicis Medicaei quae extat in bibliotheca Regis Franciae' (p. 582); and again he writes 'in exemplari Medicaeo'. The manuscript therefore which Halloix used was the same with ours. The extracts indeed which he gives present many variations from the readings of the MS, but he is obviously very loose and careless in his quotations.

Again, a few years later (A.D. 1643) in the *Acta Sanctorum* Jan. 26 II. p. 695 sq., Bolland gave a Latin translation of the document, 'Vita Auctore Pionio, e veteri Graeco MS primum edita'. The text used is thus described;

'Eandem epistolam [Smyrnaeorum] Graecam et pleniorē e MS Bibliothecae Regis Christianissimi nactus erat idem Rosweyds, simulque vitae ejusdem Polycarpi historiam hactenus Latinis penitus ignotam. Primus ex hoc MS nostro alioque Latinis litteris integram tradidit Petrus Halloix noster etc.'

The Greek copy therefore, from which Bolland translated, was a transcript made by Rosweyd from this same Medicean MS. It is true that Bolland adds, 'In Graeco codice priore loco caedis Polycarpi narratio, tum vita reliqua erat descripta', whereas in *Paris*. 1452 the Life comes first and the Martyrdom afterwards. But probably Rosweyd had transcribed them separately, so that the order in the MS was not indicated, and may even have been reversed; and Bolland's language is a false inference from the opening words of the Life, Ἐπαγελθὼν ἀνωτέρω, which he supposed to refer to a foregoing document. On this point I shall have to speak presently.

The Life, as given in the extant manuscript, is evidently imperfect. In § 3 the author promises a list of the earliest bishops of Smyrna. This never appears. Again in § 12 he states his intention of inserting the Epistle to the Philippians; but we hear nothing more of it. Again in § 20 he defers his account of Polycarp's scriptural expositions till a later point, but we find nothing more about them or at least nothing which satisfies this pledge. These omissions are explained by the fact that



the document is obviously mutilated at the end. Likewise in the middle of the extant portion there is a wide lacuna (between §§ 28, 29). Elsewhere also one or more words have dropped out, e.g. § 5. l. 16, 26, § 6. l. 47, § 11. l. 15, § 13. l. 22, § 15. l. 4, § 20. l. 27, § 21. l. 11, § 25. l. 23, 29; while in other cases parts of words (e.g. § 9. l. 51, § 17. l. 11, § 27. l. 37, § 30. l. 16, 23) have disappeared. Perhaps also this mutilation may furnish the true key to the emendation of the text in other passages also (e.g. § 2. l. 7, § 10. l. 42, § 11. l. 19, § 31. l. 4), where it has been corrected in some other way or left uncorrected.

From these notices, relating to the intended insertion of documents, we may infer that the writer's design was to comprise in his work all the information which he could obtain or invent respecting Polycarp, and thus to form a complete *Corpus Polycarpianum*. The principal documents thus incorporated would be the Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians and the Letter of the Smyrnæans giving the account of the martyrdom. Each of these documents would stand in its proper chronological place. The Epistle of Polycarp would naturally be prefaced by some notice of Ignatius. Not improbably the Epistle of Ignatius himself to Polycarp would be quoted. At all events the writer of the Life appears to have been acquainted with this epistle, as the coincidences of language show. Compare for instance § 23 συναθλησαί μοι...εἰς τὸν προκείμενόν μοι ἀγῶνα εἰδότας ὅτι δεῖ πάντας συντρέχειν κ.τ.λ. with Ign. *Polyc.* 6 συναθλεῖτε, συντρέχετε; and § 24 νῦν παρακαλῶ πάντας... ἐν διακονίᾳ τῇ πρεσβυτέρων ὧν τοσαύτην εἰσενεγκάμην ἐπιμέλειαν, νῦν μᾶλλον...συμβέβηκεν ἐνίοις τῶν καθισταμένων εἰς τόπους ὅτε δεῖ μᾶλλον, ὥς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἐπιτείνειν τὸν δρόμον, τότε ἐκλύεσθαι...ὅσῳ τις πλείω τετιμῆσθαι δοκεῖ, πλείονα...καὶ ὀφείλει εἰσφέρεισθαι εὐνοίαν... γρηγορεῖτε, with Ign. *Polyc.* 1 παρακαλῶ σε...προσθεῖναι τῷ δρόμῳ σου καὶ πάντας παρακαλεῖν...ἐκδίκει σου τὸν τόπον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ...γρηγόρει...ὅπου πλείων κόπος, πολὺν κέρδος. The Letter of the Smyrnæans would follow in due course. There is little doubt that the form of the Letter which we possess is the same which was inserted in the Life. In the chapter on this document it is shown that the concluding paragraphs, both in their style and in their contents, betray the same hand which wrote the Life. It is sufficient here to observe that in the concluding paragraph (§ 22) the transcriber, who calls himself Pionius, promises to relate 'in the sequel' (ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς) how Polycarp himself appeared to him and revealed the whereabouts of the time-worn manuscript from which he copied this Letter. Obviously therefore something must have followed upon the Letter itself. This subsequent matter would naturally deal with any miraculous incidents occurring

after Polycarp's death but connected with him. It would also probably refer to the testimony of Irenæus respecting Polycarp, with which he may have been acquainted through Eusebius. The writer of the Life at all events shows himself elsewhere acquainted with this testimony; for his language relating to Polycarp's Epistle (§ 12 ἐν οἷς καὶ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἱκανωτάτῃ ἦν) is copied from Irenæus (*Hæc.* iii. 3. 4 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ Πολυκάρπου πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἱκανωτάτῃ). The scribe of the Moscow MS (see above, p. 985) has struck out the words καθὼς δηλώσω ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς, so as to make the document complete in itself. At the same time he adds a few sentences of his own relating to Polycarp, which as we may infer from the similarity in the modes of expression were taken from the lost end of the Life. Zahn in his valuable article on the Life (*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 8 März 1882, p. 298) calls attention to the probable identity of authorship, comparing ἱκανῶς τε πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἤλεγξεν καὶ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα καὶ καθολικόν, ὡς παρέλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ παρέδωκεν, in § 22 of the Moscow MS, with καὶ τοὺς αἵρετικούς ἤλεγχε... ἐδόθη οὖν [αὐτῷ] ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διδασκαλίας ὀρθῆς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς καθολικὸς κανὼν in § 12 of the Life. Moreover the main incident in these supplementary sentences of the Moscow MS is a preternatural intimation of Polycarp's death to Irenæus in Rome at the moment of its occurrence—an incident which, whether true or false, accords well with the love of the marvellous which the author of the Life constantly displays. Among the subjects which would appear in the last part of the Life (after the Letter of the Smyrnæans was disposed of) would be the deposition of the reliques, the observance of the festival, and the like. The author would also here redeem his promise of giving further information respecting the occupants of the see of Smyrna.

Who then was the writer? The manuscript itself gives no name. Yet Halloix unhesitatingly speaks of it as the work of Pionius. He is followed likewise by Bolland (p. 692), who interprets the opening words Ἐπανελθὼν ἀνωτέρω 'altius rediens, priora repetens', and accordingly explains them as referring to the narrative of the Martyrdom, which (as we have seen) he assumes to *precede* the Life in the MS; 'I will return to an earlier point in Polycarp's history.' If these premisses were admitted, the conclusion could hardly be questioned. But on the one hand the interpretation seems to be incorrect and the words are more naturally explained as referring to the account which immediately follows, where the writer traces the history of Christianity in Smyrna *farther back* than Polycarp's time<sup>1</sup>; and on the other hand the assump-

<sup>1</sup> Zahn (*G. G. A.* l. c. p. 291) insists that the word ἐπανερχεσθαι requires that

the writer himself shall be *retracing his own steps*. But these compounds (ἐπάν-



tion that the Martyrdom preceded the Life in the MS is altogether mistaken. Zahn (*Patr. Apost.* II. pp. I, lii, 166 sq., 169) is misled by Bolland and accepts both his false positions. To these views he still adheres (*G. G. A.* p. 290), notwithstanding the publication of the Greek text and the now ascertained fact that in the only known MS the Life precedes the Martyrdom. On the other hand Duchesne (p. 37) gives the right explanation, and he is followed by Funk (*Patr. Apost.* II. p. lvi sq.). The last-mentioned writer however doubts whether the work ought to be attributed to Pionius, but says, somewhat inconsistently with this hesitation, 'statuendum est auctorem alium locum Vitae dedisse quam quem in codice obtinet.' The only solid ground for supposing that the Life ever came after the Martyrdom was the interpretation of Ἐπαελθὼν ἀνωτέρω which he has abandoned.

But though the particular reason which led Bolland and others to ascribe the Life to Pionius thus disappears, I believe nevertheless that it was rightly so ascribed. We have lost indeed one link of connexion by restoring the correct interpretation of Ἐπαελθὼν ἀνωτέρω at the beginning of the Life, but we have found another by apprehending the true significance of ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς at the end of the Martyrdom. If my account of the structure of the work, when unmutilated, be substantially correct, the Acts of Martyrdom did not stand originally either before or after the Life, but were embedded in it; and 'the sequel' (τὸ καθεξῆς) refers to the part which followed upon the Acts. If so, the occurrence of the name of Pionius in the first person (Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν Πιόνιος) in this same sentence points distinctly to the authorship of the Life. Moreover it is shown in the discussion headed 'The true and the false Pionius,' in the chapter on the Smyrnæan Letter in the general introduction in my first volume, that strong points of resemblance exist between the Life and this Pionian postscript to the Martyrdom, indicating the handiwork of the same person.

But who is this Pionius? Certainly not the martyr in the Decian persecution. The phenomena seem altogether inconsistent with so early a date for the work as A.D. 250. Our alternative therefore is

εἰμι, ἐπανέρχομαι) are not unfrequently used, where the writer has not himself already travelled downward on the same road; e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* i. 2. 15 Ἴνα δὲ σαφέστερον δηλωθῇ πᾶσα ἡ Περσῶν πολιτεία, μικρὸν ἐπάνειμι, Plato *Symp.* 211 c ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν καλῶν ἐκείνου

ἐνεκα τοῦ καλοῦ αἰεὶ ἐπανιέναι, ὥσπερ ἐπαναβαθοῖς χρώμενον. Thus it may signify simply 'to mount up,' not only metaphorically, but literally; e.g. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 35 ἐπαελθὼν εἰς τὰ ὄρη, Plato *Timæus* 22 c τὸ δ' ἐναντίον κάτωθεν ἐπανιέναι [τὸ ὕδωρ] πέφυκεν.



either a genuine writer bearing the same name but living at least a century later, or a fictitious person wearing the mask of the martyr Pionius and thus recommending his fiction under cover of a famous name. The martyr was known to have been a man of some literary tastes and had taken a very lively interest in matters relating to Polycarp. Reasons are given in the discussion on 'The true and the false Pionius' for adopting the latter view, as more consonant with the character of the work, and thus regarding Pionius as a pseudonym. Duchesne also (p. 9) is disposed to regard the name as a mask.

Against this supposition however it is alleged that the writer uses language which he would have avoided if he had intended to assume this character. He says (§ 22) that he had found the Letter of the Smyrnæans in a copy 'nearly worn out' (σχεδὸν κεκμηκότα) by time; that the copy had been made by one Socrates or Isocrates from a transcript by Gaius; and that this transcript of Gaius was copied from the papers of Irenæus. It is urged that the period which elapsed between the death of Polycarp and the death of Pionius, having been five years less than a century, was not sufficient for this genealogy of documents (Zahn, *G. G. A.* p. 293 sq.). This argument does not seem to me to have much force. The copy of Irenæus might have been nearly coeval with the martyrdom; the copies of Gaius and Socrates might have been made at short intervals; and thus ample time—half a century at least—would be left for the ravages of time on the last mentioned copy. Moreover, forgers are apt to be blunderers. Hence it is quite credible that our false Pionius overlooked the date of his genuine namesake, when he invented this genealogy. In the same way the false Ignatius (*Philipp.* 8), in a moment of forgetfulness, writes as from Syria or Palestine (see above, p. 779 sq.), though the martyr whose mask he wears is represented at the time of writing to be in Italy. This genealogy of manuscripts therefore is no solid objection where there are two strong arguments on the other side; *first*, the suspicious fact that the writer bears the name of one known to have taken an exceptional interest in Polycarp's martyrdom, and *secondly* the circumstance that he shows himself wholly unscrupulous in inventing imaginary documents, as well as fictitious history, whenever it suits his purpose. Zahn indeed (p. 294) lays stress on the fact that the author nowhere represents himself as a distinguished person. But the ms breaks off abruptly just where he was beginning to speak of himself. When he came to describe how he discovered the old copy of the Smyrnæan Letter by a revelation from Polycarp himself, and to speak of the commemoration

of the martyr in later ages, then he would find his proper opportunity. History recorded that the true Pionius was engaged in celebrating the 'genuinum natale' of Polycarp when he was apprehended, carried off to prison, and finally put to death. Would not his false impersonator connect this incident with the recovery of the Acts of Martyrdom, which would be represented as leading to the revival of the commemoration?

But when did this false Pionius live? He interests himself in the Quartodeciman controversy, and he represents S. Paul (§ 2) as teaching two things respecting the celebrating of Easter: (1) that it must be kept during the feast of unleavened bread and not outside this season, as is done by 'the heretics, especially the Phrygians'; and (2) that it need not of necessity be held on the fourteenth day. The second point is a protest against the Quartodecimans. As Polycarp himself was well known to have been a Quartodeciman, this statement could hardly have been made till the earlier history of the Quartodeciman controversy had passed out of memory. The first injunction has reference to certain Montanists and others in the 4th and 5th centuries, who like the former disregarded the day of the week, but unlike them put aside the Jewish lunar reckoning and adopted the Roman Calendar instead, celebrating the Passion on a fixed day in March or April, which they supposed to have been the actual day of the crucifixion, though differing among themselves in their calculations (Epiphan. *Haer.* l. 1, Sozom. *H. E.* vii. 18, Anon. *Serm. in Pasch.* 7 in Chrysost. *Op.* viii. 2. p. 276: see Duchesne p. 10).<sup>1</sup> This points to a time not earlier than the middle of the fourth century: and no notice in the work suggests a prior date.

<sup>1</sup> Epiphanius ascribes this practice to 'certain others' of the Quartodecimans, and names viii Kal. April. (i.e. March 25) as the day, saying that they derive it from the Acts of Pilate, but adding that he himself has found copies of these Acts in which it is read xv Kal. April. (i.e. March 18), and mentioning other points of difference among themselves. Our extant copies of the Acts of Pilate give viii Kal. April. (see Tischendorf *Act. Apocr.* p. 205). According to Sozomen 'the Montanists who are called Pepuzites and Phrygians' adopted this principle of regulating their Paschal festival by the sun rather than the moon; but he represents them as beginning the year with ix Kal. April.

(March 24) and thus arriving at viii Id. April. (April 6) as their Paschal Festival, and he states the astronomical principles on which they made their calculations.

Hilgenfeld (*Paschastreit* p. 348 sq., *Nov. Test. extra Can. Rec.* p. 80, ed. 2) considers that the Trecentius, against whom the strictures of Peter bishop of Alexandria (A.D. 300-311), as quoted in the introduction to the *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 4 sq. (ed. Bonn.), are directed, held this same principle of a fixed day in the Solar Calendar; and this is the view adopted likewise by Schürer *die Passastreitigkeiten etc.* p. 250 sq. in *Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol.* 1870. But the reasons alleged are not satisfactory.



It may seem strange perhaps that an author, writing after the great Christological disputes of the fourth and succeeding centuries had begun, should not indicate his views on the points of dispute. But they had no reference to the subject before him, and apparently he took no special interest in them. The author's wide departure from authentic history, wherever we are able to test his account of Polycarp by this standard, forbids us to place the work any earlier, and indeed would suggest a much later date, if it were possible. From this however we are precluded by the fact that about the year 400 the *Life* was known and accepted; for Macarius Magnes (*Apocr.* iii. 24) cites as authentic history two of the most stupendous miracles which it records, the parching drought relieved suddenly by a downpour of copious rain (§§ 29—31), and the instantaneous replenishment of the widow's empty store-houses (§ 4).

Of the locality of the writer we cannot speak with so much confidence. Yet there are notices in the narrative which suggest that he lived in the neighbourhood where Polycarp's memory was especially revered. At all events he shows some local knowledge. Thus he speaks (§ 3) of the 'Ephesian' gate of the city, omitting however the word *πύλη* and thus indicating an acquaintance with the familiar language of the Smyrnæans. Again (§ 20) he mentions this same gate in another passage, where also he calls it 'Royal' (*βασιλείας*); and he is acquainted with the myrtle tree growing over the grave of the martyr Thraseas hard by. He possesses information likewise (whether correct or not, we are unable to say) respecting the succession of the early bishops of Smyrna both before and after Polycarp (§§ 3, 27). He is likewise aware of the warm baths at the neighbouring city of Teos (§ 25); but the name Lebadian (*Λεβάδια*) which he gives to them is not easily explained and may perhaps betray some confusion. On the whole I should infer that he was not himself a native of or resident in Smyrna, though probably he had a casual knowledge of the place and may have belonged to Proconsular Asia. The *Acts of Pionius*, evidently emanating from Smyrna itself, show a knowledge of topographical details which is much more striking.

Another feature in this *Life*, difficult to understand under any circumstances, is less inexplicable in a stranger than in a Smyrnæan. The earliest authentic tradition relating to Polycarp is altogether ignored by our biographer. Irenæus, the scholar of Polycarp connects his master directly with the Apostle S. John, and relates more than one incident connected with their intercourse. He moreover states that Polycarp was appointed bishop by Apostles. The general tenour of early tradition



accords with the statements of Irenæus. But of this connexion with the Apostles, and especially with S. John, our biographer in the extant portion of the story says not a word. On the contrary he gives an account which is irreconcilable with it. He represents Polycarp as ordained deacon and priest by Bucolus his predecessor in the see, and consecrated bishop by the bishops of the neighbouring towns. As he shows some knowledge (direct or indirect) of the language of Irenæus elsewhere (see above, p. 1008), it is quite possible that he introduced the testimonies from Irenæus, as cited by Eusebius, in the lost end of the work. But, if so, it is difficult to conceive how he can have reconciled them with his previous narrative.

Thus the biography is altogether valueless as a contribution to our knowledge of Polycarp. It does not, so far as we know, rest on any tradition early or late, and may probably be regarded as a fiction of the author's own brain. It has no other value than as representing the opinions and practices of the latter half of the fourth century. From this point of view, the detailed account of Polycarp's election and consecration to the bishopric has the highest interest.

In the critical notes the MS is designated by p, while the letters D, F, H, stand for Duchesne, Funk, and Halloix respectively. Where I have hazarded a conjectural emendation of my own, it is marked conj.



## ΒΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΥ

I. Ἐπανελθὼν ἀνωτέρω καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου παρουσίας εἰς Σμύρναν, καθὼς εὔρον ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις, ποιήσομαι καθεξῆς τὸν λόγον, οὕτως καταντήσας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου διήγησιν.

5 II. Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἀζύμων ὁ Παῦλος ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας κατιὼν κατήντησεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, τοῦ πολλοῦ κόπου ἀνάπανσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν πιστοῖς ἡγούμενος μεγάλην ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἐν Σμύρνη, μέλλων λοιπὸν ἀπιέναι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἦλθεν οὖν ἐν τῇ Σμύρνη πρὸς  
10 Στραταίαν, ὅστις ἀκουστῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ, υἱὸν ὄντα Εὐνείκης θυγατρὸς Λωΐδος· αὗται δέ εἰσι περὶ ὧν γράφων Τιμοθέῳ μέμνηται λέγων· τῆς ἐν σοὶ ἀνυποκρίτου πίστεως, ἥτις ἐνώκησε πρῶτον ἐν τῇ μάμμῃ σοῦ Λωΐδι καὶ

ΒΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΥ] βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μακαρίου μάρτυρος πολυκάρπου ἐπισκόπου γενομένου σμύρνης τῆς ἀσίας p. 3 οὕτως] οὗτος p. 8 ἐν Σμύρνη] D; εἰς σμύρνη p; εἰς σμύρνην F, but it should be σμύρναν.

I. Ἐπανελθὼν ἀνωτέρω] *‘Tracing my steps back to an earlier point.’* On the mistaken interpretation of these words and on the erroneous inferences drawn therefrom see above, p. 1008 sq.

5. Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις κ.τ.λ.] Apparently intended for the same journey which is recorded in Acts xviii. 23, 24, xix. 1; see above, I. p. 447.

7. τὴν ἐν πιστοῖς] sc: ἀνάπανσιν, to be understood from the preceding ἀνάπανσιν of the predicate.

8. τὴν ἐν Σμύρνη] No visit of S. Paul to Smyrna is recorded in the Acts. On the evangelization of Smyrna, see above I. p. 446, and II. p. 927.

10. Στραταίαν] He is mentioned *Apost. Const.* vii. 46 Σμύρνης δὲ Ἀρίστων πρῶτος [ἐπίσκοπος], μεθ’ ὃν Στραταίας ὁ Λωΐδος καὶ τρίτος Ἀρίστων, from which passage our author may possibly have derived his information. The name Στράτειος (Στράτιος) occurs occasionally, but not Στραταίας (Στρατέας) so far as I have observed. See above, I. p. 447.

ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ] The abode of Timothy is placed by S. Luke not in Pamphylia, but in Lycaonia; Acts xvi. 1. For the Apostle’s visits to Pamphylia, see Acts xiii. 13 sq., xiv. 24 sq.

12. γράφων Τιμοθέῳ] See 2 Tim. i. 5.



τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Εὐνεΐκη· ὥς ἐκ τούτου εὐρίσκεσθαι τὸν Στρα-  
ταίαν ἀδελφὸν Τιμοθέου. παρ' ᾧ εἰσελθὼν ὁ Παῦλος καὶ  
συναγαγὼν τοὺς ὄντας πιστοὺς λελάληκεν αὐτοῖς περί τε  
τοῦ πάσχα καὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, ὑπομνήσας αὐτοὺς περὶ  
καινῆς διαθήκης ἄρτου καὶ ποτηρίου προσφορᾶς· ὅτι δεῖ 5  
πάντως ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἀζύμων ἐπιτελεῖν, κρατεῖν δὲ  
τὸ καινὸν μυστήριον πάθους καὶ ἀναστάσεως. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ  
φαίνεται ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκων ὅτι οὔτε παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν  
τῶν ἀζύμων δεῖ ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ αἵρετικοὶ ποιοῦσι, μάλιστα  
οἱ Φρύγες, οὔτε μὴν πάλιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ 10  
οὐδὲν γὰρ περὶ τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ὠνόμασεν, ἀλλὰ  
ἀζύμων, πάσχα, πεντηκοστῆς, κυρῶν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

III. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἄφιξιν διεδέξατο ὁ  
Στραταίας τὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ τινες τῶν μετ' αὐτόν, ὧν τὰ  
μὲν ὀνόματα, πρὸς ὃ δυνατόν εὐρίσκειν, οἷτινες καὶ ὅποιοι 15  
ἐγένοντο, ἀναγράψομαι· τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον σπεύσωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν  
Πολύκαρπον.

Ὁντος τινὸς ἐν Σμύρνῃ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ἐπι-  
σκόπου ᾧ ὄνομα Βουκόλος, γυνή τις ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις  
ἦν εὐλαβὴς καὶ φοβουμένη τὸν Θεόν, ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς 20  
ἀναστρεφομένη, ἣ ὄνομα Καλλιστώ· ταύτῃ ἀποσταλὴς ἄγ-  
γελος παρὰ Κυρίου παραστὰς ἐν ὁράματι νυκτός φησι·  
Καλλιστώ, ἀναστᾶσα πορεύθητι ἐπὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ἐφε-  
σιακὴν, καὶ ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν προελθούσῃ σοι ὑπαντή-

10 τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ] τεσσαρισκαιδεκάτῃ p, and so below τεσσαρισκαιδεκάτης.

24 προελθούσῃ] προελθούσης p.

26 αὐτοὺς] αὐτοῖς p.

28 τοῦτο τῷ

8. διδάσκων ὅτι κ.τ.λ.] On this pas-  
sage see above, p. 1011.

12. ἀζύμων, πάσχα, κ.τ.λ.] This punc-  
tuation will, I think, commend itself.  
It had struck me independently, be-  
fore I saw it suggested by Zahn.

14. τῶν μετ' αὐτόν] 'his successors.'  
The words are translated by Bolland  
(p. 696) 'alii quidam cum ipso', as if  
τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ, and Zahn (*Patr.*  
*Apost.* II. p. 169) has founded some

speculations on the expression so  
rendered. On the succession of the  
early bishops of Smyrna, see above,  
p. 447 sq.

23. Ἐφεσιακὴν] sc. πύλην, the word  
being understood as e.g. in Joh. v.  
2. This Ephesian gate is mentioned  
again below (§ 20), where it is also  
called 'Royal.' See also Aristid. *Or.*  
I. p. 450 τοῦ βαλανείου τοῦ πρὸς ταῖς  
πύλαις ταῖς εἰς Ἐφεσον φερούσαις. Is

25 σουσιν ἄνδρες δύο, ἔχοντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν παιδάριον ᾧ ὄνομα  
 Πολύκαρπος. ἐπερώτησον αὐτοὺς εἰ πράσιμόν ἐστιν τῶν  
 δὲ εἰπόντων ὅτι Ναί, δὸς ἣν ἀξιώσουσι τιμὴν, καὶ παραλα-  
 βούσα ἔχε μετὰ σεαυτῇ· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τῷ γένει ἀπὸ  
 ἀνατολῆς. ἡ δέ, ἔτι τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῇ ἐνηχούσης καὶ τῆς  
 30 καρδίας αὐτῆς φόβῳ καὶ χαρᾷ πηδώσης, ἀνεκάθισέν τε καὶ  
 μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ μὴ μελλήσασα τὸ προσταχθὲν  
 ἐποίει. ροίζῳ δὲ καὶ δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὴν προειρημένην πύλην  
 ἦλθεν· καὶ εὔρεν καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος, παραλαβοῦσά  
 τε ἡγάγευ εἰς τὸν οἶκον, καὶ ἡγαλλιάσατο ἀνατρέφουσα  
 35 κοσμίως καὶ παιδεύουσα τὴν ἐν Κυρίῳ παιδείαν, ὁρῶσά τε  
 τὸ νουνεχὲς αὐτοῦ καὶ κόσμιον καὶ τὸ πρὸς θεοσέβειαν  
 ἐπιτήδειον ἐξεπλήσσετο. ἦν δὲ αὐτῇ τῇ μὲν στοργῇ υἱός,  
 τῇ δὲ ὑπεροχῇ τῶν οἰκετῶν, ὅσῳ περ δὴ προέκοπτεν τῇ  
 ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ διοικητῆς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐγένετο. καὶ δὴ καὶ  
 40 τὰς κλεῖς τῶν ἀποθηκῶν ἐδεδώκει ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ.

IV. Ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε ἐγένετο αὐτὴν χρόνον τινὰ ἀποδη-  
 μῆσαι, κατέλιπεν τῆς οἰκίας φύλακα τὸν Πολύκαρπον.  
 εἰσιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ μετρεῖν τοῖς οἰκείοις τροφὰς ἡκολούθουν  
 χῆραί τε καὶ ὀρφανοὶ καὶ πλείστοι ἐκ γειτόνων, ὅσοι τῶν  
 45 πιστῶν ἦσαν πτωχοί, καὶ ἡξίουں λαμβάνειν, ὁ μὲν σῖτον,  
 οἱ δὲ οἶνον, ἄλλοι ἔλαιον, καὶ εἴ τι ἔχρηζεν ἕκαστος. ὁ δὲ  
 ἐκ παιδὸς ἔχων τὸ τῆς εὐποιΐας μάθημα, καὶ τὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ  
 ἐντολὰς ἐν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς πίνακι καὶ τῇ τῆς καρδίας πλακὶ  
 δακτύλῳ Θεοῦ πνεύματι ἀγίῳ ἀναγεγραμμένας ἔχων, τὸ τῷ

γίνει] τούτῳ τὸ γένος H.  
 DF; κατέλειπεν p.

30 ἀνεκάθισέν] ἀνέκαθισέν p.  
 44 χῆραι] χῆρες p.

42 κατέλειπεν]

this the same place which is men-  
 tioned in the Smyrnæan inscription  
*Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3148 (II. p. 712  
 sq.) στρώσειν τὴν βασιλικήν...τὴν βασι-  
 λικὴν στρώσειν τὴν πρὸς τῷ βουλευ-  
 τηρίῳ καὶ χαλκᾶς τὰς θύρας ποιήσειν?  
 If the 'pavement' suggests a road,  
 the 'doors' imply a gate. Perhaps  
 there was both a βασιλικὴ ὁδὸς and

a βασιλικὴ πύλη at this place.

35. παιδεύουσα κ.τ.λ.] See the note  
 on Polyc. *Phil.* 4.

44. ἐκ γειτόνων] 'from the neighbour-  
 hood', used like ἐν γειτόνων, ἐς γειτό-  
 νων; see G. Dindorf in Steph. *Thes.*  
 s. v. γείτων.

49. τῷ αἰτοῦντι κ.τ.λ.] From Matth.  
 v. 42, Luke vi. 30.



ἀιτοῦντί σε δίδου, ἐποίει δὴ, καὶ οὕτως πάσας ἀποθήκας ἐκένωσεν, ἀφθόνως τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπιδιδούς.

V. Ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε ἦκεν ἡ Καλλιστῶ διὰ χρόνου, εἰς τις τῶν οἰκετῶν προσδραμῶν αὐτῇ ἔφη· Σὺ μὲν, ὦ κυρία, πάντας τοὺς οἰκογενεῖς σου οὐδὲν ἡγησαμένη, τῷ παιδαρίῳ τούτῳ ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἤκοντι πάντα ἐνεχείρισας· ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὴν σὴν ἀποδημίαν, ἐκφορήσας πάντα ὅσα ἦν, οὐδὲν ὑπελείπετο. ἡ δὲ τῇ χαλεπῇ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ φωνῇ διαταραχθεῖσα (ικανὴ γὰρ διαβολὴ καὶ ἡρεμούσαν ψυχὴν ἀνακινεῖν, μάλισθ' ὅταν φαντασίαν τῆς ἀπὸ χρημάτων βλάβης ἐμφαίνει) διώδυσέν 10 τε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ θυμοῦ ἐνεπίπλατο, καὶ μάλιστα μεγίστην ἡγουμένη συμφορὰν εἰ ὁ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ αὐτῇ δοθεὶς ἀσώτως κατηνάλωσε πάντα· οὐπω γὰρ ἡπίστατο εἰς τί αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος ἐχρήσατο· διὸ καὶ πολυσχιδεῖς αὐτῇ ἀνεφύοντο λογισμοί. εὐθύς οὖν ὀνόματι ἐκάλει Πολύκαρπον λέ- 15 γουσα· [Πολύκαρπε·] τῷ δὲ ὑπακούσαντί φησιν· Κόμιζε τὰς κλείς τῶν ἀποθηκῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ κομίσας ἤνοιξεν, εἰσελθοῦσα ἐπεσκόπει, καὶ τι θαυμαστὸν τῆς μεγαλουργίας τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιὼν ἐστέναξεν τε καὶ προσηύξατο εἰπών· Θεὲ Κύριε ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου 20 παιδός, ὁ ἐν παρουσίᾳ τοῦ προφήτου σου Ἑλίου πληρώσας τὰ ἀγγεῖα τῆς Σαραφθινῆς χήρας, ἐπάκουσόν μου, ἵνα ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐρεθῇ πάντα πεπληρωμένα. καὶ οὕτως εὐρέθη πάντα πεπληρωμένα, ὡς νομίσασαν αὐτὴν καταψεύ-

1 οὕτως] οὗτος p.

διοίδυσέν p.

σχεδεῖς pDF.

ἀραφθινῆς p.

4 προσδραμῶν] προδραμῶν p.

14 ἐκεῖνος] F; ἐκείνοις pD.

16 Πολύκαρπε] DF; om. p.

26 δέρειν] conj.; om. pDF. The sense requires this or

10 διώδυσέν]

πολυσχιδεῖς] πολυ-

22 Σαραφθινῆς]

26. ἡπλωσεν ἐαυτόν] 'he acted frankly, with simplicity,' comp. M. Antoin. iv. 26 ἡπλωσον σεαυτόν. But the expression is sometimes used in a literal sense, 'to stretch oneself out,' e. g. Joann. Malal. Chron. xviii. p. 472 (ed. Bonn.).

30. ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ κ.τ.λ.] An imitation of Polycarp's own language

in Mart. Polyc. 14.

38. Καλλιστοῦς] Previous editors have acquiesced in Καλλιστῶ, but I know no authority for this form of the genitive.

40. τῆς ἀνατολικῆς κ.τ.λ.] The construction is doubtful, but the sense suggests that ῥίξης is a loose genitive after ἄνθος, while καρποῦ seems to be



25 σασθαι τὸν δοῦλον χαλεπαίνειν καὶ τισι τῶν οἰκετῶν παρα-  
 κελεύεσθαι [δέρειν]. φθάσας δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἤπλωσεν  
 ἑαυτὸν λέγων· Μὴ δῆτα δι' ἐμὲ ὑβρίσης ἕτερον, ἐμοὶ δὲ  
 μᾶλλον ἐμφόρει τὰς τούτου πληγὰς· οὐ γὰρ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ  
 ἄξιος ἐπαίνου τῆς εἰς τὴν δέσποιναν εὐνοίας· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπεὶ  
 30 μὴ κακῶς ἐδαπάνησα ἀλλ' εἰς πτωχοὺς, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ  
 τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοὺς πεινῶντας ἐνέπλησεν  
 καὶ πέμψας τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ σοὶ τὰ σὰ ἀπεκατέστησεν,  
 ἵνα καὶ σὺ σχοίης κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ὃ ποιεῖς ἐπιδιδόναι πτωχοῖς.  
 ταῦτα ἀκούσασα καὶ ἰδοῦσα ἔμβοβος ἡ Καλλιστῶ ἐγένετο,  
 35 ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον προσθεμένη τῇ πίστει καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς  
 ἔργοις, ὥστε γενέσθαι αὐτῇ Πολύκαρπον εἰς υἱόν, καὶ ἀνα-  
 λύσασαν ἐν πίστει καταλιπεῖν αὐτῇ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῆς.

VI. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς Καλλιστοῦς ἐν πολλῇ  
 προκοπῇ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀγαθὴν  
 40 πολιτείαν ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἐγίνετο. καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ρίζης,  
 κατὰ τὸ ἄοκνον τῆς φιλοπονίας, δεῖγμα ἔφερεν ἄνθος, ὡς ἂν  
 εἴποι τις, μέλλοντος ἀγαθοῦ καρποῦ. φιλομαθεῖς γάρ, εἰ  
 καὶ τινες ἄλλοι, καὶ προσφυεῖς ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς οἱ τὴν  
 ἀνατολὴν οἰκοῦντες ἄνθρωποι. εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀχθεῖς καὶ  
 45 ἐν τῇ Σμύρνῃ κατὰ Θεοῦ θέλημα ἐλθὼν, καταμαθὼν τε τοὺς  
 τῶν ἐγχωρίων τρόπους καὶ τούτων πολὺ διαστήσας ἑαυτόν,  
 ἔγνω ὡς ἄρα παντὶ δούλῳ Θεοῦ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος [πόλις], πατὴρ  
 δὲ ἡ ἐπουράνιος Ἱερουσαλήμ· ἐνταῦθα δὲ παροικεῖν, ἀλλ'

some similar word.

29 ἄξιος] p; ἄξιός ἐστιν DF.

36 αὐτῇ]

αὐτὴν p.

38 Καλλιστοῦς] conj.; Καλλιστῶ pDF.

39 καὶ] txt D;

add. τῇ p; add. ἐκ F.

43 προσφυεῖς] προφυεῖς p.

47 πόλις]

conj. (see § 29); om. p. D suggests φυγὴ or οἰκήσιμος, which latter F adopts.

governed by δεῖγμα.

42. φιλομαθεῖς γάρ κ.τ.λ.] Duchesne suggests that our biographer may have had in his mind the biblical studies of the Antiochene school, Lucian, Dorotheus, and others.

47. πόλις] This insertion is justified by § 29 ἐπακούσατέ μου τοῦ παροίκου καὶ παρεπιδήμου, ᾧ πᾶσα πόλις ξένη διὰ

τὴν ἐπουράνιον πολιτείαν καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος πόλις διὰ τὴν τοῦ κτίσαντος τὰ πάντα Θεοῦ δωρεάν. See *Epist. ad Diogn.* 5 πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίαις ἀλλ' ὡς πάροικοι· μετέχουσιν πάντων ὡς πολῖται, καὶ πάνθ' ὑπομένουσιν ὡς ξένοι· πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσα πατρίς ξένη.

48. παροικεῖν κ.τ.λ.] For the distinc-

οὐ κατοικεῖν, ὡς ξένοι καὶ παρεπίδημοι τετάγμεθα. καὶ δὴ ταῦτα διασκοπούμενος ἐπ' εὐφροσύνη θεία νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἑαυτὸν ὅλον δι' ὅλον, ὥσπερ καθωσιωμένον ὀλοκαύτωμα, προσενήνοχε Θεῷ, τοῖς μὲν ἐν ταῖς θείαις γρα- 5 φαῖς γυμναζόμενος λογίοις, ταῖς δὲ διὰ προσευχῶν ἐνδελε- χέσι λειτουργίαις καὶ τῇ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς χρήζοντας ἡ σπουδῇς ἡ ἐπιδόσεως κηδεμονία καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν δίκαιαν αὐταρκείᾳ. σιτίοις τε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν παροῦσι λιτοῖς τε καὶ ἀπεριέργοις ἐχρήτο, ἐσθῆτι δέ, ὡς αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ χρεῖωδες ἀπῆτει, θάλπους ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα σώφρονος 10 εὐκοσμίας ἀμφιέννυσθαι.

VII. Τὰ δὲ πλείστα ἦν ὑπαναχωρῶν, οὐκ ἐν δημοσίοις οὔτε ἐπιφανέσι τόποις, οὐδ' ὅθεν ἦν τὸν ἐκ τῶν ὁρώντων ἔπαινον καρποῦσθαι. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ διατριβαί, οἴκοι μὲν αἱ πλείσται, αἱ δὲ ἐν προαστείοις ἐν οἷς ἂν ἦν μάλιστα 15 ἀμελοῦντα τὸν πολυδημῶδη τάραχον ἐκφεύγειν, ἐπισταμένῳ ὡς ἄρα χρήζει ἡ ψυχὴ σταθερᾶς καὶ ἀνεπιμίκτου κακῶν ὄψεως τε καὶ ἀκοῆς. κακ τούτων ἦν ἐσταλμένος τῷ τε κατὰ τὸν νοῦν φρονήματι καὶ τῷ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα σχήματι· βάδισμα γὰρ πρεσβυτικὸν ἦν ἐν νεαζούσῃ ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ τὸ βλέμμα 20 ἀνδρεῖον, ἀπηλλαγμένον τῆς πρὸς τὰ ὀρώμενα κατὰ τὸν βίον προσπαθείας. εἰ δέ τινες τῶν συναντώντων αὐτῷ κατενόουν τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐρυθήματος ἐνεπίμπλατο καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ αἰδοῦς αἰδέσιμον ἑαυτὸν κατεσκεύαζεν. τῷ γὰρ ἐρυθρῷ χρώ- 25 ματι διὰ τοῦ σώματος, ὥσπερ δι' ἐσόπτρου, αἱ τῶν σοφῶν διορῶνται ψυχαί. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ τῶν προσφοιτώντων καὶ

16 ἀμελοῦντα] DF; ἀτελοῦντα p. Perhaps we should read ἀτημελοῦντα. 26  
τῶν] om. H. καὶ καθομιλεῖν] DF; καὶ ὁμιλεῖν p. 38 ἦν] DF;  
om. p. 48 ἐπεπόθει] conj.; ἐπεποίηται psDF. Evidently this cannot stand,

tion of παροικεῖν, κατοικεῖν, and for the conception of the Christian's position as a παροικία, see the note on Clem. Rom. i. The combination ξένοι καὶ παρεπίδημοι is taken from Heb. xi. 13. On the other hand in the paral-

le passage § 29, παροίκου καὶ παρεπιδήμου, our author has followed 1 Pet. ii. 11, which is founded on the LXX of Gen. xxiii. 4, Ps. xxxviii (xxxix). 13.  
4. ὀλοκαύτωμα] The application to



καθομιλεῖν ἐσπουδακότων τοὺς μὲν ἀδολέσχας καὶ ληρώδεις,  
 εἰ οἶόν τε αὐτῷ, ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ φεύγειν προφάσει τοῦ  
 τεταῖσθαι ἐπὶ τι σπουδαῖον καὶ μὴ προσεσχικήναι τῷ συναν-  
 30 τήσαντι· εἰ δὲ συνέβη περιπεσεῖν, μόνον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δόξαι  
 ὑπεροπτικὸν εἶναι ὀλίγα τινὰ ἀποκρινόμενος ἐπαύετο. τοιοῦ-  
 τος ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἦν ὠφεληθῆναι. τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς  
 καθάπερ κύνας λυσσῶντας ἢ θήρας ἀγρίους ἢ ἐρπετὰ ἰοβόλα  
 περιῖστατο· ἐμέμνητο γὰρ τῆς λεγούσης γραφῆς· μετὰ ἀν-  
 35 δρὺς ἀθώου ἀθῶος ἔσῃ καὶ μετὰ ἐκλεκτοῦ ἐκλεκτός καὶ  
 μετὰ στρεβλοῦ διαστρέψεις. τοῖς δὲ ὠφελεῖν δυναμένοις ἐπὶ  
 πλείστον συνῆν, καὶ μάλιστα ὧν μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῶν λόγων  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἦν ὠφέλειαν καρποῦσθαι.

VIII. Ἐπανιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν προαστείων εἰς τὴν  
 40 πόλιν, εἴ ποτε συνετύγχανον ξυλοφόροι καὶ μάλιστα πρεσ-  
 βῦται, συνέπασχεν τε τῆς ἀχθοφορίας ἔνεκα, καὶ συμπορευό-  
 μενος ἀνθρώπα εἰ ἅμα τῷ εἰσελθεῖν πιπράσκει τὸ φορτίον·  
 τοῦ δὲ ἀποκρινόμενου ὅτι ἐνίοτε ἤδη ἐσπέρας ἄπρακτα εἶη,  
 ἐπιδούς αὐτῷ τὴν τιμὴν ἦγεν παρὰ τὰς ἄγχι τῇ πύλῃ  
 45 οἰκούσας χήρας· καὶ ταύταις μὲν τὴν χρήσιν τῶν ξύλων, τῷ  
 δὲ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῆς τροφῆς τῆς ὥρας ἐχαρίζετο.

IX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὥραν, ἔτι καὶ  
 μᾶλλον ἐπεπόθει τὴν θεοσέβειαν· διέγνω δὲ ὡς ἄρα οἰκεῖον  
 ἀσκήσει ἐλευθερία, ἥτις περιγίνεται ὀλίγοις μὲν, μάλιστα  
 50 τοῖς ἀδούλωτον καὶ ἀπαρεμπόδιστον τῆς ψυχῆς εἰληφόσι  
 παρὰ Θεοῦ κεκτῆσθαι πτερόν· ὃς τὴν ὑπέργειον μᾶλλον καὶ  
 εὐπετῇ ἡξιῶται πολιτείαν, μὴ κατασπώμενος ἐπὶ γῆς τῷ τοῦ

and I have restored what seems to be the right reading.

of the κ and the whole of the η are obliterated in p.

ἀπαρεμπόδιστον ps D.

ἡξιῶται] A word like λαβεῖν seems to have fallen out.

49 ἀσκήσει] part

50 ἀπαρεμπόδιστον]

51 κεκτῆσθαι] σθαι is in a later hand in p.

52

Polycarp is from *Mart. Polyc.* 14.

9. ἐσθῆτι δὲ] sc. ἐχρήτο (ὥστε) ἀμ-  
 φιέννυσθαι. This seems the most  
 probable construction, if indeed the  
 text is not mutilated.

22. προσπαθείας] '*propensity*'; for

προσπάθεια is the opposite to ἀντιπά-  
 θεια, e.g. Isid. Pelus. *Epist.* i. 310  
 προσπάθεια μὲν οὐκ ὀξυδορκεῖ, ἀντιπά-  
 θεια δὲ ὅλως οὐχ ὀρά.

34. μετὰ ἀνδρὸς ἀθῶου κ.τ.λ.] From  
 Ps. xvii (xviii). 26, 27.



γάμου δεσμῶ. ἀπροσδεὴς γὰρ ἡμῶν τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον  
ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲ εἷς, προσδεέστεροι δὲ μᾶλλον οἷς ἢ πολυ-  
δάπανος καὶ φιλόκοσμος οἴκαδε ἐγκαθώρμηται γυνή· τὰς τε  
ἐκ ταύτης περιστάσεις καὶ ἀηδίας ἐλογίζετο, ὥς οὐκ  
ἔνεστιν ἐπίπαν εἰρηναῖον καὶ εὐδιον ἐκτελέσαι βίον. εἰ 5  
μὲν γὰρ ἄσωτος εἴη, ὥς φησι Σολομών, μεστὸς ζήλου θγμὸς  
ἀνδρός· εἰ δὲ σωφρονεῖ, κεκομπῆσθαι τε καὶ τὸ φρόνημα  
διεγηγέρθαι· ὥς κρεῖττον μᾶλλον ἐν ἐρμηίᾳ οἰκεῖν, ἢ μετὰ  
γυναικὸς μαχίμου καὶ γλωσσώδογος. ὅλως δὲ οὐδεὶς βίου  
ώραῖσμός ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπουρανίων κατώκειλεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν· 10  
εἰώθει δὲ λέγειν ὥς ἄρα εἴη αὐτῷ ώραῖα τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
ῥήματα καὶ προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων· ώραῖος κάλλει παρὰ  
τοῖς γίοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐξεχύθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χεῖλεσί σου·  
καί· ὥς ώραῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν ἐγαγγελιζομένων ἀγαθὰ. παι-  
δοτροφίας τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἔγγονα ἐπιμελείας καὶ 15  
τῆς ἀκολουθούσης οἴκαδε θεραπείας διελάμβανεν, ὅσων μὲν  
δεήσει χρῆζειν τὸν τούτοις συμπλεκόμενον, ὅσας δὲ περι-  
στάσεις καὶ ἀσχολίας ἔχειν, φροντίδας τε τῆς τούτων ἀνα-  
στροφῆς, καὶ οἷα νοσηλευομένων παιδῶν τοῖς γεννήτορσιν  
ἄχθη καὶ ἀποβιωσάντων πένθη γίνεται, οἳ τε ἄλλοι περὶ τὴν 20  
ἀγωγὴν παντὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ βίου κίνδυνοι. κατὰ πᾶσαν γὰρ

1 τῶν] τὸν p.

7 σωφρονεῖ] σώφρων εἰ p.

κεκομπῆσθαι] DF;

ἐκεκομπῆσθαι p. Perhaps we should read ἐκεκομπῆσθαι; see the lower note.

10 ἐπουρανίων] pF; ὑπουρανίων D.

11 αὐτῷ] F; αὐτῷ psD.

18 ἀνα-

6. μεστὸς ζήλου κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. vi. 34.

7. κεκομπῆσθαι] Perhaps (considering the reading of the MS) we should substitute ἐκεκομπῆσθαι. But I have not found another instance of the perfect passive used in this sense in the case of either verb.

10. κατώκειλεν κ.τ.λ.] 'run his soul aground.' This compound does not seem yet to have found a place in the lexicons.

12. ώραῖος κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. xlv (xlv).

3. The passage which follows is taken

from Rom. x. 15, which again is a quotation from Is. lii. 7, though not following the LXX.

24. ἀνακριναμένου] I have substituted this for ἀνακρῖνομένου, the reading of previous editors, both as making better sense and as being nearer to the traces of the MS.

25. ἀφηνῶν καὶ ἀπανχενίζων] Words used of restiff horses which decline the reins and the yoke; comp. Philo de Abrah. 37 (Op. II. p. 31 M) τοτὲ δὲ ἀφηνιάζων καὶ ἀπανχενίζων. Probably the metaphorical use of these

μετάβασιν ἡλικίας μετακίνησις τοῖς νέοις καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος  
 γίνεται, ἀναζέοντος ὥσπερ οἴνου νέου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὥραν  
 ἐμφύτου θερμοῦ, ἀνακιρναμένου τε καὶ ἔλκοντος ἐπὶ τὸ καθα-  
 25 ρώτερον τὴν ὕλην, καθάπερ ὑποζυγίου ἀφηνιᾶν καὶ ἀπαυ-  
 χενίζειν ἐπιχειροῦντος, μέχρις ἂν ὁ ἐπιστάτης καὶ ἐπίσκοπος  
 νοῦς, καθάπερ χαλινῶ, λόγῳ καὶ λογισμῶ ἀναχαιτίσει τε καὶ  
 ἀνακόψει καὶ παύσει τὸν χρεμετισμόν, εἰς τάξιν ἀγαγὼν τὴν  
 ἄτακτον καὶ ἄλογον ὁρμήν. τότε δὲ ὁ νοῦς ἐργάζεται ταῦτα  
 30 καὶ κατισχύει, ὅταν αὐτὸν θεία τις ἐπιφροσύνη καὶ παρουσία  
 πνεύματος ἁγίου †περισπαρή†. διὸ δὴ καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος Δαυὶδ  
 ᾤκησεν λέγων· πνεῦμα εὐθὲς ἐγκαινισκὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις  
 μοῦ· πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῶ στήριζόν με, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σου  
 τὸ ἄγιον μὴ ἀντανέλῃς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολός φησιν·  
 35 πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε, καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελέ-  
 σῃτε.

Χ. Ἀκόλουθον οὖν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν λοιπὸν καὶ τὸν τῆς  
 ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτοῦ καταλέξαι δρόμον, καὶ ὡς ἐπολιτεύσατο,  
 καὶ ὡς εἰς τοῦτον ἦλθεν· ἵνα καὶ διὰ τούτων μάθωμεν μιμηταὶ  
 40 τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκλεγομένων λειτουργῶν γίνεσθαι. ὁ μὲν  
 οὖν Βουκόλος, ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐπίσκοπος, ἡγάπα τε αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ  
 πολλοῦ ἐκ παιδὸς ἐποιεῖτο· καὶ εὐθυμος ὢν εὐέλπιστος ἐπ'

στροφῆς] We should probably read ἀνατροφῆς.  
 κριναμένου p; ἀνακρινόμενον DF. See the lower note.  
 This word is unsatisfactory, but I have nothing to suggest.  
 conj.; εὐελπίς τε pDF.

24 ἀνακιρναμένου] ἀνα-  
 31 περισπαρή]  
 42 εὐέλπιστος]

and similar words, such as ἀναχαιτί-  
 ζειν just below, though very common  
 in these later times, should be traced  
 back to the myth in Plato's Phædrus,  
 as the original. The previous meta-  
 phor of the wing (πτέρων) of the soul  
 in this chapter is derived from the  
 same source.

32. πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.] Ps. 1 (li). 12, 14,  
 13. The next quotation is from Gal.  
 v. 16.

40. ὁ μὲν οὖν Βουκόλος κ.τ.λ.] Bucolus  
 is commemorated in the Menæa on

Feb. 6 Σμύρνης ὁ ποιμὴν Βουκόλος θυ-  
 πόλος κ.τ.λ., where also his relation to  
 Ignatius is recorded, the source of  
 information doubtless being this Life  
 by Pionius. Bucolus himself is stated  
 in the Menæa to have been ordain-  
 ed bishop by S. John and to have re-  
 futed and 'ostracised' (ἐξωστράκισ-  
 ται) Marcion. This last statement is  
 hardly consistent with chronology.  
 See also the note on § 20.

42. εὐέλπιστος] I have thus emended  
 the text, being unable to make any-



αὐτῷ ἦν· ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν χρηστῶν υἱῶν πατέρες ἀγάλλονται ἐπὶ τῷ ἔχειν διαδόχους σώφρονας. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἡμειβετο τὸν Βουκόλον, ὡς ἂν γεννήτορα ἀγαπῶν, οὐκ ἐπιπλάστω μέντοι λόγῳ, ἀλλ' ἡσυχῇ μὲν καὶ μὴ παράπαν διόλου αὐτῷ γινόμενος· ὑπεξαναχωρῶν δὲ τοὺς αἰεὶ ὄντας ἦδει καιρούς, ὡς μηδὲ 5 προσκορῇ μήτε ἀτημελῇ δοκεῖν εἶναι. δῶρον μὲν γὰρ ἡ δόμα οὐτ' αὐτῷ δυναμένῳ ἐπαρκεῖν ἐσπούδαζεν διδόναι οὔτε μὴν ὁ Βουκόλος λαβεῖν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἴδιον κέρδος ἡγείτο τοῦ νέου τὴν εἰς τοὺς δεομένους προθυμίαν, ὁ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἐντολὴν προσηκόντως ἐπλήρου, διδούς τοῖς οὐ δυνα- 10 μένοις ἀνταποδοῦναι, ἐνίων θηρωμένων διὰ τῆς τέχνης τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ἐφιεμένων ἐτέρας μείζονος τιμῆς. ὡς οὖν ὁ μὲν Πολύκαρπος, καθάπερ ὁ Ἰακώβ, ἀπλοὺς καὶ ἄπλαστος ὢν, πάντα ἀτύφως καὶ ἀπεριβλέπτως εἰργάζετο, σωματικῆς τε ὑπηρεσίας αὐτουργῶν τροφῆς τε καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς [διαίτης] 15 εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἐπαρκῶν, αὐτοῖς ἔργοις λαμπρὸς ἦν· ὁ δὲ Βουκόλος ταῦτα οὐ παρὰ τοῦ ποιούντος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν πασχόντων ἐμάνθανεν. ὡς γὰρ τοῖς σπουδαίοις τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν ἀνυπέρθετον, οὕτως δὴ καὶ τοῖς εὐλογίστοις ἐκ τοῦ καλῶς παθεῖν τὸ εὐχαριστεῖν ἀπαράλειπτον. ἔτι τε καὶ πολλῶν 20 διὰ τῆς δοθείσης αὐτῷ παρὰ Θεοῦ χάριτος ἀσθενούντων τε καὶ δαιμονώντων εἰς ὁλοκληρίαν ἀποκαθισταμένων, καὶ τοῦ

2 τῷ] conj.; τὸ pDF.  
 νους ἦδη F.      μηδὲ] pF; μῆτε D.  
 15 διαίτης] conj.; om. pDF.

5 αἰεὶ ὄντας ἦδει] D; λέγοντας ἦδη p; λεγομέ-  
 6 ἀτημελῇ] conj.; αἰεὶ μέλλειν pDF.  
 19 εὐλογίστοις] DF; εὐλογίστως p.

thing of εὐελπίς τε which has satisfied the previous editors.

6. ἀτημελῇ] So I would restore the text. The reading of the MS cannot stand.

δῶρον μὲν γὰρ ἡ δόμα] The distinction of δῶρον, δόμα, is explained by Philo *Leg. Alleg.* iii. 70 (I. p. 126 M) δῶρα δομάτων διαφέρουσι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔμφασιν μεγέθους τελείων ἀγαθῶν δηλοῦσιν, ἃ τοῖς τελείοις χαρίζεται ὁ Θεός, τὰ δὲ εἰς βραχύτατον ἔσταλται, ὧν

μετέχουσιν οἱ εὐφυεῖς ἀσκητὰι οἱ προκόπτοντες, *De Cherub.* 25 (I. p. 154 M) τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν χάριτος μέσης ἡξίωται, ἡ καλεῖται δόσις, τὰ δὲ ἀμείνονος, ἧς ὄνομα οἰκείον δωρεά. Hence the distinction of δόσις ἀγαθῇ, δῶρημα τέλειον, in James i. 17.

9. τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου κ.τ.λ.] The reference is more especially to Luke xiv. 14.

13. ἄπλαστος] This is the epithet used of Jacob in the LXX Gen. xxv. 27.



Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξαζομένου, ἔχαιρεν. πολλά τε περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' ὁραμάτων ἔβλεπεν.

25 XI. Ἔγνω οὖν ὡς ἄξιός ἐστι καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν διὰ τὸ νέον τῆς ἡλικίας τῷ τῶν διακόνων βαθμῷ συνηρίθμησεν, πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιμαρτυρούσης. μακάριος καὶ κείνος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀξιωθεὶς χειρὶ σκεπάσαι τοιαύτην κεφαλὴν καὶ διὰ φωνῆς εὐλογῆσαι τηλικαύτην ψυχὴν. ἡ γὰρ τῶν καθισ-  
30 ταμένων εἰς τόπον λειτουργίας διὰ πίστεως τῆς εἰς τὸν Θεὸν προκοπῇ δόκιμος καὶ κεκριμένη τῶν ἐκλεξαμένων καλῶς, ἀνεπίληπτος μὲν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀνυπαίτιος δὲ συνειδήσει, παρρησία καὶ χαρὰ γίνεται.

XII. Διάκονος οὖν ἐν τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν δόκιμος, ὁποῖος  
35 ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους Στέφανος· καὶ γὰρ λόγῳ κεχορηγημένος καὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς κεκοσμημένος μετὰ παρρησίας Ἑλληνὰς τε καὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ τοὺς αἰρετικούς ἤλεγχε. πολλάκις δ' αὐτὸν προτρέψας καὶ παρακαλέσας ὁ Βουκόλος μόλις ἔπεισε πρὸς τὸ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Κυρίου παιδευθῆναι καὶ  
40 ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν τῆς κατηχήσεως ποιήσασθαι λόγον. ἐδόθη οὖν ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διδασκαλίας ὀρθῆς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς καθολικὸς κανὼν· ἐρμηνεύσαι τε ἱκανὸς μυστήρια, ἃ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἦν ἀπόκρυφα, οὕτω φανερώς αὐτὰ ἐξετίθετο, ὥστε τοὺς ἀκούοντας μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἀκούουσιν  
45 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁρῶσιν αὐτά. πολλά δὲ καὶ συγγράμματα καὶ

20 ἔτι] ἔστι H.

πολλὰς p.

conh.; ἱκανῶς p<sup>s</sup>DF.

22 ἀποκαθισταμένων] ἀποκαθιστάμενον H.

25 καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν] κατὰ τὸ παρὸν καὶ H.

23 πολλά]

42 ἱκανὸς]

14. ἀπεριβλέπτως] i.e. without looking round to see what others think of it.

σωματικῆς τε κ.τ.λ.] In this sentence ὑπηρεσίας seems to be governed by ἐπαρκῶν, as ἐπαρκεῖν sometimes takes a genitive of the thing supplied; e.g. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* ix. 2 τροφῆς μὲν γονεῦσι δεῖν μάλιστ' ἐπαρκεῖν. I have inserted διαίτης (see above, p. 1007), as the sentence seemed to require some such word; but, if it be omitted, λοι-

πῆς will agree with ὑπηρεσίας, while τροφῆς will be the genitive governed by ὑπηρεσίας.

19. τοῖς εὐλογίστοις] Or perhaps we should read τοῖς εὐλογίστως ἔχουσιν.

42. ἱκανὸς] The grammar of the sentence seems to require the substitution of ἱκανὸς for ἱκανῶς, which the previous editors have retained.

45. πολλά δὲ καὶ κ.τ.λ.] This statement is apparently founded on the language of Irenæus *Epist. ad Florin.*

ὁμιλίας καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ ἦσαν αὐτῷ, ἅτινα ἐν διωγμῷ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένῳ, ὅτε καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν, διήρπασάν τινες τῶν ἀνόμων· φανερά δὲ ὅποια ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἐφευρισκομένων, ἐν οἷς καὶ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἱκανωτάτη ἦν· καὶ αὐτὴν ἐντάξομεν ἐν τῷ δέοντι τόπῳ.

5

XIII. Ἐν δὲ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ αὐτοῦ πρὸ πάντων ἦν τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας εἰδέναι περὶ Θεοῦ παντοκράτορος, ἀοράτου, ἀναλλοιώτου, ἀμετρήτου, καὶ ὅτι οὗτος εὐδόκησεν τὸν ἴδιον λόγον υἱὸν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καταπέμψαι, ἵνα φορέσας τὸν ἀνθρώπον καὶ ἀληθῶς ὁ λόγος σαρκωθεὶς σώσῃ τὸ ἴδιον πλάσμα· ὃς κατὰ τὴν λεχθεῖσαν προφητείαν ἐξ ἀχράντου καὶ ἀμόμου παρθένου καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου τὸ τῆς γεννήσεως τοῖς πολλοῖς δυσκατάληπτον μυστήριον ἐπλήρωσε· καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας ὑπέστη, καθὼς διὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὁ 15 πατὴρ ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ προεκήρυξεν· ὃν καὶ ἀνέστησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ εἶδον οἱ μαθηταὶ τοιοῦτον ἐν σώματι, οἷος ἦν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ παθεῖν· καὶ ἀναλαμβάνόμενον ἐν νεφέλῃ φωτὸς εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐθεάσαντο ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σώματι οἷον πρὸ παραβάσεως ἔπλασε τὸν Ἀδάμ. περὶ δὲ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ 20 δωρεᾶς παρακλήτου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν χαρισμάτων ἀπεδείκνυνεν ὅτι μὴ ἐνδέχεται [ἔχειν] ἔξω τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ μέλος ἀποκοπὴν σώματος ἔχει τινὰ δύναμιν, συμβιβάζων

1 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ] conj. (so too Zahn); ὑπ' αὐτοῦ pDF. Perhaps read ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

4 ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἱκανωτάτη ἦν] pDF. Should we not read ἦν ἐπιστολὴ ἱκανωτάτη?

6 πρὸ] πρὸς p. 8 οὗτος] DF; οὕτως p. 10 ὁ λόγος] p; ὦν λόγος DF.

(Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20); see I. p. 429, where this father speaks of letters written by Polycarp to churches and to individuals. The description of the extant letter to the Philippians as *ικανωτάτη*, which follows, is taken from Iren. *Haer.* iii. 3. 4, likewise quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 14). See above I. p. 457, II. p. 1008.

1. ὁμιλίας] Ign. *Polyc.* 5 μᾶλλον δὲ περὶ τούτων ὁμιλίαν ποιῶν. This pas-

sage may possibly have suggested the insertion of the word, as our biographer elsewhere shows a knowledge of Ignatius' epistle; see above, p. 1007.

2. τῶν ἀνόμων] An imitation of the language in *Mart. Polyc.* 9, 16; comp. § 3.

24. καὶ ἡ βασιλεία κ.τ.λ.] Dan. ii. 44, from the version of Theodotion. The following quotation, ἡ Μαρία



ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν γραφῶν· ὡς τὸ διὰ τοῦ Δανιήλ, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία  
 25 αὐτοῦ λαῶ ἑτέρῳ οὐχ ὑπολειφθήσεται· καὶ ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ,  
 ἡ Μαρία τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα ἐξελέξατο, ἥτις οὐκ ἀφαιρεθί-  
 σεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς· καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα παραπλήσια τούτοις.

XIV. Εὐνουχίας τε καὶ παρθενίας ἔνεκα μέλον ἦν αὐτῷ  
 ποιεῖσθαι λόγον προτρεπτικόν, καὶ ἦν ἀξιῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
 30 ἢ ἐπιταγῆς ἐτέρων, καὶ γονεῖς ἢ δεσπότες ὦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς  
 ἐκάστου προαιρέσεως καὶ προθυμίας τὸ ἐκούσιον ἄθλον ἐπι-  
 τελεῖσθαι. ἔλεγεν δὲ τὴν ἀγνείαν πρόδρομον εἶναι τῆς μελ-  
 λούσης ἀφθάρτου βασιλείας, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῆς εὐνουχίας  
 35 ἐνθεν εἰληφέναι ἐκ τοῦ εὐνοϊαν ἔχειν πολλὴν πρὸς τὸν  
 δεσπότην· παρθενίαν δέ, ὅτι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ τὸ νοούμενον  
 τῆς τοιαύτης σωφροσύνης ἐστί· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πῦρ τὸ τῆς  
 σαρκὸς θανατοῦσιν οἱ τοιαύτην πολιτείαν ἀσκούντες. καὶ  
 τὴν μονογαμίαν δὲ ἐκ τῆς πλάσεως ἐδείκνυνεν, ὡς μία ἐνὶ  
 ἐπλάσθη· διὸ καὶ ἡ ἀγομένη πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα παρθένος  
 40 ἐμφερὲς τὸ ὄνομα φέρει· τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ὅτι παρὰ Θεοῦ· τὸ  
 δὲ τέλος τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐνός φησι, τουτέστιν ἀνδρός· καὶ  
 ὅτι πρῶτος Λάμεχ, ὦν ἐκ τοῦ Καῖν, ἔλαβεν ἑαυτῷ δύο  
 γynaῖκας· τὸ δὲ ἑαυτῷ λαβεῖν ἐστί τὸ μὴ κατὰ θέλημα  
 Θεοῦ. τὴν πολυγαμίαν οὖν ἔλεγεν γάμου μὲν ἔχειν ὄνομα,  
 45 εἶναι δὲ φιλενπρόσωπον πορνείαν.

19 πρὸ] πρὸς p.

22 ἔχειν] conj.; εἶναι D; om. pF. The repetition of the  
 same letters explains the omission.

28 μέλον] μέλλων p.

29 καὶ]

pF; ὡς D.

ἀξιῶν] conj.; ἄξιον pDF.

34 ἔχειν] after δεσπότην H.

35 τὸ] om. H.

36 ἐστί] add. τὸ νοούμενον p, thus repeating the word.

37 θανατοῦσιν] F; θανατοῦν pD.

38 δέ] om. H.

κ.τ.λ., is from Luke x. 42.

28. Εὐνουχίας] 'celibacy,' as frequently in patristic writers; e.g. Polycrates in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24, Athenag. *Suppl.* 33, 34, Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* iii. 4, p. 269, *Strom.* iii. 1, p. 509 sq.

29. ἦν ἀξιῶν] 'he demanded.' I have substituted this for the reading of the MS, ἦν ἄξιον, which does not give a good sense.

35. παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ] A similar derivation is attributed to Methodius in Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 237 (p. 311 A) ὅτι παρθεῖα ἢ παρθενία κατὰ μίαν ἀπαλλαγὴν καλεῖται στοιχείου, ὡς δὴ μόνη τὸν ἔχοντα αὐτῆς τὰς ἀφθόρους τελετὰς Θεῷ ἀπεικάζουσα, οὐ μείζον ἀγαθὸν ἀδύνατον εὐρεῖν.

42. ἔλαβεν κ.τ.λ.] From Gen. iv. 19.

45. φιλενπρόσωπον πορνείαν] Athenag. *Suppl.* 33 ὁ γὰρ δεύτερος [γάμος]



XV. Τινῶν δὲ λεγόντων Ἑλλήνων αὐτῷ ὡς ἄρα δυσ-  
 χερὲς εἴη καὶ φορτικὸν παρὰ χριστιανοῖς τὸ δύνασθαι τῶν  
 ὀρέξεων περικρατεῖν, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι Εὐηθὲς ἐστὶν ὑπολαμ-  
 βάνειν ὅσα περ ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατα [φαίνεται, ὄντως εἶναι  
 ἀδύνατα], ἀλλ' ὅτι πάντα τε κατεργάζεται Κύριος καὶ 5  
 ὑπάγει ταῖς μεγάλαις αὐτοῦ ἡνίαις ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης,  
 μάθετε. τρεῖς γὰρ τρόπους εἰσηγησάμενος ἀγνείας πιστοῖς,  
 ἐφυγάδεν μὲν καὶ ἐξώρισεν πορνείαν, ἄρχουσιν δὲ καὶ  
 βασιλεύουσιν ἀπέδειξεν ἀγνείαν· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων  
 ἀστάτους καὶ ἀορίστους καὶ ἀκρίτους ὁρμὰς ἐχόντων καί, 10  
 καθάπερ ἵπποι, θηλυμανοῦντων καὶ χρεμετιζόντων ἐπὶ  
 τὰς τῶν πλησίων γαμετάς, μόνοι οἱ τὸν ἐπουράνιον νό-  
 μον καὶ λόγον Θεοῦ ἔκδικον καὶ προασπιστὴν πάντων  
 φόβῳ προσδεχόμενοι κριτὴν ἐνὶ τῷ διὰ τεκνογονίας ἀρ-  
 κούναι γάμῳ· γυναῖκες ὡσαύτως πρὸς μόνον ἀποβλέπειν 15  
 διδάσκονται τὸν παρθένιον ἄνδρα. [XVI.] Ὁ δὲ δεύτερος  
 τρόπος τῆς ἀγνείας ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς χηρείας ἐπαναβεβηκὼς  
 τὸν προειρημένον· οὗτος γὰρ ἐδόκει δυσχερὲς εἶναι τὸ  
 πρῶτον, μέχρις παρήλθεν ὁ κατὰ τὸ συγκεχωρημένον ποτὲ  
 παύσασθαι δυνάμενος. ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῆς πανάθλου ἀγνείας 20  
 ἀσκητικὸς τρόπος τίνας οὐκ ἔχει ὑπερβολάς; ποίαν δὲ ἀξι-  
 έραστον καὶ ἀξιέπαινον ὁ τῆς εὐνουχίας καὶ παρθενίας οὐ  
 κέκτηται τιμὴν, ἀπαγκωνισάμενος μὲν καί, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις,  
 ἀπορρήψας πάντας τοὺς βιωτικοὺς δεσμούς, ἄλματι δὲ κούφῳ

1 τινῶν] DF; τινὲς p.  
 D to fill the lacuna in p.  
 of it as 'locus corruptus'.

4 φαίνεται...ἀδύνατα] The suggestion of  
 18 οὗτος] conj.; οὕτω pDF, though D speaks  
 δυσχερὲς] conj.; δυσχερὲς pDF. 25 εὐπετεῖ]

εὐπρεπὴς ἐστὶ μοιχεία, where the con-  
 text has other points of resemblance  
 with the language of our biographer;  
*Tertull. de Pudic.* 1 'nec secundas  
 quidem post fidem nuptias permitti-  
 tur nosse, nuptialibus et dotalibus,  
 si forte, tabulis a moechiae et forni-  
 cationis opere diversas'; *Auctor Op.*  
*Imperf. in Matth.* Hom. 32 (Chry-  
 sost. *Op.* vi. p. cxxxiv) 'dum per-

mittente Deo publice et licenter  
 committitur, fit honesta fornicatio,'  
*Apost. Const.* iii. 2 τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τὴν  
 τριγαμίαν προφανὴς πορνεία καὶ ἀσέλ-  
 γεια ἀναμφίβολος: see also Cotelier's  
 note on *Hermas Mand.* iv. 4.

II. καθάπερ ἵπποι κ.τ.λ.] *Jer.* v. 8  
 ἵπποι θηλυμανεῖς ἐγενήθησαν, ἕκαστος  
 ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐχρε-  
 μέτιζον.

25 καὶ εὐπετεῖ διαβήματι τοὺς προειρημένους ὑπερδραμῶν καὶ  
 ὑπερπηδήσας ἄθλους; τοῦ γὰρ ἢ ἐνὶ ἀρκεῖσθαι ἢ τοῦ γενο-  
 μένου πεπαῦσθαι μείζονα μὲν τοῦ ἐλομένου τὴν προαίρεσιν  
 ἀπέδειξεν, ὑπερβάλλουσαν δὲ τοῦ δωρησαμένου Θεοῦ τὴν  
 δύναμιν ὡμολόγησεν. ὅτι γὰρ ἐκούσιον τοῦ προθεμένου καὶ  
 30 Θεοῦ δῶρον τοῦ δυναμένου, εἶπεν ὁ σωτὴρ εὐνουχίαι ἐδγ-  
 τοῦς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ μὴ πάντας χω-  
 ρεῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον.

XVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ λοιπὸν ὁσημέραι καὶ ἡλικία προέ-  
 κοπτεν, ἢ τε πρόδρομος τοῦ γήρους ἐπήνθει πολιά καὶ λευκή  
 35 τις ὑπὲρ κροτάφων θριξὶ ἤρχετο μειδιᾶν, τῆς ἀνθρώπων  
 φύσεως οὐκ ἀργῶς ἀλλὰ θεία προνοία μεγαλαυχούσης καὶ  
 τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ ἕκαστα προβαλλομένης εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τῷ  
 γένει, καὶ πολλῇ χάριτι τῆς σοφίας ἔργοις τε καὶ λόγοις τὸν  
 ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ τέλειον καλούσης· ὥσπερ ὅταν λέγη· ἕως  
 40 τίνος, ὦ ὀκνηρέ, κατὰκείσαι; πότε δὲ ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθήσῃ;  
 ἢ πάλιν· ἐτοίμαζε εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον τὰ ἔργα σοῦ· οὕτω δὴ  
 καὶ διὰ τούτων ὑπομιμνήσκειν ἡμῶν ἕκαστον οἶμαι τοῦ  
 τέλους πρὸ τοῦ παρεῖναι, ἵνα ὅσῳ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου λευκαί-  
 νεται τὴν κεφαλὴν, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου λαμπρύ-  
 45 νηται τὴν ψυχὴν. ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ Βουκόλος ὡς ἱκανὴ μὲν τῷ  
 Πολυκάρπῳ ἡ ἡλικία, ἱκανωτέρα δὲ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἐτῶν ἡ  
 κατὰ πάντα τὸν βίον εὐταξία, ἔγνω ὡς ἄρα γένοιτο αὐτῷ  
 σύμβουλος τε ἄριστος τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λόγων καὶ

εὐπετεῖ p.

34 πρόδρομος] πρόδρομον p.

40 ἐγερθήσῃ]

ἐγερθείσῃ p.

42 ἡμῶν] ὑμῶν p.

43 παρεῖναι] παρῆναι p.

44 λαμπρύνηται] λαμπρύνεται p.

18. οὗτος] i.e. ὁ προειρημένος, ὁ τῆς μονογαμίας. The reading of the MS οὕτω yields no sense, and I have therefore substituted οὗτος.

23. ἀπαγκωνισάμενος] 'divesting himself.' The word is very rare, but occurs Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* i. 11 (p. 242) ἀπηγκωνισμένη τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ γυμνῇ διετείετο λέγων, *Vit. Apoll.* vi. 11 (p. 111) θρασεία δ' ἦν καὶ φιλο-

λοίδωρος καὶ ἀπηγκωνισμένη πάντα (of Cynic philosophy). Is not the idea of the word rather 'baring the elbows,' than 'thrusting away with the elbows,' as generally taken?

30. εἶπεν ὁ σωτὴρ κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xix. 12 and Matt. xix. 11.

39. ὅταν λέγη] The first quotation is from Prov. vi. 9, the second from Prov. xxiv. 27.



συλλειτουργγὸς κατὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἐπесφράγισε δὲ καὶ ἐκύρωσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν βουλήν ὁ Κύριος δι' ὀράματος αὐτῷ κελεύσας· καὶ οὕτως κατέστησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πρεσβυτέριον, πάσης ὁμοθυμαδὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν χαρᾷ μεγάλῃ ὑποδεξαμένης, καίπερ ἐκείνου τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπεγχείρημα δειλιῶντος. 5 ἔλεγεν γὰρ αὐταρκες εἶναι ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς τόπου καὶ μιᾶς λειτουργίας διδόναι λόγον, καὶ μὴ πλειόνων. προσετίθει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι Ἐὰν μὲν τις ἀνάξιος ὢν τῆς τοιαύτης τιμῆς τολμήσῃ κρατῆσαι, κρίμα ἔχει, ἐὰν δὲ ἄξιος ᾖ, ἀπέχει τῶν πρώτων ἔργων τὸν μισθόν, ἀπολαβὼν ὥσπερ μισθόν τινα 10 τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως τάξιν. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἀντειπεῖν πρὸς τε τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βουλήν καὶ παράκλησιν, δέχεται τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου τάξιν, ὥστε καὶ ὄραμα ἰδεῖν καὶ πολλὴν παράκλησιν δέξασθαι.

XVIII. Ἐκ τότε οὖν πολλῆς προσθήκης δι' αὐτοῦ ἐν 15 τῷ λόγῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας γενομένης, πάντες ἐδόξαζον τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. πολυμερῶς γὰρ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὅσον ἐποιεῖτο τὸν λόγον, ἐξ αὐτῆς τε τῆς ἀναγνωσκομένης γραφῆς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἐποιεῖτο μετὰ πάσης ἀποδείξεως καὶ πληροφορίας, ὥστε τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὀφθαλμοφα- 20 νῶς περιῖστασθαι τὰ λεγόμενα. ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὅτι δεῖ τὸν λέγοντα πρῶτον πεπιστευκέναι οἷς λέγει· ἐκ τούτου γὰρ γίνεται τὸ μὴ ὡς ἀλλότρια διηγήματα, ἀλλὰ ἴδια κατορθώματα· ἦν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ φωνὴ μετὰ τε τοῦ †αὐτοῦ† βλέμματος καὶ τοῦ σχήματος ἐμβριθῆς καὶ ἀνδρεία, ἔχουσα τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ 25 ἐμμελὲς καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ πλήρες. καὶ ποτέ τις αὐτῷ....ἐπεί-

8 τοῦτο] τοῦτον p.

11 ἦν] add. δυνατὸν p (a gloss on οἷόν τε) DF.

ἀντειπεῖν] Zahn; εἰπεῖν pDF, but D says 'videtur deesse aliquid'.

18 ἐξ

αὐτῆς τε] conj.; ἐξ αὐτῆς pF; καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς D.

24 αὐτοῦ] pDF. It should

probably be omitted.

26 πλήρες] πλήρες (sic) D. Is the reading of

25. ἐμβριθῆς] The idea and the word are apparently suggested by *Mart. Polyc.* 9 ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος ἐμβριθεῖ τῷ προσώπῳ κ.τ.λ.

28. τῶν κάτω] sc. τινάς; see Winer

*Gramm.* lxiv, p. 737.

31. ὅτι γέγραπται] The first evangelical quotation is from Mark iii. 5, the second from Matt. xvii. 17 (Luke ix. 41).



περ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἕλληνας καὶ τὰς αἰρέσεις τὸν λόγον  
 ποιούμενος μετὰ βοήσεως ἐλάλει, ὥστε τῶν κάτω ἐστηκότων  
 ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ· προσετίθει δὲ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν περὶ τῶν ὀφει-  
 30 λόντων μετ' εὐνοίας, οὐκ ἐκκαύσεως, λέγεσθαι· Τοιαῦτα πῶς  
 οἴεσθε εἰρηκέναι τὸν Κύριον τῷ ἔχοντι τὴν χεῖρα ξηράν; ὅτι  
 γέγραπται· καὶ περιβλεψάμενος αὐτοῖς ἐν ὀργῇ ἔφη·  
 ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά σου· ἢ ἐκείνο; ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος καὶ  
 διεστραμμένη, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα· ἢ τὸν ἀπόστολον Πέτρον;  
 35 ἵνα τί συνεφωνήθη ἡμῖν πειρᾶσαι τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου;  
 ἢ Παῦλον; ὅφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες  
 ἡμᾶς. παρακαλῶν δὲ λέξει μὲν ὁ Κύριος ἡπίᾳ καὶ φιλαν-  
 θρώπῳ φωνῇ· δεῖτε πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτι-  
 μένοι· συμπαθήσει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Ἱερουσαλὴμ λέγων·  
 40 ποσάκις ἠθέλησα συναγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα σου, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα  
 τοιαῦτα· Πέτρος δὲ σὺν Ἰωάννῃ ἐπὶ τῇ ὥραίᾳ πύλῃ παρα-  
 λυτικὸν ἐλεήσει, καὶ Παῦλος Γαλάταις τέκνα ἃ πάλιν ὠδίνῳ  
 ἐρεῖ, ὅταν ὁ καιρὸς τῆς παρακλήσεως ἀπαιτῇ.

XIX. Οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν γραφῶν ἐν  
 45 ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτὸς ἀναγινώσκων ἐκ παιδὸς ἕως γήρους ἐποιεῖτο,  
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπετίθετο, λέγων τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν νόμου τε καὶ  
 προφητῶν πρόδρομον τῆς χάριτος, προκαταρτίζουσιν εὐθείας  
 τὰς ὁδοὺς Κυρίου, τουτέστιν τὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων καρδίας  
 εἰοικυίας πινακίσιν, ἐν αἷς ἃ πρὸ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως ἦν γεγραμ-  
 50 μένα δόγματα καὶ φρονήματα χαλεπά τινα διὰ τῆς ἐπιμονῆς  
 τῆς τε παλαιᾶς διαθήκης καὶ τῆς ἐκ ταύτης γενομένης  
 ὀρθῆς ἐρμηνείας λειοῦται τὸ πρότερον καὶ ἐξομαλίζεται, ἵν'

the MS πλήρης?

37 ἡπίᾳ] ἡπίεία p.

42 α] DF (comp. Gal. v.

12); om. p.

46 νόμου τε καὶ] conj. (so too Zahn); νόμον εἶναι pDF, but

D suggests δίκην for νόμον.

49 α] Zahn; τὰ pDF.

52 ὀρθῆς]

pF; οὐκ ὀρθῆς D.

34. Πέτρον κ.τ.λ.] The five quotations which follow are from Acts v. 9, Gal. v. 12, Matt. xi. 28, Matt. xxiii. 37 (Luke xiii. 34), Gal. iv. 19.

47. προκαταρτίζουσιν κ.τ.λ.] A refer-

ence to Is. xl. 3, but the exact words do not accord either with the LXX or the prophet or with the Gospel quotations.

ἐλθόντος, ὥσπερ γραφείου, τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἡ χάρις καὶ  
 χαρὰ τῆς εὐαγγελίου φωνῆς ἀθανάτου τε καὶ ἐπουρανίου  
 Χριστοῦ διδαχῆς ἐγγραφῆναι δυνηθῇ· καὶ τὴν διὰ λουτροῦ  
 σφραγίδα μὴ ἂν ἄλλως δύνασθαι ἐναπομάξασθαι καὶ ἐνχα-  
 ράξαι καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ μόρφωσιν ἐπιδείξαι, μὴ πρότερον τοῦ 5  
 κηροῦ ὑπέικοντος καὶ πρὸς τὰς βαθυτῆτας προσπίπτοντος·  
 οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀκουόντων ἡξίου ὑπείκειν καὶ  
 ἐνδιδόναι πρὸς τὴν ἐμβολὴν τοῦ λόγου. διωθεῖσθαι γὰρ  
 καὶ διανοίγειν ἔφασκεν, ὥσπερ θύρας κεκλεισμένας, τὰς τῶν  
 προσφάτως εἰσιόντων διανοίας· οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸν προφήτην 10  
 κελεύεσθαι ὑπὸ Θεοῦ· ἀναβόησον ἐν ἰσχύϊ καὶ μὴ φείσῃ,  
 ὡς σάλπιγξα ὕψωσον τὴν φωνήν σου. τί δεῖ λέγειν ὅταν  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πρᾶος παρὰ πάντας παρακαλῶν οὕτω καλεῖ ἐν  
 τῇ ἐορτῇ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας· γέγραπται γάρ· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ  
 ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς ἐορτῆς εἰστήκει ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἔκραζε 15  
 λέγων· Ἐάν τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω. Ναί·  
 διδάσκων μὲν γὰρ βοήσεται, ἐμπτυόμενος δὲ καὶ ἀνακρινό-  
 μενος καὶ πειραζόμενος πάσχων τε σιωπήσεται, ὅταν ὡς  
 πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἄγεται καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ  
 κείραντος ἀφῶνος· ἐγὼ γάρ, φησιν, ὡσεὶ κωφὸς οὐκ 20  
 ἤκογον, καὶ ἐγενόμην ὡσεὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀκούων καὶ  
 οὐκ ἔχων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ ἐλεγμούς.

XX. Τὸ πλούσιον τῆς δοθείσης ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ χάριτος  
 Πολυκάρπῳ προήγαγεν ἡμᾶς, ποιουμένους ὑπόμνησιν τῆς  
 πολιτείας αὐτοῦ, ἐν μέρει καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς διδασκαλίας διη- 25  
 γήσασθαι. πῶς μὲν ἐρμήνευεν τὰς γραφὰς εἰσαυθὺς ἀναθέ-

6 ὑπέικοντος] ὑπήκοντος p.

τὸν προφήτην] DF; τῶν προφητῶν p.  
 which cannot stand.

προσπίπτοντος] προσπίπτοντας p.

13 παρακαλῶν] conj.; καὶ καλῶν pDF,  
 37 ἀπερεῖσαι] ἐπαφέσθαι (sic) H.

10

39 συνιούσῃ]

11. ἀναβόησον κ.τ.λ.] From Is. lviii.  
 1. The next quotations are from  
 John vii. 37 (ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ κ.τ.λ.), Is.  
 liii. 7 (ὡς πρόβατον κ.τ.λ., quoted like-  
 wise Acts viii. 32), Ps. xxxvii (xxxviii).  
 14, 15 (ἐγὼ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.).

27. καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς] Some words  
 seem to have fallen out from the con-  
 text, such as ἐπιδείξαντες πῶς δεῖ.

49. τῆς Ἐφεσιακῆς βασιλείας] sc.  
 πύλης: see the note on § 3, above.



μενοι διηγησόμεθα, καὶ κεῖνα τάξαντες καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς  
 διακονήσασθαι τὴν τῶν ἀγίων καὶ θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν  
 ὀρθὴν διδασκαλίαν· τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον ἐπὶ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ  
 30 ἐπισκοπὴν ἐλευσόμεθα, ὅσα τε καὶ ἐν τούτῳ γενόμενος  
 ἔπραξε, διαρκῶς τὸν τῆς θεοσεβείας δρόμον δραμών. ὁ μὲν  
 οὖν Βουκόλος, ἅτε δὴ προγνωρίσαντος αὐτῷ πολλάκις δι'  
 ὀράματος τοῦ Κυρίου ὅτι σχοίῃ τοιοῦτον διάδοχον, χαίρων  
 καὶ γεγηθὼς ὡς ἐπὶ σῶφρονι κληρονόμῳ, ἀναπανόμενος ἐκοι-  
 35 μήθη οὕτως ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὥραν τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπιλα-  
 βέσθαι τῆς Πολυκάρπου χειρός, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 ἑαυτοῦ στῆθος ἀπερεῖσαι, ἔπειτα τῷ προσώπῳ, ἐνδεικνύμενον  
 ὅτι ὅσα χαρίσματα ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς αἰσθητηρίοις διακονεῖται  
 (καρδιά μὲν συνιούσῃ ὀφθαλμοῖς δὲ ὀρώσι καὶ ὡσὶν ἀκού-  
 40 ουσι καὶ ῥινὶ Χριστὸν ἀναπνεύσῃ καὶ στόματι διὰ λόγου  
 Θεὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κηρύσσουντι)  
 πάντα ἔσται ἐγχειρισθέντα ἐν αὐτῷ. ὁ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ποιή-  
 σας καὶ εἰπὼν, Δόξα σοι Κύριε, ἐκοιμήθη· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν  
 τούτων πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἐλογίζετο· αἰεὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν μελλόν-  
 45 των ἐλπίς καὶ ἐπιθυμία ἦν. οἱ δὲ παρόντες καὶ περιεστῶτες  
 πιστοί, ταῦτα ὀρώντες, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατ' ἰδίαν ἀντέ-  
 βαλλον, εὐέλπιδες ὄντες τοιοῦτου ποιμένος ἐπιτυχεῖν. ἀγα-  
 γόντες δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μακαρίου Βουκόλου εἰς Σμύρναν εἰς  
 τὸ πρὸ τῆς Ἐφεσιακῆς βασιλείας κοιμητήριον, καὶ καταθέ-  
 50 μενοι ἔνθα νῦν μυρσίνη ἀνεβλάστησεν μετὰ τὴν ἀπόθεσιν  
 τοῦ σώματος Θρασέου τοῦ μάρτυρος, πληρώσαντες πάντα,

H; συνιούσι pDF. ὀρώσι] ὠρώσι H. 40 ῥινὶ] ῥισὶ H. ἀναπνεύσῃ] ἀνα-  
 πνεύσῃ p; ἀναπνεύουσι HDF. λόγου] λόγον H. 41 κηρύσσουντι] pH;  
 κηρύσσουνσι DF. 42 ἔσται] ἐστὶν H. 48 τοῦ] om. H. 49 πρὸ] πρὸς p.

50. *μυρσίνη ἀνεβλάστησεν*] See *Με-  
 ννα* Feb. 6 (the festival of Bucolus)  
 καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν τοῦ τιμίου σώματος τεθέντος  
 φυτὸν ἀνατεῖλαι ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησε, πάρε-  
 χον ἰάσεις μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. This is  
 probably taken from our biography,  
 though here the miracle would seem  
 to be wrought in honour of Thraseas

rather than of Bucolus.

51. *Θρασέου*] He is mentioned by  
 Polycrates who wrote in the last  
 decade of the second century (Eu-  
 seb. *H. E.* v. 24 *Θρασέας ἐπίσκοπος*  
*καὶ μάρτυς ἀπὸ Εὐμενείας ὃς ἐν Σμύρνῃ*  
*κεκοίμηται*). If we may judge by the  
 sequence of names he would seem to



προσέφερον ἄρτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βουκόλου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. μία δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο ὥστε Πολύκαρπον προσενεγκεῖν· τοῦ δὲ αἰεὶ τε εὐλαβῶς ἔχοντος καὶ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν ἀπονέμειν βουλομένου, ἔφθασαν μὴ ἂν ἄλλως γενέσθαι· καὶ οὕτως πεισθεῖς ἐπλήρωσε τὴν λειτουργίαν.

5

XXI. Καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν ποιησάμενοι, οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συγκαλεσάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πέριξ πόλεων ἐπισκόπους, ἐτοιμασάμενοί τε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν τῶν παραγινομένων, εἰς τὸ καταστήσαι διάδοχον τὸν προστησόμενον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπρονοήσαντο. οἷς παραγενομένοις ὄχλοι 10 πλείστοι τῶν πόλεων καὶ κωμῶν καὶ ἀγρῶν [συνήχθησαν], οἱ μὲν εἰδότες, οἱ δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐκ τοῦ ἀκούειν περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν Πολύκαρπον θεάσασθαι. συνελθόντων οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ πληρωθέντος τοῦ κυριακοῦ, δόξα φωτὸς οὐρανίου περιήστραψε πάντας, καὶ τινες ἀδελφοὶ ὀπτασίας θαύματα ἔβλεπον. ὁ 15 μὲν γὰρ εἶδεν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Πολυκάρπου περιστερὰν λευκὴν, περὶ ἣν κύκλος ἦν φῶτός· ὁ δὲ πρὶν καθίσει αὐτὸν ἐθεώρει ὡς ἤδη καθεζόμενον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ· ὁ δὲ στρατιώτου σχῆμα ἔχοντα καὶ ἱμάτια πυρρὸν ἐζωσμένον· ἄλλος δὲ πορφύραν αὐτῷ περικειμένην καὶ τι φῶς τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ 20 περιλάμπον· ἄλλη δὲ πιστὴ παρθένος καὶ σεμνὴ εἶδεν τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ διπλοῦν ὑπὲρ ὃ ἦν, καὶ ἱμάτια κοκκινοβαφῇ

3 πρὸ] πρὸς p.

τιμὴν] τιμὴ p.

ἀπονέμειν] ἀπονεμεῖν psDF.

11 συνήχθησαν] conj.; om. pDF, but D points out the omission of a word.

18 τόπῳ] θρόνῳ H.

19 πυρρὸν] H; πυρὸν p; πυρὸς DF.

21 περι-

have been martyred soon after Polycarp; see I. p. 494. There would therefore seem to be an anachronism in the *νῦν* 'in our own day,' since the word *ἀπόθεσις* merely signifies 'deposition,' and does not in itself imply 'translation.'

I. προσέφερον ἄρτον] 'they were about offering (the eucharistic) bread.' For the early practice of oblations for the dead see Bingham *Christ. Antiq.* v. p. 261 sq., VII. p. 340 sq. It is found as early as Tertullian *de*

*Cor. Mil.* 3 'Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus.'

14. τοῦ κυριακοῦ] For the term *κυριακὸν* see Bingham *Christ. Ant.* II. p. 77. It appears in a Greek translation of a letter of the emperor Maximin, Euseb. *H. E.* ix. 10.

16. περιστεράν] On the significance of this notice see above, p. 974 sq., and the discussion on the Letter of the Smyrnæans in the first volume.

43. χρίσιν] It seems probable that

κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον αὐτοῦ, τὸν δὲ τράχηλον αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ὡς χιόνα καὶ σφραγίδα ἐπάνω.

- 25 XXII. Δεήσεως δὲ τῷ σαββάτῳ καὶ γονυκλισίας ἐπὶ πολὺν γινομένης, ὡς ἔθος ἦν αὐτῷ, ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι· καὶ πάντες ἐνητένιζον αὐτῷ. ἡ δὲ ἀνάγνωσις ἦν ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου πρὸς Τιμόθεον καὶ Τίτον, ἐν αἷς λέγει ὁποῖον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἦν ἡρμοσμένος τῷ τόπῳ, ὡς  
30 πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὅτι μηδὲν ἐνδέοι αὐτῷ ὦν ὁ Παῦλος ἀξιοῖ ἔχειν τὸν ἐκκλησίας ἐπιμελούμενον. ὡς οὖν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων διδαχὴν καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ὁμιλίαν ἐπέμφθησαν εἰς τὸ λαϊκὸν διάκονοι, ὥστε πυθέσθαι τίνα βούλονται, οἱ δὲ ὁμοθυμαδὸν εἶπον·  
35 Πολύκαρπος ἔστω ἡμῶν ποιμὴν καὶ διδάσκαλος. συνεπινεύσαντος οὖν καὶ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ παντός, ἀνέστησαν αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἱκετεύοντα καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι θέλοντα.

- XXIII. Οἱ οὖν διάκονοι προσήγαγον πρὸς τὴν διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἐπισκόπων κατὰ τὸ ἔθος γινομένην χειρο-  
40 θεσίαν. καθεσθεῖς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν, πρῶτους δάκρυσιν εὐλαβείας καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης ἔβρεξε καὶ ἤλειψε τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τῷ πνεύματι ἔβλεπεν πόδας ἐστῶτας τοῦ Χριστοῦ συμπαρόντος αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τῆς ἱερατείας χρίσιν. ὅπου γὰρ οἱ λειτουργοί, ἱερεῖς τε καὶ λευῖται, ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ὁ τὸν μέγαν  
45 ποδῆρην περικείμενος ἀρχιερεύς. καὶ δὴ προέτρεπον αὐτὸν

λάμπων] περιλάμπων p.

22 κοκκινοβαφῇ] κογχυλιοβαφῇ H.

30 αὐτῷ]

αὐτὸν p.

39 χειρῶν] χρεῖων p.

40 καθεσθεῖς] κατασταθεῖς H.

43 χρίσιν] χρίσιν H; χρήσιν pDF.

44 μέγαν] μέγα pDF.

we should treat *χρήσιν*, the reading of the MS, as an itacism and substitute *χρίσιν*. Unction however was not a part of the consecration of bishops in the East (see Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Ant.* i. p. 222 s.v. Bishop); and the word, if adopted, should probably be interpreted of a spiritual anointing. This interpretation would accord with the figurative character of the context. For the consecration

of the high-priest by anointing, see Exod. xxix. 7, Levit. vii. 25, viii. 12. On the accent of *χρίσις* see Lipsius *Grammatische Untersuchungen*, p. 40.

44. ὁ τὸν μέγαν ποδῆρην περικείμενος] i.e. the Great High-priest; comp. especially Rev. i. 13 ὁμοῖον υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου ἐνδεδυμένον ποδῆρην. For the *ποδῆρης* as the high-priest's robe see Exod. xxviii. 4, 27, xxix. 5.



οἱ συμπαρόντες, ἐπεὶ οὕτως ἔθος, προσλαλήσαι· τὸ μέρος γὰρ πλείστον τῆς κοινωνίας καὶ τοῦτο ἔφασαν τὸ ἔργον τῆς διδασκαλίας. ἀνοίξας οὖν τὸ στόμα ἀπεφθέγγετο, τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ σημαίνουσης τὸν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ φόβον, καὶ φησιν·

5

Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀρχιερέως καὶ ποιμένος καὶ διδασκάλου καὶ βασιλέως αἰωνίου Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ὁ ἐν πᾶσιν ἡμᾶς δοκιμάζων καὶ διὰ πάντων ἐτάζων τὰς καρδίας, καθὰ καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἀγίων, οἷς προσέτασσε 10 προστάγματα καὶ δικαιώματα ὑπὲρ τοῦ γνωρίσαι τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς πίστιν τοῖς λοιποῖς· ὡς καὶ νῦν τὴν σμικρότητα τὴν ἐμὴν διὰ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ὑπὲρ ἐμέ λειτουργίας, ἣν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο καλῶς ἄνθρωπος ἐπιτελεῖν μὴ πρότερον λαβὼν παρὰ Κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὡς καὶ ὁ μακάριος 15 ἀπόστολος Παῦλος διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν δεδήλωκεν, καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ ῥήματι τὴν πᾶσαν πολιτείαν τοῦ καθισταμένου δηλώσας ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν ἀνεπίληπτον· ὅπερ οἶμαι μηδεὶς τὰς ἀκοὰς παραδεδραμηκέαι, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν εἶσω ὅλην δι' ὅλης ἐνεστηρίχθαι τὴν ψυχὴν. διὸ δέον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, ἀγαπητοί, τὴν ὑπὲρ 20 ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ποιήσασθαι δέησιν, ἵνα αὐτὸς παράσχη εὐαρέστως ὑπηρετῆσαι τῇ ἀμώμῳ νύμφῃ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς συνδούλοις μου καὶ λειτουργοῖς, οἷς καὶ παράκλησιν ἀναγκαῖον ποιήσασθαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν, ὥστε συναθλῆσαί μοι καὶ ὑπουργῆσαι ἐκ 25 πάσης προθυμίας καὶ ἀγάπης ἀνυποκρίτου εἰς τὸν προκείμενόν μοι ἀγῶνα, εἰδόμενος ὅτι δεῖ πάντας συντρέχειν, ἵνα

10 προσέτασσε] προσέτασε p; προσέταξε DF.

18 ἀνεπίληπτον]

ἀνεπίλειπτον p.

24 ἀναγκαῖον] F; ἀναγκαῖαν pD.

38 ἐπανήεσαν]

6. ἀρχιερέως...αἰωνίου] A favourite expression of Polycarp's, Polyc. Phil. 12, Mart. Polyc. 14: see the note above, p. 929.

9. ἐτάζων τὰς καρδίας] From Ps. vii. 10.

18. ἀνεπίληπτον] A reference to 1 Tim. iii. 2; comp. Tit. i. 6, 7, ἀνέγκλητος, ἀνέγκλητος.

25. συναθλῆσαι κ.τ.λ.] For the resemblance in the passage which follows to the injunctions given to



πάντες βραβεῖον λάβωμεν, καθ' ὅτι πᾶσιν ἴσος πρόκειται ὁ  
 τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανος, ἀπροσωπολήπτως στεφανοῦντος  
 30 τὸν καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενον καὶ νικήσαντα χάριτι τοῦ παντο-  
 κράτορος Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ τῷ  
 ἀοράτῳ καὶ ἀμετρήτῳ μόνῳ ἀθανάτῳ πατρὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ καὶ  
 παρακλήτῳ πνεύματι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ κράτος καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔστι  
 καὶ ἔσται εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

35 Τότε δὴ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς δεούσας παρακλήσεις καὶ  
 παραμυθίας ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ καὶ τῇ κυριακῇ ποιησάμενοι,  
 προσφοράς τε καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ἀγαλλιασάμενοι καὶ μετα-  
 λαβόντες τροφῆς ἐπανήεσαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ,  
 μεγάλη χαρὰ δοξάζοντες ἐπὶ τῷ κεκοινωνηκέναι Πολυκάρπῳ  
 40 Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν Κύριον, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

XXIV. Τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ σαββάτῳ ἔλεγεν· Ἀκούσατέ  
 μου τῆς παρακλήσεως, ἀγαπητὰ τέκνα Θεοῦ. ἐγὼ καὶ τῶν  
 ἐπισκόπων παρόντων διεμαρτυράμην καὶ νῦν παρακαλῶ  
 πάντας κοσμίως καὶ ἀξίως περιπατεῖν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ Κυρίου,  
 45 εἰδότες ὅτι ἐν διακονίᾳ τῇ πρεσβυτέρων ὦν τοσαύτην κατὰ  
 τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν εἰσενεγκάμην ἐπιμέλειαν, νῦν μᾶλλον ὅτε  
 πλείστος ἐπικεῖταί μοι ἀμελήσαντι κίνδυνος. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν  
 ἐκ τῆς κρίσεως φόβον, αἰσχροὺς ἂν εἶη καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους  
 καθεῖλαί τι καὶ καταλῦσαι καὶ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον προσοικοδο-  
 50 μῆσαι τὴν φθάνουσιν εἰς τοῦτο προθυμίαν. ὑμέτερον οὖν  
 ἔστι τὸ στέλλεσθαι ἀπὸ πάσης ἀταξίας ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖ-  
 κας, ἵνα μὴ τις δόξῃ με μὴ κατ' εὐλάβειαν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν  
 ἀνθρωπίνην ὑπερηφανίαν κατὰ τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων ποιεῖσθαι  
 ἐκδικίαν. καὶ γὰρ συμβέβηκεν ἐνίοις τῶν καθισταμένων εἰς

ἐπανέεσαν pDF.

D; ἡμέτερον pF.

41 ἐχομένῳ] Zahn; ἐρχομένῳ pDF.

50 ὑμέτερον]

Polycarp by Ignatius, see above, p. 1007.

26. ἀγάπης ἀνυποκρίτου] An expression taken from 2 Cor. vi. 6.

37. προσφοράς] See the note on § 26 προσφορὰν ἐποίησεν.

49. καθεῖλαι] For the aorist εἶλα,

εἰλάμην, see Veitch *Greek Verbs* s. v. αἰρέω, Winer *Gramm.* § xiii. p. 86 sq.

51. στέλλεσθαι κ.τ.λ.] 2 Thess. iii. 6 στέλλεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος.

τόπους, ὅτε δεῖ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἐπιτείνειν τὸν δρόμον, τότε ὑπεκλύεσθαι ἐπιλαθομένους ὅτι, ὅσῳ τις πλείω τετιμῆσθαι δοκεῖ, πλείονα καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ὀφείλει εἰσφέρεισθαι εὐνοίαν, μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων Κυρίου ὅτι αὗτός εἶπεν· ὃ τὸ πλεῖον παρεθέμην, περισσότερον ἀπαι- 5 τήσωσιν αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν τῶν πιστευθέντων τὰ τάλαντα παραβολήν, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ γρηγοροῦντος δούλου μακαρισμόν, καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἀμελησάντων ἐλθεῖν εἰς τοὺς γάμους μέμψιν, καὶ τὴν καταδίκην τοῦ μὴ ἔχοντος ἐπάξιον τὸ ἔνδυμα τῆς χαρᾶς τοῦ γάμου, καὶ τὴν τῶν φρονίμων παρθένων 10 εἴσοδον, τὸ γρηγορεῖτε, τὸ ἑτοιμοὶ γίνεσθε, μὴ βαρηνῶσιν αἱ καρδίαι ὑμῶν, τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀγάπης καὶ ἐντολήν, τὴν κατάδηλον ἐξαπίνης ὡς ἀστραπῆς ἀθρόου αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν, τὴν μεγάλην διὰ πυρὸς κρίσιν, τὴν αἰώνιον ζωήν, τὴν ἀφθαρτον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν. καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα θεοδίδακτοι 15 ὄντες οἶδατε ἐρευνῶντες τὰς θεοπνεύστους γραφάς, τῇ γραφίδι τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἐγγράφετε εἰς τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, ἵνα μένωσιν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀνεξάλειπτοι αἱ ἐντολαί.

XXV. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ αἰεὶ λέγων, ἐπιμένων τε τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, ὥκοδόμει τε καὶ ἔσωζεν ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς 20 ἀκούοντας αὐτοῦ. ὅσα δὲ τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένων μεγα-

1 δεῖ] δὴ p.

2 ἐπιλαθομένους] ἐπιλαθομένοις p.

5 παρεθέμην]

pF; παρέθεντο D (comp. Luke xii. 48).

11 τὸ πρῶ.] τοῦ p.

23 τοῖς

4. μνημονεύειν τε κ.τ.λ.] Acts xx. 35; see the note on Polyc. *Phil.* 2 (p. 909).

5. ὃ τὸ πλεῖον κ.τ.λ.] Luke xii. 48 ὃ παρέθεντο πολύ, περισσότερον αἰτήσουσιν αὐτόν.

11. γρηγορεῖτε κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xxv. 13, xxiv. 44. The following quotation μὴ βαρηνῶσιν is from Luke xii. 48.

15. θεοδίδακτοι ὄντες] 1 Thess. iv. 9 αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς θεοδίδακτοὶ ἐστέ: comp. John vi. 45, Is. liv. 13.

20. ἔσωζεν ἑαυτόν κ.τ.λ.] 1 Tim. iv. 16; comp. [Clem. Rom.] ii. § 15 ἑαυτὸν σώσει καὶ τὸν συμβουλευσάντα,

ιβ. 19 ἑαυτοὺς σώσητε καὶ τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα ἐν ὑμῖν: comp. ib. 10.

23. εἰς τὴν Τέω κ.τ.λ.] It is difficult to explain this reference. Teos and Lebedus are distant 120 stades (Strabo xiv. i. 29, p. 643, Τέως δὲ Λεβέδου διέχει ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι) or 15 miles (Chandler *Travels in Asia Minor* p. 104). There were famous hot springs at both places (Pausan. vii. 5. 5 Λεβεδίοις δὲ τὰ λουτρά ἐν τῇ γῇ θαῦμα ἀνθρώποις ὁμοῦ καὶ ὠφέλεια γίνεται· ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τηίοις ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ λουτρά τῇ Μακρίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ κλύδωνι ἐν πέτρας χηραμῶ τὰ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν



λείων ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς, νῦν ἐπιμνησθήσομαι. ἦκέν ποτε  
 Πολύκαρπος εἰς τὴν Τέω τὴν πρὸς τοῖς θερμοῖς [τοῖς παρὰ]  
 πᾶσι καλουμένοις Λεβαδίοις πρὸς Δάφνον τινὰ ἐπίσκοπον,  
 25 ὃς μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι διηγεῖτο αὐτῷ τὴν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἔν-  
 δειαν καὶ ὅτι ὀλίγας γεώργηκε τροφάς. ὁ δέ, ἐπιδεικνυμένου  
 αὐτοῦ τὰ πιθάρια σχεδὸν κενά, ἐπιθεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας  
 εἶπεν· Ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, χρῶ. ὥστε ἀπ' ἐκείνης  
 τῆς ὥρας τοσοῦτον πλῆθος πληθυνθῆναι [ὡς] μετὰ τὸ κατα-  
 30 σπείραι τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀδεῶς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον θρέψαι καὶ  
 ἐτέροις δυνηθῆναι παρασχεῖν.

XXVI. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ ἦλθε πάλιν πρὸς τὸν  
 Δάφνον· ὁ δὲ εὐχαριστῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ χάριτι παρόντος  
 αὐτοῦ προσφοράν ἐποίησεν εἰς πλῆθος ἀδελφῶν. ἔθηκεν δὲ  
 35 μέσον πιθάριον ἔχον οἶνον. τοῦ δὲ τοῖς οἰκέοις λέγοντος  
 ὥστε ἐπιβάλλειν κομίσαντας ἔνδοθεν οἶνον, εἰπεῖν τὸν Πολύ-  
 καρπον· Ἄφες οὕτως, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκλείψει. ἀντλούντων δὲ  
 αὐτῶν καὶ πινόντων τὸν οἶνον καὶ τοῦ οἴνου μᾶλλον πληθυ-  
 νομένου, ἐπιστᾶσα οἰκέτις παιδίσκη, οὐκ ἐν φόβῳ ἀλλ' ἐν  
 40 παιδιᾷ καὶ γέλῳτι, ἀνεβόησε λέγουσα· ὦ πιθάριον ἀνεξ-  
 άντλητον· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἀποστάντος τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ σημεῖον  
 τῆς δυνάμεως ἀγγέλου, συνέβη καὶ τὸν ὑπάρχοντα οἶνον

παρὰ] conj.; om. pDF. 29 ὡς] DF; om. p. 35 ἔχον] ἔχων p. 40 παιδιᾷ]  
 παιδεία p.

πλούτου πεποιημένα). For those of Lebedos, which were the more famous, see also Pausan. vii. 3. 2 λουτρά... θερμὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἡδιστα, Aristid. *Or.* I. p. 490. The springs at Teos may have been called Lebadian, because they possessed the same qualities as those of Lebedos or from some local connexion. The name of this city however seems to be always written Λέβεδος, not Λέβαδος; and perhaps the solution is to be sought in the meaning of the word λέβεδος or λέβαδος 'meadows with springs' (see Benseler-Pape *Wörterbuch* s.v.), unless indeed it is

a sheer blunder of our biographer. There was a Λεβάδεια in Bæotia.

24. Δάφνον] In *Smyrn.* 13 Ignatius salutes among the leading Christians at Smyrna Δάφνον τὸν ἀσύγκριτον. This is not improbably the person meant here. See above I. p. 354, II. p. 326.

34. προσφοράν ἐποίησεν] See above, § 23 προσφοράς τε καὶ εὐχαριστίας, and below, § 27 χρήσασθαι αὐτῷ εἰς προσφοράν. Not only the eucharistic elements, but gifts for the maintenance of the clergy, contributions to an agape, alms and food for the relief of the poor, etc., were regarded as



ἀφανῇ γενέσθαι, ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸν Πολύκαρπον· Καλὸν γὰρ τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ Δαυῖδ· δογλεύσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ.

XXVII. Κατέστησε δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος καὶ ἄλλους μὲν διακόνους, ἓνα δὲ ᾧ ὄνομα Καμέριος, ὃς καὶ τρίτος ἀπ' 5 αὐτοῦ μετὰ Παπίριον ἐπίσκοπος γεγένηται· τοῦτον παραλαβὼν ἀπήλθεν εἰς ἀγρόν. μέλον γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς κώμας ἐκκλησιῶν φροντίδα ποιεῖσθαι. ἐπανιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν πόλιν προσδραμοῦσα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἕκ- 10 τινος ἀγροῦ χήρα αὐτῷ ἐν δοκιμῇ πολλῇ προσήνεγκεν ὄρνι- θιον ἔτι μικρόν· τοῦ δὲ μὴ βουλομένου λαβεῖν, ἔπειθεν λέγουσα χρήσασθαι αὐτῷ εἰς προσφοράν. ὀψίας δὲ γενο- 15 μένης, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτουργῷ ἐχρήτο τὰ πλείστα ὁδοιπορία, κεκοπιακῶς διέγνω μετὰ τοῦ Καμερίου καταντῆσαι εἰς τι πανδοχεῖον, ἐπεὶ ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος ἔτι τῆς χάριτος ἀνευαγ- 20 γέλιστος ἦν. ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀναπαυσαμένῳ αὐτῷ ταχέως εἰς ὕπνον τρέπεσθαι· αἱ γὰρ ἐκούσιοι βάσανοι τοῦ σώματος ἀνάπαισιν ἐν ταῖς ἐρημίαις παρασκευάζουσι. καὶ δὴ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ἥμισυ προκοπτούσης παραστὰς αὐτῷ ἄγγελος Κυρίου καὶ πατάξας τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ φησι· 25 Πολύκαρπε. ὁ δέ· Τί ἐστίν; καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἀναστὰς ἔξελθε τοῦ πανδοχεῖον· μέλλει γὰρ πίπτειν. ὁ δὲ ἀνεγρήγορέν τε καὶ τὸν Καμέριον ἐκάλει. ὁ δὲ ὕπνῳ ἅμα καὶ καμάτῳ βαρούμενος μόλις μὲν ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑπήκουσεν· καὶ

4 κατέστησε] κατάστησε H.

6 Παπίριον] Παπύριον H.

7 μέλον] μέλλων p.

9 προσδραμοῦσα] προδραμοῦσα pDF.

14 καταντῆσαι] conj.; καταρτίσαι pDF.

16 ἀναπαυσαμένῳ] ἀναπαυσωμένῳ p.

35 ἀνεπήδησεν] conj.; ἀπεπήδησεν pDF.

'offerings'; *Apost. Const.* ii. 25, 27, 34, etc. Here an agape given at the expense of Daphnus seems to be meant; and again in § 27 the little bird seems intended as a contribution to such an entertainment.

2. δουλεύσατε κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. ii. 11.

5. ἓνα δὲ ᾧ ὄνομα κ.τ.λ.] Camerius

is here represented as standing in the same relation to Polycarp at Smyrna, in which his contemporary Eleutherus stood to Anicetus at Rome. He was in fact his archdeacon. And just as Eleutherus is raised to the Roman episcopate next but one in succession, so in like manner is Camerius to the Smyrnæan. See

25 διηγησάμενος αὐτῷ ἔπειθεν ἀναστῆναι. ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν·  
 Πρῶτος ὕπνος οὐπω παρήλθεν, μακάριε πάπα, καὶ ποῦ  
 ὑπάγομεν; σὺ αἰετὰς γραφὰς μελετῶν ἀγρυπνεῖς διὰ  
 τοῦτο, καὶ οὐ κοιμᾶσαι. καὶ κείνος ἐποίει ἀγρυπνεῖν· ὁ δὲ  
 ἡσύχασεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον παραστὰς ὁ ἄγγελος τὸ  
 30 αὐτὸ εἶπεν, πάλιν ἐγείρεσθαι τῷ Καμερίῳ παρεκελεύετο. τοῦ  
 δὲ εἰπόντος πάλιν· Πιστεύω τῷ Θεῷ ὅτι σοῦ ἐνθάδε ὄντος  
 ὁ τοίχος οὐ μὴ πέσῃ, εἶπεν ὁ Πολύκαρπος· Καὶ γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ  
 πιστεύω, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοίχῳ οὐ πιστεύω. τρίτον δὲ κατέδραθεν,  
 καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου ἐλέχθη λόγος. ὁ δὲ μὴ μελλήσας  
 35 πρῶτος ἀνέστη, καὶ κείνος δὲ λοιπὸν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνεπή-  
 δησεν. ἐξελθόντες δὲ καὶ μικρὸν προελθόντες ἀνεμνήσθησαν  
 ὅτι τὸ ὀρνίθιον κατέλιπον ἐν τῷ πανδοχείῳ. [ἀπόν]των οὖν  
 αὐτῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ διάστημα ὥσεί λίθου βολήν, Μὴ ὀκνή-  
 σης, φησί, ἐπεὶ ἡ μακαρία χήρα εἰς προσφορὰν αὐτὸ ἐπωνό-  
 40 μασεν. καὶ ὑποστρέψας ἔλαβεν αὐτό· καὶ ὡς ἐξῆλθεν  
 ὅσον ὀλίγον, τὸ πανδοχεῖον πᾶν σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς θεμελίους  
 εἰς ἔδαφος ἦλθεν κάτω, ὥστε μηδένα σωθῆναι τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ.  
 σταθεῖς δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν  
 εἶπεν· Θεὲ δέσποτα καὶ Κύριε παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ εὐ-  
 45 λογημένου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παιδὸς ἀγίου σου πατήρ, ὁ  
 τὴν Νινευϊτῶν καταστροφὴν διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου προφήτου  
 προσημάνας Ἰωνᾶ καὶ δοὺς ἐκφυγεῖν τῶν κινδύνων, ἀληθῶς  
 εὐλογῶ σε ὅτι ἐρρύσω ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κινδύνου τούτου διὰ

36 προελθόντες] D; προσελθόντες pF.  
 38 βολήν] conj.; βολή pDF.

37 ἀπόντων] conj.; τῶν p; ὄντων DF.

44 παντοκράτωρ] F; παντοκράτωρ pD.

Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22  
 Ἀνικήτου, οὗ διάκονος ἦν Ἐλεύθερος· καὶ  
 παρὰ Ἀνικήτου διαδέχεται Σωτήρ, μεθ'  
 ὃν Ἐλεύθερος.

6. μετὰ Παπίριον] On this person  
 see above, I. p. 448.

10. ἐν δοκιμῇ πολλῇ] Does this  
 mean 'in a great trial of affliction,' as  
 in 2 Cor. viii. 2 ἐν πολλῇ δοκιμῇ θλί-  
 ψεως ἢ περισσεΐα κ.τ.λ., where, as here,

there is reference to a liberal gift un-  
 der straitened circumstances?

14. καταντῆσαι] It is difficult to  
 give any adequate sense to καταρ-  
 τίσαι, and I have therefore made a  
 slight alteration.

33. κατέδραθεν] For the use of this  
 poetic form in later prose writers see  
 Veitch *Greek Verbs* s.v. δαρθάνω.



χειρὸς ἀγγέλου, δι' οὗ ἐγνώρισάς μοι τὸ μέλλον ἀποβή-  
σεσθαι.

XXVIII. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον μεγαλείον δι' αὐτοῦ  
τοιούτου. ἤδη τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰς ὕπνον  
τραπέντων καὶ σχεδὸν μεσοῦσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τῶν ἀρτο- 5  
κόπων σιτοποιουμένων, συνέβη πῦρ ἐμπεσὸν εἰς τὰ σύνεγ-  
γυς φρύγανα ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ ἐργαστήριον, καὶ ἐκ τούτου  
ἐπινεμηθὲν πλείστον μέρος καταλαβεῖν τῆς πόλεως. τοῦ δὲ  
πλήθους παντὸς συνδραμόντος καὶ κραυγῆς καὶ ταραχῶν  
πολλοῦ ὄντος, ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευσεν τὰ πρὸς τοῦτο ὄργανα 10  
ῥητοίμασμένα κομίζεσθαι. ἐφέροντο οὖν οἱ σίφωνες καὶ ὕδωρ  
καὶ πᾶσα τέχνης ἐπίνοια, κατήεσαν δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι προφάσει  
τοῦ δύνασθαι κατασβεννύναι, ἀεὶ ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐπιδι-  
δόντες ἐκουσίως· φάσκουσι γὰρ μὴ ἂν ἄλλως δύνασθαι  
ἐμπρησμοὺς παύεσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἐπισταῖεν· τέχνη δ' αὐτοῖς 15  
τοῦ διαρπάζειν τὰ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις. κινδυνευούσης οὖν τῆς  
πόλεως, ἔφη ὁ στρατηγός· ὦ ἄνδρες οἱ συμπαρόντες ἡμῖν  
εἰς τὴν ὥραν τῆς πικρᾶς θέας ταύτης, ὁράτε ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔστιν  
τὸ ὄφελος διὰ τὸ τὸν ἄνεμον εἶναι ἐναντίον· μιᾶς δὲ οὔσης  
ἐλπίδος τὸ παρεῖναι Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης ἡστοχή- 20  
σαμεν. τί οὖν ἔστιν ὃ λέγω; ἀκούσατε. πρῶν ἐν τῷ  
στρατηγίῳ νύκτωρ ἀναστάντι ἐμῷ οἰκέτῃ περιέπεσέν τι  
δαιμόνιον, ἐκεκράγει τε καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤψαμεν  
φῶτα, εὖρομεν αὐτὸν ἐνθουσιῶντα καὶ κατεσθίοντα πάντα.  
ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἦλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπάδειν αὐτῷ θέ- 25  
λοντες· ὁ δὲ πλείστους αὐτοὺς ὄντας εἰς ὧν μικροῦ δεῖν  
παίων ἀπέκτεινεν, περιρρήξας τε αὐτῶν τὰς ἐσθῆτας γυμ-  
νοὺς καὶ πλήρεις αἱμάτων ἀπέπεμψεν. εἰς οὖν τις ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ  
μου ὧν χριστιανὸς ἔφη· Εἰ κελεύεις, καλέσω τὸν δυνάμενον

1 ἀποβήσεσθαι] F; ἀποβλήσεσθαι p<sup>s</sup>D.

6 ἐμπεσόν] ἐμπεσὼν p.

10. ὁ στρατηγός] The chief magis-  
trates of a colony, the *duumviri*,  
were called in Greek στρατηγοί; e.g.  
Acts xvi. 20, 22, 36 (see *Philippians*  
p. 51), and this may be the magis-

tracy intended. Possibly the officer  
here meant may be the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ  
τῆς εἰρήνης (e.g. in a Smyrnaean in-  
scription, *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3151),  
who should probably be identified



30 περιγενέσθαι αὐτοῦ. ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐπιτρέψαντος, ἦλθεν ὁ τῶν  
 χριστιανῶν διδάσκαλος ὃν λέγουσι Πολύκαρπον. ἔτι δὲ  
 αὐτοῦ μακρὰν πολὺ ἀπέχοντος, ἐκεκράγει ὁ νεανίας μέγα·  
 "Ἐρχεταί μοι Πολύκαρπος, καὶ μέλλω φεύγειν· ἐπιστάντος  
 δὲ τοῦ.....

35 XXIX. ....τὰ εἰθισμένα ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας μηδὲν  
 ἀνύοντες ἐπαύσαντο τότε· καὶ μόλις τῶν τὴν βουλευτικὴν  
 ἐχόντων τιμὴν συνηγμένων, καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φάσκοντος  
 μήτε ἔχειν σῖτον μηδ' ὅθεν πρίαίτο εὐρίσκειν, ἐτοίμως  
 ἔχοντα ἀργύριον ἀριθμεῖν, ἀναστάς τις ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν  
 40 ἤδη πρέσβυς εἶπεν· "Ἄνδρες ὅσοι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνουν  
 συμπαρόντες ἦτε ὅτε νυκτὸς μεσοῦσης ἐμπρησμοῦ γενο-  
 μένου ἢ πόλις ἐκινδύνευσεν, διαμέμνησθε ὡς μήτε ἡμῶν  
 μήτε Ἰουδαίων ἰσχυσάντων κατασβέσαι τὸ πῦρ κληθεῖς τις  
 ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀνὴρ ταῖς ἀληθείαις θεοπρεπής, ὁ τῶν λεγομένων  
 45 χριστιανῶν ἱερεύς, στὰς ἔμπροσθε πάντων ἡμῶν καὶ ἀνα-  
 βλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπέν τινά ποτε ῥήματα, καὶ παρα-  
 χρήμα σφαιρωθεῖσα ἡ φλόξ, καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τὴν ἐκείνου  
 ἐντραπείσα φωνήν, αὐτὴ συνέπεσεν εἰς ἑαυτήν· καί με πολ-  
 λάκις ὑπεισήλθεν ὡς ἄρα τις θεὸς ἐστίν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος. ἴστε  
 50 δὲ ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ ἡμῶν καὶ συγγραφεῖς φασιν οὐρανούς κατα-  
 πέμπεσθαι θεοὺς ὁμοιουμένους ἀνθρώποις, τιμωρίας τε ἕνεκεν  
 τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων ἐκδικίας τε αὖ πάλιν τῶν ἀδικου-  
 μένων. XXX. Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐβόων ἐκκλησίαν πάν-  
 δημον ἀξιοῦντες γενέσθαι. καὶ μὴ μελλήσαντες πάντες  
 55 ἀθρόοι ἀπήεσαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον· λιμῶ γὰρ πιεζόμενοι τὴν  
 παρὰ πόδας ἀνάγκην ἔβλεπον, ὅτε καὶ ἓνα Θεὸν εἶναι διὰ  
 μόνης κραυγῆς ἐκφωνεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο. ἀποστειλάντων οὖν  
 πρὸς τὸν Πολύκαρπον καὶ ἀξιωσάντων, ἤχθη εὐρεθείς. καὶ

12 κατήεσαν] κατίεσαν pDF.  
 leaf is here wanting in p.

20 παρῆναι] παρήναι p.

34 τοῦ] A

with the irenarch or captain of the  
 police (see above, II. p. 955); but  
 the functions assigned to him seem  
 to be too comprehensive for this.

30. ὁ τῶν χριστιανῶν κ.τ.λ.] Comp.  
*Mart. Polyc.* 12 ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκα-  
 λος, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν χριστιανῶν.

εἰσήχθη, καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐβόα, οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι τῆς πόλεως  
 εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν· Πολύκαρπε, ὅρας ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐν στενοῖς  
 ἐστίν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ σὺ κατοικεῖς, καὶ αὐτὸς συμμετέχων ἡμῖν  
 καὶ συναπολαύων, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐθῶν, ἀλλὰ γε  
 ἐνδείας τῆς νῦν διὰ τὴν ἀβροχίαν ὑπαρχούσης. ἀξιοῦσιν 5  
 οὖν οἱ Σμυρναῖοι αἰτῆσαί σε παρὰ Θεοῦ σου ὑετόν, ἵνα  
 λαβούσα ἡ γῆ ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτῇ σπέρματα  
 ἀποδῶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς. τοῦ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ἡρυθαίνετο,  
 πᾶν δὲ τὸ σῶμα κρουνηδὸν ἰδρώτος πλήθει ἐστάζετο, ἡ δὲ  
 καρδία αὐτοῦ τοῖς παλμοῖς πηδῶσα δι' εὐχῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν 10  
 ἤλατο. καὶ δὴ βραδέως μὲν ἀλλ' ὅμως κεκριμένως ἀπε-  
 κρίνατο λέγων· Ἄνδρες οἱ τῆσδε τῆς περικαλλοῦς πόλεως  
 κάτοικοι, ἐπακούσατέ μου τοῦ παροίκου καὶ παρεπιδήμου, ᾧ  
 πᾶσα πόλις ξένη διὰ τὴν ἐπουράνιον πολιτείαν καὶ πᾶς ὁ  
 κόσμος πόλις διὰ τὴν τοῦ κτίσαντος τὰ πάντα Θεοῦ δωρεάν. 15  
 οὐ γάρ, ὡς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε, τοσοῦτον ἐμαυτὸν δεδόκηκα  
 ὡς δύνασθαι ἔθνους ὅλου διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐνδίκως παι-  
 δευομένου πληγὰς ἀποδύεσθαι· ἀλλ' ὅσον δυνατόν ὑποδείξω.  
 εἰσὶ γὰρ συναγόμενοι σὺν ἐμοὶ πρεσβῦται θεοπρεπεῖς, οἷς  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐπειδὴν δεοίμην αἰτῆσαι παρὰ Θεοῦ, προσαναφέρω, 20  
 πρέσβεις αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ γενέσθαι· τούτοις οὖν  
 προσανοίσω, ὅπως αὐτοὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πρεσβεύσωσι πρὸς

4 ἡμετέρων] ὑμετέρων p. 6 Σμυρναῖοι αἰτῆσαί σε] conj.; Σμυρναῖοι αἰτῆσαι  
 pDF; Σμυρναῖοι· αἰτῆσαι Zahn. My conjecture which is simply a repetition of the  
 last syllable (σαι=σε) seems simpler and less awkward. 13 ᾧ] ὡς p.

16 δεδόκηκα] conj.; δέδωκα pDF, but this can hardly stand. Possibly it should be  
 δεδήλωκα. 23 αὐτόν] conj.; τὸν pDF, but DF suppose a lacuna after

12. τῆς περικαλλοῦς πόλεως] The  
 Smyrnæans are proud of the beauty  
 of their city; *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3204  
 ἡ πρώτη τῆς Ἀσίας κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει  
 καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ...καὶ κόσμος τῆς Ἰωνίας  
 Σμυρναίων πόλις. So again ib. 3191,  
 3202, 3205, 3206, where the same  
 titles are given to it. Similarly  
 Strabo xiv. I. 37 (p. 646) εἶτα ἀνήγειρεν  
 αὐτὴν [τὴν Σμύρναν] Ἀντίγονος, καὶ  
 μετὰ ταῦτα Λυσίμαχος, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ

καλλίστη τῶν πασῶν. So too Aristides  
*Or.* xli (*Or.* I. pp. 762, 763) Σμύρ-  
 να τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἄγαλμα ἡ πρὸς  
 θεῶν ὠραιότατη πολέων καὶ τοῦ κάλλους  
 ἐπώνυμος. See also this orator's de-  
 scription, *Or.* I. p. 374 sq., p. 424 sq.,  
 429 sq., p. 439 sq., and esp. p. 375 κάλ-  
 λεσιν αὐτοφνέσι καὶ χειροποιήτοις ἀμιλ-  
 λωμένοις, p. 425 προσιόντι μὲν εὐθὺς  
 ἀστραπὴ κάλλους, p. 427 κάλλει καὶ  
 μούσαις ἀπάσας πόλεις ἀποκρύπτουσα



αὐτὸν διὰ προσευχῆς· ὑμῖν δὲ παραινῶ εὐθύμους γενέσθαι,  
καὶ παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ παρακελεύεσθαι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μὲν  
25 τῇσδε τῆς συντριβῆς, τὰ δὲ κρείττω ἐλπίζειν· μακρόθυμος  
γὰρ ὢν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιδίδωσιν εἰς μετάνοιαν χρόνους τῷ τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων γένει. τότε ὁ στρατηγὸς ἔλαβεν θάρσος ἔκ τε  
τῶν αὐτοῦ Πολυκάρπου προγεγονότων σημείων καὶ ἔκ τῶν  
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεχθέντων, καὶ φησιν· Ἴστε δὴ πάντες ἀστικοί  
30 τε καὶ ξένοι, ὡς ἡμεῖς μὲν ἰδίους ἔθεσί τε καὶ νόμοις τὸ  
θεῖον ἐκμειλισσόμεθα, ἱεουργίας τε καὶ θυσίας καὶ βωμῶν  
ἀνάψεις καὶ λιβανωτῶν καύσεις ποιούμενοι· οὗτος δέ, καὶ  
οὓς φησιν ἔχειν σὺν αὐτῷ συνιερεῖς τε καὶ συνθερά-  
ποντας, ἔξαναχωροῦντες ἰδία σχολαιότερον ποιοῦνται τὰς  
35 πρὸς τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν εὐχάς. ἀπολυόμεθα οὖν αὐτοί τε καὶ  
ἡμεῖς, καὶ τοῦτον ἐκπέμπωμεν ἄδειαν αὐτῷ δόντες ὅπως,  
μεθεῖς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θορύβου γεγονὸς αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν  
δεῖμα, ἀταράχῳ τῷ νῷ καὶ εὐσταθεὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰς ὑπὲρ  
ἡμῶν ἱεουργίας ἐπιτελῇ. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσε τὸν  
40 δῆμον.

XXXI. Ὁ δὲ μηδὲν μελλήσας ἔδραμεν εἰς τὸν κυρια-  
κὸν οἶκον, ἔνθα συναγέσθαι ἔθος ἦν τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις ἐκέλευσε παραγγέλλειν πάν-  
τας σπουδῇ πάλιν χρήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ μίαν ἐκ πολλῶν

προσευχῆς.

24 ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι] ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι p.

25 συντριβῆς]

conj.; συγγραφῆς pDF.

34 ἔξαναχωροῦντες] ἔξαναχωροῦντας p.

35 ἀπο-

λυόμεθα] ἀπολυόμεθα p.

37 μεθεῖς] DF; μεθ' ἧς p.

39 ἡμῶν]

ὑμῶν p.

(‘eclipsing’), p. 435 πόλεως παράδειγμα  
κάλλους, p. 443 καὶ δὴ τῇ τε Ἰωνία  
καλῶς ὁ στέφανος σέσωσται ἢ τε Ἀσία  
τὸ πρόσχημα κεκόμισται. Again Lucian  
*Imag.* 2 τοιαῦτα μέντοι, ἔφη, τὰ Σμυρ-  
ναϊκὰ κάλλη κ.τ.λ.

13. κάτοικοι κ.τ.λ.] On the distinc-  
tion of κάτοικοι, πάριοι, and on the  
language of the following sentence  
generally, see the note on § 6, above.

25. συντριβῆς] ‘calamity, afflic-  
tion.’ Zahn (*G.G.A.* p. 299) has seen

that συγγραφῆς cannot stand, and that  
some word such as συνοχή is needed.  
The emendation which I have sug-  
gested involves a slighter deviation  
from the MS. Duchesne justifies the  
reading of the MS, saying ‘si codicem  
integrum haberemus [referring to the  
lacuna between §§ 28, 29], in eo  
mentionem aliquam inveniremus de  
συγγραφῇ illa ad quam paulo infra  
alludit Polycarpus.’



ἀνενεχθῆναι δέησιν. οἱ δὲ προητοιμακότες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ  
 τῆς ἐωθινῆς διὰ τὸ εἰσῆχθαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, καὶ ὅτι  
 παρασκευὴ ἦν (ἐδεδίεσαν γὰρ μή τι πάθῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου),  
 ἀκούσαντες οὖν συνέδραμον. ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπεν· Μνη- 5  
 μονεύσωμεν, ἀδελφοί, τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν  
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὃς εἶπεν· αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν.  
 ἐὰν γὰρ συμφωνήσῃσι δ' ὅς ἐξ ὑμῶν περὶ παντος πράγ-  
 ματος οἷον ἐὰν αἰτήσωνται, γενήσεται αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ  
 πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. πιστεύοντες οὖν αἰ-  
 τήσωμεν καὶ μὴ διακρινόμενοι ταῖς διανοαῖς· τοῦ γὰρ 10  
 αἰτοῦντος ἡ προσευχὴ τρόπον τινὰ ζυγοστατεῖται ὡς ἐπὶ  
 πλάστιγγος καὶ ταλαντεύεται ὁ νοῦς ὅποι κλίνει. δῆλον  
 δὲ ἡμῖν τοῦτό γε ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιβῆναι τὸν Πέτρον τοῖς κύ-  
 μασι· πιστεύων μὲν γὰρ περιεπάτει, φοβηθεὶς δὲ τὸ σφο-  
 δρὸν τοῦ ἀνέμου κατεποντίζετο, εἰς ἡμέτερον ὑπόδειγμα, 15  
 ἵνα γινώμεν τὴν ἐφ' ἐκάτερον ῥοπήν. τοιαύτην πεποιθή-  
 σιν ἔχων ὁ θεράπων τοῦ Θεοῦ Μωϋσῆς ἀποδειλιῶντι τῷ λαῷ  
 ἔλεγεν· στήτε καὶ ὄψεσθε τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Κυρίου. στή-  
 ναι γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς δεῖ ἐδραίους ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν, ἵνα ἀκλι-  
 νεῖς ὄντες ἀπερίτρεπτοι καὶ ἄπτωτοι διὰ πίστεως τῆς εἰς 20  
 τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν μείνωμεν· ὅστις  
 καὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ προφήτῃ Ἠλία ἔδωκεν αἰτήσαντι ὑέτόν,  
 ὅτε ἐκλείσθῃ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. XXXII.  
 καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, πρῶτος κλίνας τὰ γόνατα σὺν πᾶσιν,  
 ἐπὶ πλεῖστον προσηύξατο οὕτως· 25

Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,  
 ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν  
 αἰώνων, ἀμήν· ᾧ λειτουργοῦσιν ἀρχάγγελοι, δόξαι καὶ

24 σὺν πᾶσιν] συμπᾶσιν p.

6. αἰτεῖτε κ.τ.λ.] Matt. vii. 7 αἰ-  
 τεῖτε κ.τ.λ., and Matt. xviii. 19 ἐὰν δύο  
 συμφωνήσωσιν κ.τ.λ.

18. στήτε κ.τ.λ.] Exod. xiv. 13 στήτε  
 καὶ ὁράτε τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ  
 Κυρίου.

19. ἐδραίους κ.τ.λ.] Ign. *Polyc.* 1  
 ἡδρασμένην ὡς ἐπὶ πέτραν, *ib.* 2 στήθι  
 ἐδραῖος.

28. ἀρχάγγελοι κ.τ.λ.] See the notes  
 on Col. i. 16 for the gradations of  
 angels.

δυνάμεις ἐπουράνιοι, θρόνοι, κυριότητες, σεραφίμ, χερουβίμ·  
 30 ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν  
 καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὁ πλάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα  
 καὶ ὁμοίωσιν, δι' οὗ καὶ εὐδόκησας πέμψαι τὸν λόγον σου  
 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἵνα σαρκωθεὶς ἐκ παρθένου καὶ πνεύματος  
 ἁγίου σώσῃ καὶ ἀναστήσῃ διὰ πάθους τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν  
 35 ἁμαρτίαν πεπτωκότα ἄνθρωπον· εἰσάκουσον, Κύριε, εἰσβλε-  
 ψον, ἅγιε, ἐνώτισαι τὰς προσευχὰς τῆς ἁγίας σου καθο-  
 λικῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ δὸς ὑετὸν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς  
 καὶ σπέρματα τῷ σπείρουντι καὶ ἄρτον εἰς βρῶσιν· διότι  
 ἐν ἡμέραις ἀνάγκης γνόντα τὰ ἔθνη, ὅτι ἐσμὲν δοῦλοί  
 40 σου, ζητοῦσι παρ' ἡμῶν δικαιοσύνην. καὶ νῦν, Κύριε,  
 γνώτωσαν πάντες οἱ ἀντικείμενοι ἡμῖν.

Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εὐξαμένου ὁ οὐρανὸς ἔδωκεν ὑετόν, καὶ  
 πάντες τὸν Θεὸν ἐδόξαζον τὸν ποιοῦντα θαυμάσια διὰ τῶν  
 αὐτοῦ θεραπόντων· ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος καὶ νῦν καὶ  
 45 εἰς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ  
 ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ἀμήν.

38 σπέρματα] σπέρματι p.

σπείρουντι] F; σπείραντι p<sup>s</sup>D.

30 ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν κ.τ.λ.] Exod.  
 xx. 11; comp. Ps. cxlv (cxlvi). 6,  
 Acts xiv. 15.

31 ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα κ.τ.λ.] From  
 Gen. i. 26.





# TRANSLATIONS.

1. *EPISTLE OF POLYCARP.*
2. *LETTER OF THE SMYRNÆANS.*
3. *LIFE OF POLYCARP.*

## EPISTLE OF POLYCARP.

POLYCARP and the presbyters that are with him unto the Church of God which sojourneth at Philippi; mercy unto you and peace from God Almighty and Jesus Christ our Saviour be multiplied.

1. I rejoiced with you greatly in our Lord Jesus Christ, for that ye received the followers of the true Love and escorted them on their way, as befitted you—those men encircled in saintly bonds which are the diadems of them that be truly chosen of God and our Lord; and that the stedfast root of your faith which was famed from primitive times abideth until now and beareth fruit unto our Lord Jesus Christ, who endured to face even death for our sins, *whom God raised, having loosed the pangs of Hades; on whom, though ye saw Him not, ye believe with joy unutterable and full of glory;* unto which joy many desire to enter in; forasmuch as ye know that it is *by grace ye are saved, not of works,* but by the will of God through Jesus Christ.

2. *Wherefore gird up your loins and serve God in fear and truth, forsaking the vain and empty talking and the error of the many, for that ye have believed on Him that raised our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead and gave unto Him glory and a throne on His right hand; unto whom all things were made*



subject that are in heaven and that are on the earth ; to whom every creature that hath breath doeth service ; who cometh as *judge of quick and dead* ; whose blood God will require of them that are disobedient unto Him. Now *He that raised Him from the dead will raise us also* ; if we do His will and walk in His commandments and love the things which He loved, abstaining from all unrighteousness, covetousness, love of money, evil speaking, false witness ; *not rendering evil for evil or railing for railing* or blow for blow or cursing for cursing ; but remembering the words which the Lord spake, as He taught ; *Judge not that ye be not judged. Forgive, and it shall be forgiven to you. Have mercy that ye may receive mercy. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again* ; and again *Blessed are the poor and they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God.*

3. These things, brethren, I write unto you concerning righteousness, not because I laid this charge upon myself, but because ye invited me. For neither am I, nor is any other like unto me, able to follow the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul, who when he came among you taught face to face with the men of that day the word which concerneth truth carefully and surely ; who also, when he was absent, wrote a letter unto you, into the which if ye look diligently, ye shall be able to be builded up unto the faith given to you, *which is the mother of us all*, while hope followeth after and love goeth before—love toward God and Christ and toward our neighbour. For if any man be occupied with these, he hath fulfilled the commandment of righteousness ; for he that hath love is far from all sin.

4. *But the love of money is the beginning of all troubles.* Knowing therefore that *we brought nothing into the world neither can we carry anything out*, let us arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness, and let us teach ourselves first to walk in the commandment of the Lord ; and then our wives also, to walk in the faith that hath been given unto them and in love and purity, cherishing their own husbands in all truth and loving all men equally in all chastity, and to train their children in the

training of the fear of the Lord. Our widows must be sober-minded as touching the faith of the Lord, making intercession without ceasing for all men, abstaining from all calumny, evil speaking, false witness, love of money, and every evil thing, knowing that they are God's altar, and that all sacrifices are carefully inspected, and nothing escapeth Him either of their thoughts or intents or any of the secret things of the heart.

5. Knowing then that *God is not mocked*, we ought to walk worthily of His commandment and His glory. In like manner deacons should be blameless in the presence of His righteousness, as deacons of God and Christ and not of men; not calumniators, not double-tongued, not lovers of money, temperate in all things, compassionate, diligent, walking according to the truth of the Lord who became *a minister (deacon) of all*. For if we be well pleasing unto Him in this present world, we shall receive the future world also, according as He promised us to raise us from the dead, and that if we conduct ourselves worthily of Him *we shall also reign with Him*, if indeed we have faith. In like manner also the younger men must be blameless in all things, caring for purity before everything and curbing themselves from every evil. For it is a good thing to refrain from lusts in the world, for every *lust warreth against the Spirit*, and *neither whoremongers nor effeminate persons nor defilers of themselves with men shall inherit the kingdom of God*, neither they that do untoward things. Wherefore it is right to abstain from all these things, submitting yourselves to the presbyters and deacons as to God and Christ. The virgins must walk in a blameless and pure conscience.

6. And the presbyters also must be compassionate, merciful towards all men, turning back the sheep that are gone astray, visiting all the infirm, not neglecting a widow or an orphan or a poor man: but *providing always for that which is honorable in the sight of God and of men*, abstaining from all anger, respect of persons, unrighteous judgment, being far from all love of money, not quick to believe anything against any man, not hasty in judgment, knowing that we all are debtors of sin. If then we



entreat the Lord that He would forgive us, we also ought to forgive: for we are before the eyes of our Lord and God, and we must all *stand at the judgment-seat of Christ*, and *each man must give an account of himself*. Let us therefore so serve Him with fear and all reverence, as He himself gave commandment and the Apostles who preached the Gospel to us and the prophets who proclaimed beforehand the coming of our Lord; being zealous as touching that which is good, abstaining from offences and from the false brethren and from them that bear the name of the Lord in hypocrisy, who lead foolish men astray.

7. For every one who shall not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is antichrist: and whosoever shall not confess the testimony of the Cross, is of the devil; and whosoever shall pervert the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts and say that there is neither resurrection nor judgment, that man is the first-born of Satan. Wherefore let us forsake the vain doing of the many and their false teachings, and turn unto the word which was delivered unto us from the beginning, being sober unto prayer and constant in fastings, entreating the all-seeing God with supplications that He *bring us not into temptation*, according as the Lord said, *The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak*.

8. Let us therefore without ceasing hold fast by our hope and by the earnest of our righteousness, which is Jesus Christ who *took up our sins in His own body upon the tree, who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth*, but for our sakes He endured all things, that we might live in Him. Let us therefore become imitators of His endurance; and if we should suffer for His name's sake, let us glorify Him. For He gave this example to us in His own person, and we believed this.

9. I exhort you all therefore to be obedient unto the word of righteousness and to practise all endurance, which also ye saw with your own eyes in the blessed Ignatius and Zosimus and Rufus, yea and in others also who came from among yourselves, as well as in Paul himself and the rest of the Apostles; being persuaded that all these *ran not in vain* but in



faith and righteousness, and that they are in their due place in the presence of the Lord, with whom also they suffered. For they *loved not the present world*, but Him that died for our sakes and was raised by God for us.

10. Stand fast therefore in these things and follow the example of the Lord, being firm in the faith and immovable, *in love of the brotherhood kindly affectioned one to another*, partners with the truth, *forestalling one another* in the gentleness of the Lord, despising no man. *When ye are able to do good*, defer it not, for *Pitifulness delivereth from death*. *Be ye all subject one to another, having your conversation unblameable among the Gentiles, that from your good works both ye may receive praise and the Lord may not be blasphemed in you. But woe to him through whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed.* Therefore teach all men soberness, in which ye yourselves also walk.

11. I was exceedingly grieved for Valens, who aforetime was a presbyter among you, because he is so ignorant of the office which was given unto him. I warn you therefore that ye refrain from covetousness, and that ye be pure and truthful. Refrain from all evil. But he who cannot govern himself in these things, how doth he enjoin this upon another? If a man refrain not from covetousness, he shall be defiled by idolatry, and shall be judged as one of the Gentiles who *know not the judgment of the Lord*. *Nay, know we not, that the saints shall judge the world*, as Paul teacheth? But I have not found any such thing in you, neither have heard thereof, among whom the blessed Paul laboured, who were his *letters* in the beginning. For he boasteth of you in all those churches which alone at that time knew God; for we knew Him not as yet. Therefore I am exceedingly grieved for him and for his wife, unto whom may the Lord grant true repentance. Be ye therefore yourselves also sober herein, and *hold not such as enemies*, but restore them as frail and erring members, that ye may save the whole body of you. For so doing, ye do edify one another.

12. For I am persuaded that ye are well trained in the sacred writings, and nothing is hidden from you. But to myself

this is not granted. Only, as it is said in these scriptures, *Be ye angry and sin not*, and *Let not the sun set on your wrath*. Blessed is he that remembereth this; and I trust that this is in you. Now may the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the eternal High priest Himself, the God Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and truth, and in all gentleness and in all avoidance of wrath and in forbearance and long suffering and in patient endurance and in purity; and may He grant unto you a lot and portion among His saints, and to us with you, and to all that are under heaven, who shall believe on our Lord and God Jesus Christ and on His Father *that raised Him from the dead*. *Pray for all the saints*. Pray also *for kings* and powers and princes, and *for them that persecute and hate you*, and *for the enemies of the cross*, that your fruit may be *manifest among all men*, that ye may be perfect in Him.

13. Ye wrote to me, both ye yourselves and Ignatius, asking that if any one should go to Syria he might carry thither the letters from you. And this I will do, if I get a fit opportunity, either I myself, or he whom I shall send to be ambassador on your behalf also. The letters of Ignatius which were sent to us by him, and others as many as we had by us, we send unto you, according as ye gave charge; the which are subjoined to this letter; from which ye will be able to gain great advantage. For they comprise faith and endurance and every kind of edification, which pertaineth unto our Lord. Moreover concerning Ignatius himself and those that were with him, if ye have any sure tidings, certify us.

14. I write these things to you by Crescens, whom I commended to you recently and now commend unto you: for he hath walked blamelessly with us; and I believe also with you in like manner. But ye shall have his sister commended, when she shall come to you. Fare ye well in the Lord Jesus Christ in grace, ye and all yours. Amen.

## LETTER OF THE SMYRNÆANS.

THE CHURCH OF GOD which sojourneth at Smyrna to the Church of God which sojourneth in Philomelium and to all the brotherhoods of the holy and universal Church sojourning in every place; mercy and peace and love from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied.

1. We write unto you, brethren, an account of what befel those that suffered martyrdom and especially the blessed Polycarp, who stayed the persecution, having as it were set his seal upon it by his martyrdom. For nearly all the foregoing events came to pass that the Lord might show us once more an example of martyrdom which is conformable to the Gospel. For he lingered that he might be delivered up, even as the Lord did, to the end that we too might be imitators of him, not looking only to that which concerneth ourselves, but also to that which concerneth our neighbours. For it is the office of true and stedfast love, not only to desire that oneself be saved, but all the brethren also.

2. Blessed therefore and noble are all the martyrdoms which have taken place according to the will of God (for it becometh us to be very scrupulous and to assign to God the power over all things). For who could fail to admire their nobleness and patient endurance and loyalty to the Master? seeing that



when they were so torn by lashes that the mechanism of their flesh was visible even as far as the inward veins and arteries, they endured patiently, so that the very bystanders had pity and wept; while they themselves reached such a pitch of bravery that none of them uttered a cry or a groan, thus showing to us all that at that hour the martyrs of Christ being tortured were absent from the flesh, or rather that the Lord was standing by and conversing with them. And giving heed unto the grace of Christ they despised the tortures of this world, purchasing at the cost of one hour a release from eternal punishment. And they found the fire of their inhuman torturers cold: for they set before their eyes the escape from the eternal fire which is never quenched; while with the eyes of their heart they gazed upon the good things which are reserved for those that endure patiently, things *which neither ear hath heard nor eye hath seen, neither have they entered into the heart of man*, but were shown by the Lord to them, for they were no longer men but angels already. And in like manner also those that were condemned to the wild beasts endured fearful punishments, being made to lie on sharp shells and buffeted with other forms of manifold tortures, that the devil might, if possible, by the persistence of the punishment bring them to a denial; for he tried many wiles against them.

3. But thanks be to God; for He verily prevailed against all. For the right noble Germanicus encouraged their timorousness through the constancy which was in him; and he fought with the wild beasts in a signal way. For when the proconsul wished to prevail upon him and bade him have pity on his youth, he used violence and dragged the wild beast towards him, desiring the more speedily to obtain a release from their unrighteous and lawless life. So after this all the multitude, marvelling at the bravery of the God-beloved and God-fearing people of the Christians, raised a cry, 'Away with the atheists; let search be made for Polycarp.'

4. But one man, Quintus by name, a Phrygian newly arrived from Phrygia, when he saw the wild beasts, turned

coward. He it was who had forced himself and some others to come forward of their own free will. This man the proconsul by much entreaty persuaded to swear the oath and to offer incense. For this cause therefore, brethren, we praise not those who deliver themselves up, since the Gospel doth not so teach us.

5. Now the glorious Polycarp at the first, when he heard it, so far from being dismayed, was desirous of remaining in town; but the greater part persuaded him to withdraw. So he withdrew to a farm not far distant from the city; and there he stayed with a few companions, doing nothing else night and day but praying for all men and for the churches throughout the world; for this was his constant habit. And while praying he falleth into a trance three days before his apprehension; and he saw his pillow burning with fire. And he turned and said unto those that were with him: 'It must needs be that I shall be burned alive.'

6. And as those that were in search of him persisted, he departed to another farm; and forthwith they that were in search of him came up; and not finding him, they seized two slave lads, one of whom confessed under torture; for it was impossible for him to lie concealed, seeing that the very persons who betrayed him were people of his own household. And the captain of the police, who chanced to have the very name, being called Herod, was eager to bring him into the stadium, that he himself might fulfil his appointed lot, being made a partaker with Christ, while they—his betrayers—underwent the punishment of Judas himself.

7. So taking the lad with them, the gendarmes and horsemen went forth with their accustomed arms, hastening *as against a robber*. And coming up in a body late in the evening, they found the man himself in bed in an upper chamber in a certain cottage; and though he might have departed thence to another place, he would not, saying *The will of God be done*. So when he heard that they were come, he went down and conversed with them, the bystanders marvelling at his age and his constancy, and wondering how there should be so much

eagerness for the apprehension of an old man like him. Thereupon forthwith he gave orders that a table should be spread for them to eat and drink at that hour, as much as they desired. And he persuaded them to grant him an hour that he might pray unmolested; and on their consenting, he stood up and prayed, being so full of the grace of God, that for two hours he could not hold his peace, and those that heard were amazed, and many repented that they had come against such a venerable old man.

8. But when at length he brought his prayer to an end, after remembering all who at any time had come in his way, small and great, high and low, and all the universal Church throughout the world, the hour of departure being come, they seated him on an ass and brought him into the city, it being a high sabbath. And he was met by Herod the captain of police and his father Nicetes, who also removed him to their carriage and tried to prevail upon him, seating themselves by his side and saying, 'Why what harm is there in saying, Cæsar is Lord, and offering incense', with more to this effect, 'and saving thyself?' But he at first gave them no answer. When however they persisted, he said, 'I am not going to do what ye counsel me.' Then they, failing to persuade him, uttered threatening words and made him dismount with speed, so that he bruised his shin, as he got down from the carriage. And without even turning round, he went on his way promptly and with speed, as if nothing had happened to him, being taken to the stadium; there being such a tumult in the stadium that no man's voice could be so much as heard.

9. But as Polycarp entered into the stadium, a voice came to him from heaven; 'Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man.' And no one saw the speaker, but those of our people who were present heard the voice. And at length, when he was brought up, there was a great tumult, for they heard that Polycarp had been apprehended. When then he was brought before him, the proconsul enquired whether he were the man. And on his confessing that he was, he tried to persuade him to a denial,



saying 'Have respect to thine age,' and other things in accordance therewith, as it is their wont to say; 'Swear by the genius of Cæsar; repent and say, Away with the atheists.' Then Polycarp with solemn countenance looked upon the whole multitude of lawless heathen that were in the stadium, and waved his hand to them; and groaning and looking up to heaven he said, 'Away with the atheists.' But when the magistrate pressed him hard and said, 'Swear the oath, and I will release thee; revile the Christ,' Polycarp said 'Fourscore and six years have I been His servant, and He hath done me no wrong. How then can I blaspheme my King who saved me?'

10. But on his persisting again and saying, 'Swear by the genius of Cæsar,' he answered, 'If thou supposest vainly that I will swear by the genius of Cæsar, as thou sayest, and feignest that thou art ignorant who I am, hear thou plainly, I am a Christian. But if thou wouldest learn the doctrine of Christianity, assign a day and give me a hearing.' The proconsul said; 'Prevail upon the people.' But Polycarp said, 'As for thyself, I should have held thee worthy of discourse; for we have been taught to render, as is meet, to princes and authorities appointed by God such honour as does us no harm; but as for these, I do not hold them worthy, that I should defend myself before them.'

11. Whereupon the proconsul said; 'I have wild beasts here and I will throw thee to them, except thou repent.' But he said, 'Call for them: for the repentance from better to worse is a change not permitted to us; but it is a noble thing to change from untowardness to righteousness.' Then he said to him again, 'I will cause thee to be consumed by fire, if thou despisest the wild beasts, unless thou repent.' But Polycarp said; 'Thou threatenest that fire which burneth for a season and after a little while is quenched: for thou art ignorant of the fire of the future judgment and eternal punishment, which is reserved for the ungodly. But why delayest thou? Come, do what thou wilt.'

12. Saying these things and more besides, he was inspired with courage and joy, and his countenance was filled with grace, so that not only did it not drop in dismay at the things which were said to him, but on the contrary the proconsul was astounded and sent his own herald to proclaim three times in the midst of the stadium, 'Polycarp hath confessed himself to be a Christian.' When this was proclaimed by the herald, the whole multitude both of Gentiles and of Jews who dwelt in Smyrna cried out with ungovernable wrath and with a loud shout, 'This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the puller down of our gods, who teacheth numbers not to sacrifice nor worship.' Saying these things, they shouted aloud and asked the Asiarch Philip to let a lion loose upon Polycarp. But he said that it was not lawful for him, since he had brought the sports to a close. Then they thought fit to shout out with one accord that Polycarp should be burned alive. For it must needs be that the matter of the vision should be fulfilled, which was shown him concerning his pillow, when he saw it on fire while praying, and turning round he said prophetically to the faithful who were with him, 'I must needs be burned alive.'

13. These things then happened with so great speed, quicker than words could tell, the crowds forthwith collecting from the workshops and baths timber and faggots, and the Jews more especially assisting in this with zeal, as is their wont. But when the pile was made ready, divesting himself of all his upper garments and loosing his girdle, he endeavoured also to take off his shoes, though not in the habit of doing this before, because all the faithful at all times vied eagerly who should soonest touch his flesh. For he had been treated with all honour for his holy life even before his gray hairs came. Forthwith then the instruments that were prepared for the pile were placed about him; and as they were going likewise to nail him to the stake, he said; 'Leave me as I am; for He that hath granted me to endure the fire will grant me also to remain at the pile unmoved, even without the security which ye seek from the nails.'



14. So they did not nail him, but tied him. Then he, placing his hands behind him and being bound to the stake, like a noble ram out of a great flock for an offering, a burnt sacrifice made ready and acceptable to God, looking up to heaven said ; 'O Lord God Almighty, the Father of Thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have received the knowledge of Thee, the God of angels and powers and of all creation and of the whole race of the righteous, who live in Thy presence ; I bless thee for that Thou hast granted me this day and hour, that I might receive a portion amongst the number of martyrs in the cup of [Thy] Christ unto resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and of body, in the incorruptibility of the Holy Spirit. May I be received among these in Thy presence this day, as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as Thou didst prepare and reveal it beforehand, and hast accomplished it, Thou that art the faithful and true God. For this cause, yea and for all things, I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, through the eternal and heavenly High-priest, Thy beloved Son, through whom with Him and the Holy Spirit be glory both now [and ever] and for the ages to come. Amen.'

15. When he had offered up the Amen and finished his prayer, the firemen lighted the fire. And, a mighty flame flashing forth, we to whom it was given to see, saw a marvel, yea and we were preserved that we might relate what happened to the rest. The fire, making the appearance of a vault, like the sail of a vessel filled by the wind, made a wall round about the body of the martyr; and it was there in the midst, not like flesh burning, but like [a loaf in the oven or like] gold and silver refined in a furnace. For we perceived such a fragrant smell, as if it were the wafted odour of frankincense or some other precious spice.

16. So at length the lawless men, seeing that his body could not be consumed by the fire, ordered an executioner to go up to him and stab him with a dagger. And when he had done this, there came forth [a dove and] a quantity of blood, so that it extinguished the fire; and all the multitude marvelled that



there should be so great a difference between the unbelievers and the elect. In the number of these was this man, the glorious martyr Polycarp, who was found an apostolic and prophetic teacher in our own time, a bishop of the holy Church which is in Smyrna. For every word which he uttered from his mouth was accomplished and will be accomplished.

17. But the jealous and envious Evil One, the adversary of the family of the righteous, having seen the greatness of his martyrdom and his blameless life from the beginning, and how he was crowned with the crown of immortality and had won a reward which none could gainsay, managed that not even his poor body should be taken away by us, although many desired to do this and to touch his holy flesh. So he put forward Nicetes the father of Herod and brother of Alce to plead with the magistrates not to give up his body, 'lest', so it was said, 'they should abandon the crucified one and begin to worship this man'—this being done at the instigation and urgent entreaty of the Jews, who also watched when we were about to take it from the fire, not knowing that it will be impossible for us either to forsake at any time the Christ who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of those that are saved—suffered though faultless for sinners—nor to worship any other. For Him, being the Son of God, we adore, but the martyrs as disciples and imitators of the Lord we cherish as they deserve for their matchless affection towards their own King and teacher. May it be our lot also to be found partakers and fellow-disciples with them.

18. The centurion therefore, seeing the opposition raised on the part of the Jews, set him in the midst and burnt him after their custom. And so we afterwards took up his bones which are more valuable than precious stones and finer than refined gold and laid them in a suitable place; where the Lord will permit us to gather ourselves together, as we are able, in gladness and joy, and to celebrate the birth-day of his martyrdom for the commemoration of those that have already fought in the contest

and for the training and preparation of those that shall do so hereafter.

19. So it befel the blessed Polycarp, who having with those from Philadelphia suffered martyrdom in Smyrna—twelve in all—is especially remembered more than the others by all men, so that he is talked of even by the heathen in every place: for he showed himself not only a notable teacher, but also a distinguished martyr, whose martyrdom all desire to imitate, seeing that it was after the pattern of the Gospel. Having by his endurance overcome the unrighteous ruler in the conflict and so received the crown of immortality, he rejoiceth in company with the Apostles and all righteous men, and glorifieth the Almighty God and Father, and blesseth our Lord Jesus Christ, the saviour of our souls and helmsman of our bodies and shepherd of the universal Church which is throughout the world.

20. Ye indeed required that the things which happened should be shown unto you at greater length: but we for the present have certified you as it were in a summary through our brother Marcianus. When then ye have informed yourselves of these things, send the letter about likewise to the brethren which are farther off, that they also may glorify the Lord, who maketh election from His own servants. Now unto Him that is able to bring us all by His grace and bounty unto His eternal kingdom, through His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, be glory, honour, power, and greatness for ever. Salute all the saints. They that are with us salute you, and Euarestus, who wrote the letter, with his whole house.

21. Now the blessed Polycarp was martyred on the second day of the first part of the month Xanthicus, on the seventh before the kalends of March, on a great sabbath, at the eighth hour. He was apprehended by Herodes, when Philip of Tralles was high-priest, in the proconsulship of Statius Quadratus, but in the reign of the Eternal King Jesus Christ. To whom be the glory, honour, greatness, and eternal throne, from generation to generation. Amen.

22. (1) We bid you God speed, brethren, while ye walk by the word of Jesus Christ according to the Gospel; with whom be glory to God for the salvation of His holy elect; even as the blessed Polycarp suffered martyrdom, in whose footsteps may it be our lot to be found in the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

(2) This account Gaius copied from the papers of Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp. The same also lived with Irenæus.

(3) And I Socrates wrote it down in Corinth from the copy of Gaius. Grace be with all men.

(4) And I Pionius again wrote it down from the aforementioned copy, having searched it out (for the blessed Polycarp showed me in a revelation, as I will declare in the sequel), gathering it together when it was now well nigh worn out by age, that the Lord Jesus Christ may gather me also with His elect into His heavenly kingdom; to whom be the glory with the Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

*The three preceding paragraphs as read in the Moscow MS.*

(2) This account Gaius copied from the papers of Irenæus. The same lived with Irenæus who had been a disciple of the holy Polycarp. For this Irenæus, being in Rome at the time of the martyrdom of the bishop Polycarp, instructed many; and many most excellent and orthodox treatises by him are in circulation. In these he makes mention of Polycarp, saying that he was taught by him. And he ably refuted every heresy, and handed down the catholic rule of the Church just as he had received it from the saint. He mentions this fact also, that when Marcion, after whom the Marcionites are called, met the holy Polycarp on one occasion, and said 'Recognize us, Polycarp,' he said in reply to Marcion, 'Yes indeed, I recognize the first-born of Satan.' The following statement also is made in the writings of Irenæus; that on the very day and hour when Polycarp was martyred in Smyrna, Irenæus being in the city of



the Romans heard a voice as of a trumpet saying, 'Polycarp is martyred.'

(3) From these papers of Irenæus then, as has been stated already, Gaius made a copy, and from the copy of Gaius Isocrates made another in Corinth.

(4) And I Pionius again wrote it down from the copy of Isocrates, having searched for it in obedience to a revelation of the holy Polycarp, gathering it together, when it was well nigh worn out by age, that the Lord Jesus Christ may gather me also with His elect into His heavenly kingdom; to whom be the glory with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

## LIFE OF POLYCARP.

1. **T**RACING my steps farther back and beginning with the visit of the blessed Paul to Smyrna, as I have found it in ancient copies, I will give the narration in order, thus coming down to the history of the blessed Polycarp.

2. In the days of unleavened bread Paul, coming down from Galatia, arrived in Asia, considering the repose among the faithful in Smyrna to be a great refreshment in Christ Jesus after his severe toil, and intending afterwards to depart to Jerusalem. So in Smyrna he went to visit Strataëas, who had been his hearer in Pamphylia, being a son of Eunice the daughter of Lois. These are they of whom he makes mention when writing to Timothy, saying ; *Of the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois and in thy mother Eunice*; whence we find that Strataëas was a brother of Timothy. Paul then, entering his house and gathering together the faithful there, speaks to them concerning the Passover and the Pentecost, reminding them of the New Covenant of the offering of bread and the cup ; how that they ought most assuredly to celebrate it during the days of unleavened bread, but to hold fast the new mystery of the Passion and Resurrection. For here the Apostle plainly teaches that we ought neither to keep it outside the season of unleavened bread, as the heretics do, especially the Phrygians, nor yet on the other hand of necessity on the fourteenth day : for he said nothing about the fourteenth day, but named the days of unleavened bread, the Passover, and the Pentecost, thus ratifying the Gospel.

3. But after the departure of the Apostle, Strataëas succeeded to his teaching, and certain of those after him, whose names, so far as it is

possible to discover who and what manner of men they were, I will set down. But for the present let us proceed at once to Polycarp.

One whose name was Bucolus being bishop in Smyrna at that time, there was in those days a certain lady, devout and fearing God, conversant in good works, whose name was Callisto. An angel sent from the Lord stood by her and said to her in a vision of the night; 'Callisto, rise up and go to the gate called the Ephesian, and when thou hast gone forward a little in front of it, two men shall meet thee, having with them a little lad named Polycarp. Ask them, if he is for sale; and when they say 'Yes,' give them the price that they shall demand, and take and keep him with thee. This child is a native of the East.' Then she, the voice still ringing in her ears and her heart bounding with fear and joy, sat up and arose with haste, and without delay did as she was ordered. And with hurry and flurry she came to the aforesaid gate, and found as the angel told her, and she took him and brought him to her house and delighted in rearing him decently and nurturing him in the nurture of the Lord. And she was amazed, when she saw his intelligence and seemly behaviour and his aptitude for piety. And in point of affection she treated him as a son, while as regards promotion over the servants, gradually as he advanced in age he was made manager of her property.

4. But when at length it befel that she went away from home for a time, she left Polycarp keeper of her house. And as he went in to measure out rations of food for the servants, he would be followed by widows and orphans and by many of the neighbourhood—all the destitute poor among the faithful—and they would ask to have given them, one corn, and others wine, others oil, and whatsoever each desired. But he, having from a child learnt the lesson of well-doing and having the commandments of God inscribed on the tablet of his soul and on the pages of his heart by the finger of God, even the Holy Spirit, fulfilled the precept, *Give to him that asketh thee*; and so he emptied all the store-rooms, bestowing lavishly on all that were in need.

5. But when at length Callisto returned after a long time, one of the domestics ran to her and said; 'You, my lady, setting at nought all your servants born in the house, placed everything in the hands of this young lad though he came from the East; and he during your absence from home plundered everything that there was and left nothing.' Then she, being disturbed by the harsh words of the accuser (for the charge was enough to ruffle even a tranquil soul, especially when it conjures up a semblance of pecuniary loss) swelled with indignation in her heart and overflowed with wrath, especially because she held it a very great



disaster that one befriended by God and given to her by Him should have squandered everything recklessly ; for she did not yet know for what purpose he had employed these goods. Wherefore also very divided thoughts sprang up in her mind. So forthwith she called Polycarp by name, saying, 'Polycarp'; and on his obeying her summons she said, 'Bring me the keys of the closets.' And when he brought them and opened the doors, she went in and began to look round ; and a miracle of the mighty working of the Lord Jesus Christ was wrought. For he, when he went in, groaned and prayed saying ; 'O Lord God, the Father of Thy beloved Son, that in the presence of Thy prophet Elijah didst fill the vessels of the widow of Zarephath, give ear unto me, that in the name of Christ they all may be found filled.' Accordingly they were all found filled, so that she, thinking the slave had lied, was angry and ordered certain of the domestics [to beat him]. But Polycarp came forward and set himself straight, saying ; 'Nay do not ill-treat another for my sake ; but rather lay on me the blows intended for him ; for he told no lie, but deserveth praise for his affection towards his mistress. But as for me, seeing that I did not spend with an evil intent but on the poor, the God and Father of the blessed Jesus Christ hath both filled the hungry and hath sent His angel to restore to thee thine own, that thou also mayest have to give still to the poor according to the custom which thou followest.' Having heard and seen these things, Callisto was filled with fear, advancing still more in faith and in good works, so that Polycarp became as a son to her ; and departing this life in faith she left him her substance.

6. Now after the death of Callisto Polycarp advanced greatly in the faith that is in Christ and that pursues a virtuous life. And in his untiring diligence, he from his Eastern stock bore (if one may so say) blossom as a token of good fruit hereafter to come. For the men who dwell in the East are distinguished before all others for their love of learning and their attachment to the divine Scriptures. So having been brought to Asia and having come by the will of God to live in Smyrna, after making himself fully acquainted with the ways of the people of the country and distinguishing himself far beyond them, he discerned that for every servant of God, while the whole world is [his city], the heavenly Jerusalem is his true father-land ; and that here on earth we are bidden to sojourn for a while and not to settle ; for we are *strangers and visitors*. Thus reflecting on this with a godly delight he offered himself day and night wholly and entirely as a consecrated sacrifice to God, exercising himself in the oracles contained in the divine Scriptures and in continual services of prayer and in devotion to all those who

needed either attention or relief and in contentment of living. For he ate such food as came to hand, meagre and simple though it was, and he wore such clothing only as absolute necessity required, for the sake of warmth and of the modest and seemly covering of the body.

7. And for the most part he withdrew into retirement, not appearing in public or conspicuous places, nor where he might reap praise from the spectators. But he spent his time chiefly at home, though sometimes in the suburbs, where he could most easily disregard and escape the turmoil of a great crowd; for he knew that the soul needs tranquillity of sight and hearing free from contamination with evil things. And in consequence of this he was staid alike in his mental thoughts and in his bodily gestures; for even in youth he had the gait of an elderly man, and his look was manly and unembarrassed by any passion directed towards objects of sight in outward life. But if any of those who met him looked into his face, he would be suffused with a blush, and through his innate respect he made himself respected by others. For the souls of the wise are discerned through the body, as through a mirror, by their blushes. And of those also who came to see him and desired his conversation, he was wont to shun and avoid, if he possibly could, the garrulous and foolish talkers, on the plea that he was intent on some important business and had not noticed the person who met him; but if he happened to get entangled with him, he would answer him briefly just not to seem to be haughty, and then would keep silence. Such was his behaviour towards those from whom no benefit could be got. But bad men he avoided as mad dogs or wild beasts or venomous serpents; for he remembered the Scripture which says, *With the innocent thou shalt be innocent, and with the elect thou shalt be elect, and with the perverse thou shalt use perverseness*. With those however from whom he could derive benefit he associated very freely, especially in cases where he could reap benefit not only from their words but also from their actions.

8. And as he returned from the suburbs to the city, if at any time he fell in with wood-carriers, especially when they were old men, he had compassion on them for their heavy burden and would attach himself to them and enquire of them if they sold their load as soon as they entered the city; and on their answering that sometimes evening came and they had not succeeded in doing so, he would give them the price and would carry the wood to the widows living near the gate. Thus he gratified the widows with the benefit of the wood, and the woodmen with the enjoyment of their meal at its proper time.

9. Now when he came to man's estate he was more enamoured



than ever of godliness ; and he discerned that freedom was the proper reward of self-discipline, but that it is attained by few and chiefly by those who have received from God the power of keeping the plumage of their soul unenslaved and unencumbered—men who are privileged to enjoy the free supermundane life through not being dragged down upon the earth by the fetters of marriage. For not one of us can dispense with the necessities of life ; but those persons can least of all dispense with them who harbour in their house an expensive wife that is fond of dress. And he would recount the distractions and annoyances that come from such a wife, rendering it altogether impossible to lead a peaceable and quiet life. For should she be profligate, as Solomon says, *the rage of the husband is full of envy*; but if she is chaste, she is filled with vanity and is elated in her mind ; so that *it is better to live in a desert rather than with a contentious and loquacious woman*. And altogether no charm of life thrust his soul away from heavenly things ; and he was wont to say that the words of Christ and of the prophets and apostles were beautiful to him : *Thou art beautiful in thy loveliness beyond the sons of men ; grace is shed on thy lips* ; and again, *How beautiful are the feet of those who bring glad tidings of good things*. And for the rearing of children and the care for one's offspring and the arrangements at home consequent thereupon, he used to explain how much a man who entangles himself in these matters must necessarily want, and what distractions and occupations he must have, and what anxieties about their rearing, and what burdens fall upon parents when their children sicken and what griefs when they die, and all the other risks which attend the training of their whole life. For at each successive stage of life the young undergo a change of disposition also, the heat natural to their age fermenting and seething and purging the material part more and more, like a colt endeavouring to throw off the reins and yoke, until the controlling and superintending mind, by reason and reflexion, as by a bridle, shall pull him back and rein him in and shall put a stop to the neighing, reducing the disorderly and irrational impulse to order. The mind however only then effects this and prevails, when it is penetrated with a certain divine sense and presence of the Holy Spirit. Wherefore also the inspired David supplicated saying, *Renew a right spirit in my inmost parts ; stablish me with a commanding spirit, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me* ; and the Apostle says *Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh*.

10. Our next business after this is to recount also the career of his episcopate, what was his conduct in it and how he attained to it ; that by these lessons we may also learn to imitate those who are chosen by God



as His ministers. Bucolus then, who was bishop before him, cherished him and set great store by him from his childhood. And being sanguine he entertained great hopes of him, as the fathers of good sons rejoice in having steady successors. And he in turn requited Bucolus, cherishing him as he would a parent, yet not with feigned language but inobtrusively and without forcing himself always upon him; and acting with reserve he observed the opportunities which occurred from time to time, so as not to appear to be officious nor yet neglectful. For he was not eager to give him a present or gift when he could supply his own wants, nor was Bucolus on his part eager to receive one; for the latter regarded the young man's alacrity in relieving those in want as his own personal gain, while the former duly fulfilled the command of the Lord Jesus by giving to those who were not able to pay him back; whereas some persons artfully pursue honour and are ever coveting some other greater honour. While then Polycarp, like Jacob, being a simple and *plain man*, acted in all things without vanity or ostentation, by the labours of his own hands supplying the poor with bodily ministrations as regards food and other necessities of life, he gained renown by his actual deeds; and Bucolus was informed of this not by the doer, but by the recipients. For as good men regard the conferring of benefits as imperative, so likewise with reasonable men thankfulness on receiving benefits is indispensable. Moreover he rejoiced to see that many persons who were sick and afflicted with devils were restored to sound health through the grace given to him from God, and so the Lord Jesus Christ was glorified. And he beheld many things also concerning him in visions.

11. He perceived therefore that he was worthy; and for the present, owing to his youthfulness, he enrolled him in the order of deacons with the approval of the whole Church. Blessed indeed was he in being permitted to cover such a head with his hand and to bless so noble a soul with his voice. For the approved and discreet advancement of those who are appointed to an office in the sacred ministry through faith in God is a source of confidence and joy to those who have made the good selection, provoking no blame before men and causing no secret reproaches to the conscience.

12. As a deacon then he approved himself among his own contemporaries, as Stephen did among those of the Apostles; for being well-equipped in speech and adorned with good deeds, he boldly confuted Greeks and Jews and the heretics. And many a time did Bucolus, by exhortation and encouragement, with difficulty persuade him to allow himself to be disciplined by the Lord and to give catechetical discourses in church. Thus there was given him

by Christ in the first place an ecclesiastical and catholic rule of correct instruction; and being able to interpret mysteries which were hidden from the multitude he expounded them so clearly that the hearers attested that they not only heard but saw the things described. He wrote also many treatises and sermons and letters, but in the persecution which arose on his account, when he was martyred, certain lawless heathen carried them off. Their character however is evident from those still extant, among which the Epistle to the Philippians was the most adequate. This we will include in its proper place.

13. But in his teaching his chief point was that his hearers should know concerning God Almighty, invisible, immutable, immeasurable, and that He was well pleased to send down from heaven His own Word and Son, that the Word, thus taking Man upon Himself and being truly incarnate, might save His own creation; and that He, according to the prophecy which had been uttered, being born of an undefiled and spotless virgin and of the Holy Ghost, accomplished that mystery of generation which is difficult of comprehension to most men. And He consented to suffer for the salvation of men, according as Christ Himself declared beforehand by the law and the prophets concerning Himself, as also the Father respecting the Son; whom also God raised from the dead, and His disciples saw Him in the body such as He had been before His passion; and they beheld Him taken up in a cloud of light into the heavens in the same body in which He created Adam before his transgression. But as concerning the Holy Spirit and the gift of the Paraclete and all the other spiritual graces, he would demonstrate that they could not be possessed outside the Catholic Church, just as a limb cut off from a body has no power, proving this from all the Scriptures; such as the saying by the mouth of Daniel, *And His kingdom shall not be left to another people*, and in the Gospel, *Mary hath chosen the good part, and it shall not be taken away from her*, and other passages similar to these.

14. But in the matter of continence and virginity he was careful to make hortatory discourses, and he would urge that men ought not of compulsion or by commandment of others, even though they might be parents or masters, but by individual choice and desire, to carry it through as a voluntary effort. And he used to say that chastity was the forerunner of the future incorruptible kingdom, and that it derived its name of continence (ἐννουχίαν), because it had much affection (ἐὔνοιαν ἔχειν) towards the Master, and of virginity (παρθενίαν), because the idea of such self-restraint is with God (παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ); for those who discipline themselves to such a life deaden the carnal fire. And he would



demonstrate monogamy from the fact of the creation, pointing out that one woman was created for one man; wherefore also the virgin that is brought to her husband bears her name appropriately: the commencement of the name, he said, signified that she was from God (*παρὰ Θεοῦ*), and the termination describes her as belonging to one (*ένός*), that is one husband. And he observed that Lamech, being descended from Cain, was the first to *take to himself two wives*; and by *taking to himself* is meant doing it not according to the will of God. He said then that, though polygamy was called by the name of marriage, yet it was a specious fornication.

15. And on certain Greeks remarking to him that it was difficult and irksome among the Christians to be able to master the desires, he replied; ‘It is foolish to suppose that whatsoever things seem impossible to men are impossible to God; but understand that the Lord bringeth about all things, and the Master of the universe subjecteth them to his mighty chariot-reins.’ For after setting forth three kinds of chastity, he banished and exterminated fornication from the faithful, and established the rule and sovereignty of chastity; for while the rest of mankind have unbalanced and vague and irregular impulses, and *like horses rage and neigh after their neighbours’ wives*, only those who expect to be judged by the heavenly law and the word of God, which is the avenger and champion of all, are satisfied with a single marriage that exists for the procreation of children. Women in like manner are taught to look only to the husband of their virginity.

16. The second kind of chastity is that of widowhood, transcending the one already mentioned. For the latter seemed to be difficult at first until it was surpassed by that which is able to desist from concessions previously allowed. But the third kind which practises a chastity victorious in every feat—what superiority has it not over the others. What desirable and laudable honour does not belong to the kind of continence and virginity, which shakes off and (so to speak) casts away all the shackles of the lower life, and with light bound and agile step outruns and overleaps the feats already described. For it evinces greater determination in the person who adopts it, than the being content with one alone or the desisting after experience, and it proclaims superior power in God who bestowed it. For that it is voluntary on the part of the man who so chooses, and that it is a gift of God whose is the power, our Saviour showed when He said that men *made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven’s sake*, and that *all men could not receive this word*.

17. But as from that time forward he advanced daily in years also,



and the flower of a hoary head, the forerunner of old age, appeared, and here and there a white hair began to smile above his temples—for human nature asserts itself not fortuitously, but by a divine providence, and puts forward each development at the proper season as a reminder to the race, and with much grace of wisdom calls the man to perfection by deeds and words; as for instance when it says, *How long, thou sluggard, dost thou lie down; and when wilt thou arise out of sleep;* or again, *Prepare thy works for thy departure;* so also by these means methinks it reminds every one of us of the end before it arrives, that the whiter a man's head becomes by time, the brighter his soul may grow by the Word. Bucolus therefore, seeing that Polycarp's age was adequate and that the propriety of his conduct throughout all his life was even more adequate than the number of his years, perceived that he was most excellent as a fellow-counsellor to him in questions relating to the Church and as a fellow-minister in teaching; while the Lord set His seal on and ratified his design, giving him commandment in a vision. Accordingly he appointed him to an office in the presbyterate, the whole Church with one accord welcoming him with great joy, although he himself shrunk from such an undertaking. For he said that it was enough in itself to give account of one office and one ministration, let alone of several. And he went on to say; 'If a man being unworthy dareth to lay hold of such an honorable office, he bringeth judgment on himself; but if he be worthy, he has the full reward of his former works, receiving the order of the priesthood as in a manner a reward. Seeing then that it was impossible to gainsay the counsel and appeal of God, he receives the order of the presbyterate, whereupon he saw a vision and received much comfort.

18. From that time forward therefore, much progress being made in the word of teaching through him, all men glorified our Lord Jesus Christ. For he would extend his discourse to great length on diverse subjects; and from the actual Scripture which was read he would furnish edification with all demonstration and conviction, so that the things spoken were presented to the hearers as if exhibited to the eye. For he was wont to say that the speaker must first believe what he says; seeing that in this way he sets them forth, not as the relation of others, but as achievements of his own. And his voice was grave and manly, with look and gesture corresponding thereto, having sweetness and melody and being pervaded with the fear of God. And on one occasion a person said to him..... for when holding discourse with Jews and Gentiles and with the sects, he would speak loudly, so that some of those standing below could hear him: and for the purpose of

showing what things ought to be said with kindliness and not with heat, he would proceed thus ; ‘ How think ye that the Lord spoke such words as these to him that had his hand withered ? as the Scripture saith *And looking round upon them He said in anger, Stretch out thine hand*; or that saying ? *O faithless and perverse generation*, and other words such as these ; or the Apostle Peter ? *Why did ye conspire among yourselves to tempt the Spirit of the Lord* ? Or Paul ? *I would that they would cut themselves off that disturb you*. On the other hand when administering comfort, the Lord spoke in gentle language and loving tones ; *Come, all ye that labour and are heavy-laden*. And again with sympathy towards the city of Jerusalem saying, *How often would I have gathered thy children*, and other words of a like kind. Again Peter with John at the Beautiful Gate addressed the paralytic with pity, and Paul writing to the Galatians says, *My children with whom I am in travail again*, when the moment for comforting demands it.

19. So also he pursued the reading of the Scriptures from childhood to old age, himself reading in church ; and he recommended it to others, saying that the reading of the law and the prophets was the forerunner of grace, preparing and making straight the ways of the Lord, that is the hearts, which are like tablets whereon certain harsh beliefs and conceptions that were written before perfect knowledge came, are through the inculcation of the Old Testament, and the correct interpretation following thereupon, first smoothed and levelled, that, when the Holy Spirit comes as a pen, the grace and joy of the voice of the Gospel and of the doctrine of the immortal and heavenly Christ may be inscribed on them. And he said that they could not otherwise receive the impression of the seal which is given by baptism and engrave and exhibit the form conveyed in it, unless the wax were first softened and filled the deep parts. So also he thought that the hearts of the hearers ought to be softened and yield to the impress of the Word. For he said that it unfolded and opened, like closed doors, the minds of recent comers ; and accordingly the prophet was bidden by God, *Cry out mightily and spare not, Raise thy voice as a trumpet*. What must one say, when even He that was gentler than all men so appeals and cries out at the feast of Tabernacles ? For it is written ; *And on the last day, the great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried saying, If any man thirsteth, let him come to me and drink*. Yes, for when he is teaching he will cry out, but if he is spitted upon and brought to trial and is tempted and suffers, he will be silent, when *He is led as a sheep to the slaughter and as a lamb before the shearer is dumb*. For I, it is said, *like a deaf man heard not, and I became as a man that heareth not and hath no reproofs in his mouth*.



20. The wealth of the grace given by Christ to Polycarp has led us on, while recording his course of life, to explain in turn the character of his teaching likewise. How he used to interpret the Scriptures, we will defer relating till another time, setting it forth in order and showing our successors also how to minister correct instruction in the holy and inspired Scriptures. But for the present we will proceed to speak of the episcopate conferred upon him, and what great things he did when he found himself in this position, running the race of godliness successfully. Bucolus then, forasmuch as the Lord had often signified to him beforehand in visions that he had a man of this kind for his successor, in joy and gladness at leaving as it were a prudent heir, when he went to his rest fell asleep in this manner. At the season of his departure he took hold of Polycarp's hand, and pressed it first upon his own breast, then on his face, signifying that whatsoever graces are ministered through these organs of sense (the heart that understands and the eyes that see and the ears that hear and the nostril that inhales the odour of Christ and the mouth that by speech preaches God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ) will all be committed to him. He then having done this and said, 'Glory be to thee, O Lord,' fell asleep. But Polycarp for the present took no account of any of these things, for his hope and longing was always set on things future. But the believers who were present and standing round, when they saw this, compared notes one with another privately, being hopeful of getting such a man for their pastor. So having taken the body of the blessed Bucolus to Smyrna to the cemetery in front of the Ephesian Royal gate, and placed it where recently a myrtle tree sprung up after the burial of the body of Thraseas the martyr, when all was over, they offered bread for Bucolus and the rest. Now they were all of one mind that Polycarp should offer it; but as he was always scrupulous and desired to yield honour to his superiors, they prevented its happening otherwise. And so he was persuaded and performed the service.

21. And without any delay, not many days after, gathering together bishops from the cities round about and making preparations for the reception of the visitors, they took measures for the appointment of a successor to preside over the Church. When they arrived, great crowds gathered from the cities and villages and fields, some knowing Polycarp, others desiring from what they had heard of him to behold him. So when they were assembled together and the church was filled, the glory of a heavenly light shone among them all, and certain brethren saw marvellous visions. One saw hovering over Polycarp a white dove encircled in light. Another beheld him, before he had sat



down, as if already seated in his chair of office. A third saw him in the guise of a soldier girdled with a crimson belt. To another again he appeared arrayed in purple, and a sort of light shining about his face; while another, a faithful and reverend virgin, saw him twice his proper size, and a scarlet robe on his right shoulder, and his neck glistening like snow, and a seal upon it.

22. And on the sabbath, when prayer had been made long time on bended knee, he, as was his custom, got up to read; and every eye was fixed upon him. Now the lesson was the Epistles of Paul to Timothy and to Titus, in which he says what manner of man a bishop ought to be. And he was so well fitted for the office that the hearers said one to another that he lacked none of those qualities which Paul requires in one who has the care of a church. When then, after the reading and the instruction of the bishops and the discourses of the presbyters, the deacons were sent to the laity to enquire whom they would have, they said with one accord, 'Let Polycarp be our pastor and teacher.' The whole priesthood then having assented, they appointed him notwithstanding his earnest entreaties and his desire to decline.

23. Accordingly the deacons led him up for ordination by the hands of the bishops according to custom. And being placed in his chair by them, he moistened and anointed first with tears of piety and humility the place where in the spirit he saw standing the feet of Christ who was present with him for the anointing to the priestly office. For where the ministers are—the priests and Levites—there in the midst is also the High-priest arrayed in the great flowing robe. Then the company present urged him, since this was the custom, to address them. For they said that this work of teaching was the most important part of the communion. So opening his mouth he spoke out, his voice betraying the fear in his heart, and said;

'Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord, the High-priest and shepherd and teacher and king eternal, even Christ to whom be the glory for ever and ever—the God who proveth us in all things and *searcheth our hearts* by all means, as He did those of our fathers and of His holy prophets to whom He gave commandments and ordinances that they should make known to the rest the faith that was in them; as even now He hath proved my meanness through the greatness of this office which exceeds my powers; for I well know that no man could fulfil it well, except he hath first received it from the Lord from heaven, as the blessed Apostle Paul hath shown in his epistles, showing in a single word the whole life of one who is appointed to office, when he speaks of it as *blameless*. This I think cannot have escaped the ears

of any one, but must have been impressed upon his inmost soul wholly and completely. Wherefore it is necessary for you, my beloved, to make supplication on my behalf to the Lord, that He will himself grant me to minister acceptably to His spotless bride, the Church. The same also is the duty of all my fellow-servants and ministers, to whom it is needful to make exhortation in the presence of God and of you, that they labour with me and assist with all readiness and with *love unfeigned* in the struggle that lies before me, knowing that all must run together so that we all may receive the prize, forasmuch as the crown of immortality is offered to all alike, the Omnipotent God and our Lord Jesus Christ crowning without respect of persons him that has fought well and conquered by grace; through whom to the Invisible and Immeasurable, the one only Immortal Father in the Holy Spirit the Paraclete, glory, honour, and power both was and is and shall be for ever. Amen.'

After this the others also having made the proper exhortations and appeals on the Sabbath and on the Lord's Day, and offerings and eucharists, rejoicing and partaking of food, returned each to his own home rejoicing greatly at having communicated with Polycarp, and glorifying Christ Jesus the Lord for it, to whom is the glory for ever. Amen.

24. And on the following sabbath he said; 'Hear ye my exhortation, beloved children of God. I adjured you when the bishops were present, and now again I exhort you all to walk decorously and worthily in the way of the Lord, knowing that, when I was in the ministry of the presbyters, I applied so great diligence according to my power, and shall do this the more now when the greatest peril awaits me if I am negligent. For after the fear of the judgment, it were shameful to abate and relax anything having regard to men, and not rather to build up higher the zeal which has reached thus far. It pertaineth to you therefore to hold back from all unruliness, both men and women; and let no one imagine that I exact punishment from offenders not from conscientiousness but from human pride. For it has happened that some of those who were put into offices, when they ought all the more, as one might say, to strain every nerve in the race, just then relax their efforts, forgetting that, the greater honour a man appeareth to receive, the greater the loyalty which he ought to pay towards the Master, and to *remember the words of the Lord* how He himself said, *On whom I conferred the more, from him let them demand the more abundantly in return*; and the parable of those who had the talents committed to them, and the blessing pronounced upon the servant that watches, and



the reproof of those who refused to come to the marriage feast, and the condemnation of him whose garment was not befitting the marriage festivity, and the entering in of the wise virgins, the saying *Watch ye*, and again *Be ye ready, Let not your hearts be weighed down*, the new commandment concerning love one towards another, His advent suddenly manifest as of rapid lightning, the great judgment by fire, the eternal life, His immortal kingdom. And all things whatsoever being taught of God ye know, when ye search the inspired Scriptures, engrave with the pen of the Holy Spirit on your hearts, that the commandments may abide in you indelible.'

25. Thus speaking in this way from time to time, and being persistent in his teaching, he edified and *saved both himself and his hearers*.

But I will now record such of the miracles wrought by his hands as have been handed down to us. Once upon a time Polycarp went to Teos, which is near the warm baths commonly called Lebadia, to visit a certain bishop Daphnus by name, who after supper informed him of the scantiness of his means of subsistence, telling him how meagre a supply of food he had reaped from his husbandry. But he, when Daphnus showed him the barrels nearly empty, laid his hands on them and said; 'In the name of Jesus Christ use them freely.' Whence from that hour such abundance was multiplied that, after sowing the land, and providing without stint for his own household, he was able to give to others also.

26. Now after a lapse of time he came again to visit Daphnus; and Daphnus in thanksgiving for this great favour made an offering in his presence to a number of brethren. Accordingly he set a little cask full of wine in the midst of them. But when he told the servants to bring wine from the house and pour it in, Polycarp said; 'Let it be as it is, for it will not fail.' And as they drew and drank the wine, while yet the wine only abounded the more, a servant girl standing by shouted out not in fear, but in merriment and laughter, saying 'Inexhaustible little cask.' At this the angel who was appointed over the miracle of power retired, and the result was that even the wine that was there vanished, whereupon Polycarp said: 'Ay, well was it said by the mouth of David, *Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice before Him in trembling*.'

27. Now among others whom Polycarp appointed deacons was one named Camerius, who also became bishop the third in succession from him and next after Papirius. This man Polycarp took with him and went into the country, for he was careful to superintend the



churches scattered through the villages also. And as he was returning to the city, a widow from a certain field ran up to him in the road and being in great straits brought him a little bird still young; and on his declining to take it, she prevailed upon him, telling him to treat it as an offering. But when evening came, as he generally travelled on his own legs, being tired he decided to put up at a certain inn with Camerius, since the place in question had not yet received the Gospel of grace. Well, it came to pass after supper that when he retired to rest he fell asleep quickly; for voluntary distresses of the body induce rest in solitary places. And when night was nearly half past, an angel of the Lord stood by him and smote his side and said 'Polycarp.' And he said 'What is it?' The angel replied, 'Rise and go out of the inn: for it is on the point of falling.' So he woke up and called Camerius. But he, being weighed down with sleep and fatigue together, answered him but not without difficulty: and explaining to him, he tried to induce him to rise. But Camerius replied to him 'The first sleep is not yet passed, blessed father, and where are we going? Thou art always studying the Scriptures and wakeful. So thou fallest not asleep.' And Polycarp tried to awake him; but he lay still. And when the angel stood by him a second time and said the same thing, again he told Camerius to get up. And on his saying in reply 'I have trust in God that, while thou art here, the wall will never fall,' Polycarp said, 'I too have trust in God, but I have no trust in the wall.' So he fell asleep the third time, and the same word was spoken by the angel. Then he without delay rose first, and Camerius afterwards leapt up hastily. But when they had gone out and had made a little progress on their way, they remembered that they had left the little bird in the inn. When they were distant about a stone's throw, 'Hesitate not,' said he, 'for the blessed widow designated it for an offering.' And he returned and took it: and when he had gone forward a little distance the inn fell entirely to the ground, foundations and all, so that not one of the inmates was saved. Then Polycarp standing and looking up to heaven said; 'O God our Master and Lord Omnipotent, the Father of Thy blessed and holy Son Jesus Christ, who didst foretell the overthrow of the Ninevites by Thy great prophet Jonah, and didst grant him to escape from the dangers, verily I bless Thee that Thou didst rescue us from this danger by the hand of an angel, through whom Thou didst make known unto me that which was about to happen.'

28. And another miracle also was wrought by his hands as fol-

lows. When all the men in the city had gone to sleep and it was near midnight, and the bakers were making bread, it happened that fire falling on the faggots near at hand set the shop in flames, and spreading thence got hold of a very considerable part of the city. But when the people had run together and there was much shouting and confusion, the mayor ordered the engines which were prepared for this purpose to be brought up. So the hose and water and every contrivance of art was brought. The Jews also came down under pretence of being able to extinguish it, since they always present themselves uninvited at a fire: for they assert that conflagrations cannot possibly be stopped in any other way but by their presence. This is an artifice of theirs to plunder the property in the houses. As the city then was in danger, the mayor said; ‘Sirs, ye who are here with us at the season of this dire spectacle, you see that it is of no use, because the wind is contrary: and when our only hope was in the presence of the Jews, we have failed even in this. What then do I advise? Listen to me. The other day in the mayor’s lodging a strange seizure overtook a servant of mine getting up at night, and he cried out and lost his senses. And when we kindled lights, we found him in a phrenzy devouring everything. Now at break of day the Jews came, wanting to cure him by charms: but he, single handed, struck them and was within an ace of killing them, numerous as they were; and tearing off their clothes, he drove them away naked and covered with blood. Then a certain person in my house, who was a Christian, said; “If you bid me, I will summon one who is able to master him.” I gave permission, and the teacher of the Christians, whom they call Polycarp, came. But while he was still a very long way off the young man cried out loudly, “Polycarp is coming to me, and I shall fly.” And as he approached...’

29. ....as was wont, making no progress for several days, they stopped at length. And when after some trouble those who held the office of councillors were brought together, and the mayor stated that he neither had corn nor could discover whence to buy it, though ready to pay down the money, a certain person, a man advanced in years, rose up from the midst of them and said; ‘Sirs, all of you who were present at that season, when the city was endangered from a conflagration which broke out at midnight, remember distinctly how, when neither we nor the Jews were able to extinguish the fire, a man divinely gifted in the lessons of truth, the priest of those who are called Christians, being invited by you, standing before us all and looking up to heaven said some words or other, and forthwith the flame gathering



into a ball and paying respect, I know not how, to his voice sunk down into itself; and the thought has often crossed my mind that that man is some god or other. Now you know that our poets and historians say that the heavens send down their gods in the likeness of men, both to punish wrong-doers and likewise also to avenge those who suffer wrong.

30. But they, when they heard him, shouted out and demanded that a general assembly should be called. So, without delay, they all went off in a body to the theatre; for being distressed by famine they looked to their immediate necessity, since they were compelled to declare, if only by their shout, that there was one God. When therefore they sent for Polycarp and urged him to come, he was found and brought. Then he was conducted to them; and, while the people shouted aloud, the chief men of the city said to him: 'Polycarp, thou seest that the city of which thou also art an inhabitant is in straits, and thou thyself sharest with us and dost participate, if not in our customs, at all events in the scarcity which now exists owing to the drought. The Smyrnæans therefore urge thee to ask rain of thy God, that the earth receiving water from heaven may return to the husbandmen the seed committed to it.' But his face was covered with blushes, and his whole body dripped like a fountain with profuse sweat, while his heart leaping and throbbing bounded to heaven in prayer. Then slowly, but yet decidedly, he answered saying; 'Sirs, ye who inhabit this most beautiful city, give ear to me a sojourner and a stranger, to whom every city is foreign by reason of my heavenly citizenship and all the world is a city by reason of the gift of God who created all things. For I have not, as ye suppose, so high an opinion of myself that I am able, when a whole nation is justly chastised for its sins, to divest it of its scourges; but how much is possible, I will explain. Gathered together with me are certain venerable old men with whom I myself confer, when I want to ask a thing of God, urging them to be ambassadors on my behalf. With these then I will confer, that they may also be ambassadors on your behalf with Him through prayer; but to you my advice is, that ye be of good courage and order all the people to throw off this distress and to hope for better things. For God, being long-suffering, giveth times for repentance to the race of men.' Then the mayor took courage, as well from the miracles previously wrought by Polycarp himself, as from the words spoken by him, and said; 'Assuredly ye know all of you, citizens and strangers, that while we strive to propitiate the divine being with our own customs and institutions, performing sacred rites and sacrifices and kindlings of altars and burnings of incense, this man and those whom he says he has with



him as fellow priests and fellow ministers, retire apart and offer their prayers to their God more leisurely. Let us then separate—we and they—and let us send this man away, offering him security, that dismissing the fear for his life which has overtaken him from this tumult, he may perform his sacred rites on our behalf with his mind undisturbed and his thoughts calmed.’ And with these words he dismissed the people.

31. Then he without delay ran to the Lord’s house, where it was customary for the Church of Christ to assemble; and he ordered the deacons to charge them all to take care again that one prayer might be offered up by many. But they, having already prepared themselves from day-break, because of his being taken into the theatre, and because it was Friday (for they were apprehensive lest he should suffer some harm from the people), when they heard it gathered quickly together. Then said he to them; ‘Let us remember, brethren, the promises of our Lord Jesus Christ who said, *Ask, and it shall be given to you; for if two of you shall agree concerning any thing whatsoever that ye may ask, it shall be done unto them of My Father which is in heaven.* Let us therefore ask in faith and without wavering in our minds, for the prayer of the suppliant is in a manner weighed as in a balance, and is swayed on whichever side the mind inclines. This indeed is evident from Peter’s walking on the waves: for so long as he had faith he walked, but when he was alarmed at the violence of the wind, he sunk into the deep, as an example to us, that we may understand the inclination on either side. Possessed with such confidence, Moses the servant of God said to the people, when they failed from fear; *Stand, and ye shall see the glory of the Lord.* For of a very truth we need to stand firm upon the rock, that nothing wavering we may continue unmoved and unscared through faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ; who also gave rain to the blessed prophet Elijah in answer to his prayer, when the heaven was shut three years and six months.’

32. And with these words, kneeling down first with them all, he prayed at great length as follows;

‘O God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, O God Omnipotent, that art blessed for ever and ever, Amen; unto whom archangels, glories, and heavenly powers, thrones, dominations, seraphim, and cherubim, do service; Thou God who *madest the heaven and the earth and sea and all things that are therein*, that fashionedst *man after Thine image and likeness*, for whom also Thou wast well pleased to send Thy Word upon earth, that being incarnate of a Virgin and the Holy Ghost,

He might save and raise up through His passion man who had fallen under the dominion of sin; Give ear, O Lord, look upon us, Thou Holy One, listen to the prayers of Thy holy Catholic Church, and give rain upon the face of the earth, and seed for the sower and bread for food. For in the days of necessity the heathen, perceiving that we are Thy servants, seek righteousness from us. And now, Lord, let all our adversaries perceive it.'

When he had offered this prayer, the heaven gave rain, and all glorified God that worketh marvellous things through His servants; to whom be the glory and the power both now and to endless ages with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

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|              | *ciii (civ). 15.     | Hero 1.         | Habakkuk       | *ii. 4.       | Tars. 1.             |
|              | *cix (cx). 1.        | Trall. 9.       | Zechariah      | *ix. 17.      | Hero 1.              |
|              | *cix (cx). 1.        | Tars. 6.        |                | *xii. 10.     | Trall. 10.           |
|              | cxv. 3 (cxvi. 12).   | Rom. 8.         |                | *xii. 10.     | Smyrn. 3.            |
|              | *cxviii (cxix). 1.   | Eph. 9.         | Malachi        | *ii. 10.      | Smyrn. 2.            |
|              | cxviii (cxix). 51.   | Eph. 5.         | Wisdom         | *viii. 18.    | Eph. 11.             |
|              | *cxxxix (cxxx). 3.   | Magn. 10.       | Ecclesiasticus | *xix. 4.      | Hero 6.              |
|              | cli. 1 (Apocryph.).  | Mary to Ign. 4. | Susanna        | 45.           | Mary to Ign. 3.      |
| Proverbs     | *iii. 34.            | Hero 5.         |                | *52.          | Magn. 3.             |
|              | *viii. 17.           | Mary 3.         |                | *56.          | Mary to Ign. 3.      |
|              | *viii. 22.           | Tars. 6.        | S. Matthew     | *i. 1.        | Ant. 4.              |
|              | *viii. 27.           | Tars. 6.        |                | *i. 23.       | Philip. 3.           |
|              | *viii. 30.           | Tars. 6.        |                | *i. 23.       | Eph. 18.             |
|              | *ix. 1.              | Philip. 3.      |                | *iii. 9.      | Magn. 10.            |
|              | *ix. 1.              | Smyrn. 2.       |                | *iii. 15.     | Smyrn. 1.            |
|              | *x. 25.              | Eph. 7.         |                | *iv. 3 sq.    | Philip. 9.           |
|              | *xi. 4.              | Eph. 7.         |                | *iv. 6.       | Philip. 10.          |
|              | *xiv. 29.            | Hero 5.         |                | *iv. 7 sq.    | Philip. 11.          |
|              | *xv. 27.             | Hero 5.         |                | *iv. 10.      | Philip. 12.          |
|              | *xviii. 9.           | Trall. 7.       |                | *iv. 23.      | Philip. 5.           |
|              | *xviii. 17.          | Magn. 12.       |                | *v. 5.        | Eph. 10.             |
|              | *xxii. 29.           | Eph. 6.         |                | *v. 19.       | Eph. 15.             |
|              | *xxiii. 24.          | Philad. 4.      |                | *v. 45 sq.    | Philad. 3.           |
|              | *xxiv. 21.           | Smyrn. 9.       |                | *vii. 15.     | Eph. 5.              |
|              | *xxx. 4.             | Philip. 2.      |                | *vii. 15.     | Philad. 2.           |
| Ecclesiastes | ii. 25.              | Hero 1.         |                | *vii. 15.     | Hero 2.              |
| Canticles    | i. 3 sq.             | Eph. 17.        |                | *vii. 15.     | Eph. 5.              |
|              | ii. 15.              | Philad. 3.      |                | *viii. 25.    | Philad. <i>imbr.</i> |
| Isaiah       | *i. 19.              | Hero 1.         |                | *viii. 17.    | Polyc. 1.            |
|              | *vii. 14.            | Philip. 3.      |                | *ix. 35.      | Philip. 5.           |
|              | *vii. 14.            | Ant. 3.         |                | *x. 41.       | Smyrn. 9.            |
|              | *vii. 14.            | Eph. 18.        |                | *xii. 33.     | Eph. 14.             |
|              | *ix. 6.              | Ant. 3.         |                | *xii. 40.     | Trall. 9.            |
|              | *xxvii. 1.           | Philip. 11.     |                | *xiii. 39.    | Philad. 3.           |
|              | *xxxv. 4.            | Magn. 9.        |                | *xiii. 43.    | Smyrn. 6.            |
|              | *xlvi. 26.           | Magn. 12.       |                | *xv. 13.      | Trall. 11.           |
|              | *xliv. 6.            | Ant. 3.         |                | *xvi. 23.     | Philip. 12.          |
|              | *xlv. 23.            | Magn. 10.       |                | *xvi. 26.     | Rom. 6.              |
|              | *xlix. 22.           | Smyrn. 1.       |                | *xix. 12.     | Smyrn. 6.            |
|              | *lii. 5.             | Trall. 8.       |                | *xxii. 37 sq. | Smyrn. 6.            |
|              | *liii. 7.            | Ant. 3.         |                | *xxii. 40.    | Smyrn. 6.            |
|              | *lvi. 10.            | Ant. 6.         |                | *xxiii. 35.   | Eph. 12.             |
|              | *lvi. 10.            | Eph. 7.         |                | *xxvii. 19.   | Philip. 4.           |
|              | *lvii. 4.            | Magn. 9.        |                | *xxvii. 52.   | Trall. 9.            |
|              | *lxii. 2.            | Magn. 10.       |                | *xxviii. 19.  | Philip. 2.           |
|              | *lxii. 11.           | Smyrn. 9.       |                | *xxviii. 19.  | Philad. 9.           |
|              | *lxii. 12.           | Magn. 10.       | S. Mark        | *viii. 36.    | Rom. 6.              |
|              | *lxvi. 2.            | Trall. 7.       |                | *xi. 25.      | Trall. 8.            |
|              | *lxvi. 18.           | Magn. 10.       |                | *xii. 29.     | Ant. 2.              |



S. Mark  
S. Luke

\*xii. 30 sq. Smyrn. 6.  
i. 5. Philad. 1.  
\*i. 33. Magn. 6.  
ii. 40. Philip. 8.  
ii. 52. Philip. 8.  
iii. 8. Magn. 6.  
\*iv. 9 sq. Philip. 10.  
\*iv. 12. Philip. 11.  
\*vi. 46. Magn. 4.  
\*ix. 25. Rom. 6.  
\*x. 16. Eph. 5.  
\*x. 18. Philip. 10.  
\*x. 27. Smyrn. 6.  
\*x. 27. Eph. 14.  
\*xiv. 11. Magn. 12.  
\*xvi. 15. Magn. 12.  
\*xvii. 10. Magn. 12.  
\*xviii. 13. Magn. 12.  
\*xviii. 14. Magn. 12.  
\*xxii. 32 sq. Smyrn. 7.  
\*xxiii. 34. Eph. 10.  
\*xxiv. 39. Smyrn. 3.  
\*i. 1. Tars. 6.  
\*i. 1 sq. Ant. 4.  
\*i. 3. Tars. 6.  
\*i. 9 sq. Tars. 6.  
\*i. 14. Trall. 9.  
\*i. 14. Philip. 3.  
\*i. 14. Philip. 5.  
\*i. 14. Smyrn. 2.  
\*i. 14. Ant. 4.  
\*i. 14. Eph. 7.  
\*i. 18. Philip. 2.  
\*ii. 19. Smyrn. 2.  
\*iii. 6. Eph. 5.  
\*iii. 8. Philad. 7.  
\*v. 25. Tars. 7.  
\*v. 28. Tars. 7.  
\*v. 30. Magn. 7.  
\*v. 46. Magn. 9.  
\*vi. 35. Rom. 7.  
\*vi. 38. Tars. 6.  
vi. 57. Philip. 12.  
\*viii. 29. Eph. 3.  
viii. 44. Philad. 5.  
\*viii. 44. Eph. 9.  
\*viii. 46. Trall. 9.  
viii. 54. Eph. 9.  
\*viii. 56 sq. Magn. 9.  
\*viii. 58. Tars. 6.  
\*x. 11. Rom. 9.  
\*xi. 25 sq. Trall. 10.  
\*xi. 42. Trall. 10.  
\*xii. 32. Smyrn. 2.  
xiii. 34. Smyrn. 6.  
\*xiv. 6. Eph. 9.  
\*xiv. 24. Eph. 9.  
\*xv. 4. Rom. 3.  
\*xv. 19. Rom. 3.  
\*xv. 26. Philad. 4.  
\*xvi. 13 sq. Eph. 9.

S. John

\*xvii. 3. Philip. 2.  
\*xvii. 3. Smyrn. 6.  
\*xvii. 3. Eph. 7.  
\*xvii. 4 sq. Eph. 9.  
\*xvii. 5. Tars. 6.  
\*xvii. 11. Eph. 4.  
\*xvii. 21. Eph. 4.  
\*xix. 37. Trall. 10.  
\*xix. 37. Smyrn. 3.  
\*xx. 17. Tars. 5.  
\*xx. 27 sq. Smyrn. 3.  
i. 1. Eph. 15.  
\*i. 9 sq. Smyrn. 3.  
\*ii. 34. Tars. 6.  
\*iii. 22. Ant. 2.  
\*ix. 15. Eph. 15.  
\*xi. 26. Magn. 10.  
\*xiii. 10. Ant. 5.  
\*xiii. 48. Magn. 10.  
xix. 2. Trall. 6.  
\*xx. 24. Tars. 1.  
\*xxvi. 14. Philad. 8.  
\*xxvi. 23. Tars. 3.  
\*i. 17. Tars. 1.  
\*ii. 4. Eph. 11.  
iv. 17. Philip. 10.  
vi. 3. Philip. 1.  
\*vi. 10. Tars. 3.  
\*viii. 18. Mary 2.  
\*x. 10. Eph. 15.  
\*xiii. 14. Tars. 8.  
\*xv. 19. Tars. 2.  
\*xvi. 16. Tars. 10.  
\*i. 10. Philip. 1.  
\*i. 10. Eph. 2.  
\*i. 11. Trall. 6.  
\*i. 20. Eph. 18.  
i. 28. Philip. 10.  
\*i. 31. Trall. 4.  
\*ii. 8. Trall. 11.  
\*ii. 8. Philip. 5.  
\*ii. 8. Philip. 9.  
iii. 9. Philad. 3.  
iv. 4. Rom. 5.  
\*iv. 16. Ant. 7.  
\*iv. 20. Eph. 15.  
v. 1. Ant. 11.  
\*vi. 9 sq. Tars. 7.  
\*vi. 9 sq. Eph. 16.  
vii. 22. Philad. 4.  
\*viii. 6. Tars. 4.  
\*viii. 6. Philip. 1.  
\*viii. 6. Philip. 2.  
ix. 5. Philad. 4.  
\*x. 13. Magn. 1.  
xi. 1. Ant. 7.  
\*xi. 1. Eph. 3.  
\*xi. 11. Hero 4.  
\*xii. 11 sq. Philip. 2.  
\*xiii. 2 sq. Hero 2.  
\*xv. 14 sq. Tars. 7.

Acts

Romans

1 Corinthians

S. John

|               |  |  |                                    |   |  |
|---------------|--|--|------------------------------------|---|--|
| 1 Corinthians | *xv. 28.<br>*xv. 53.<br>*xvi. 13.<br>*xvi. 20.<br>*xvi. 22.  | Tars. 5.<br>Tars. 7.<br>Tars. 1.<br>Tars. 10.<br>Ant. 7.   | Colossians                         | *iii. 11.<br>*iv. 18.   | Philad. 4.<br>Ant. 7.  |
| 2 Corinthians | *ii. 17.<br>*ii. 17.<br>*iv. 5.<br>*iv. 14.<br>*iv. 18.<br>*v. 17.<br>*vi. 14 sq.<br>*viii. 18.<br>ix. 1.<br>*x. 17.<br>xi. 12.<br>*xiii. 12.  | Trall. 6.<br>Magn. 9.<br>Eph. 9.<br>Trall. 10.<br>Rom. 3.<br>Magn. 7.<br>Eph. 16.<br>Eph. 15.<br>Ant. 11.<br>Hero 6.<br>Ant. 11.<br>Tars. 10.  | 1 Thessalonians<br>2 Thessalonians | *iv. 5.<br>*iii. 10.<br>iii. 10.<br>*iii. 15.<br>*i. 2.<br>*i. 4.<br>*ii. 4.<br>*ii. 5.<br>*ii. 5.<br>ii. 5 sq.<br>*ii. 6.<br>*iv. 10.<br>*iv. 10.<br>*iv. 10.<br>*iv. 12.<br>*iv. 12.<br>*iv. 13.<br>*v. 3.<br>v. 6.<br>*v. 8.<br>v. 11.<br>v. 21.<br>*v. 22.<br>vi. 1.<br>vi. 11.<br>*vi. 21. | Philad. 3.<br>Magn. 9.<br>Ant. 11.<br>Philad. 3.<br>Hero <i>cruc.</i><br>Magn. 8.<br>Philip. 3.<br>Tars. 4.<br>Philad. 5.<br>Ant. 4.<br>Trall. 8.<br>Magn. 1.<br>Philip. <i>inscr.</i><br>Eph. 8.<br>Magn. 3.<br>Hero 3.<br>Hero 1.<br>Hero 3.<br>Ant. 11.<br>Trall. 7.<br>Ant. 11.<br>Hero 7.<br>Hero 5.<br>Trall. 8.<br>Tars. 10.<br>Hero 7. |
| Galatians     | *i. 4.<br>ii. 5.<br>*ii. 19.<br>*iii. 11.<br>*iii. 28.<br>*iv. 4.<br>*iv. 9.<br>*vi. 2.<br>*vi. 14.<br>vi. 17.   | Hero <i>inscr.</i><br>Tars. 2.<br>Rom. 8.<br>Tars. 1.<br>Philad. 4.<br>Tars. 3.<br>Magn. 1.<br>Hero 1.<br>Tars. 3.<br>Tars. 2.   | 2 Timothy                          | *i. 16.<br>*i. 18.<br>*i. 18.<br>*ii. 4.<br>ii. 24 sq.<br>*ii. 26.<br>*iii. 4 sq.<br>iii. 5.<br>iii. 17.<br>*iv. 6.<br>*i. 10.<br>*i. 15.<br>*ii. 5.<br>*ii. 14.<br>*i. 13.<br>*i. 13.<br>*x. 12 sq.<br>*x. 29.<br>*x. 38.<br>xi. 32.<br>*xii. 23.<br>xiii. 17.                                 | Eph. 2.<br>Hero 9.<br>Smyrn. 10.<br>Hero 1.<br>Eph. 10.<br>Philip. 3.<br>Magn. 9.<br>Magn. 4.<br>Eph. 14.<br>Ant. 8.<br>Trall. 6.<br>Trall. 7.<br>Trall. 8.<br>Philad. 4.<br>Trall. 9.<br>Tars. 6.<br>Trall. 9.<br>Smyrn. 9.<br>Tars. 1.<br>Mary to Ign. 5.<br>Eph. 5.<br>Trall. 2.  |
| Ephesians     | *i. 1.<br>*ii. 2.<br>*ii. 2.<br>*ii. 2.<br>*iii. 14.<br>*iv. 1.<br>*iv. 1.<br>*iv. 4.<br>*iv. 4 sq.<br>*iv. 5 sq.<br>*v. 2.<br>*v. 3.<br>*v. 28.<br>*v. 29.<br>*vi. 3.<br>*vi. 4.<br>*vi. 4.<br>*vi. 12.<br>*vi. 12.<br>*vi. 16. | Eph. 9.<br>Philip. 4.<br>Philad. 6.<br>Smyrn. 7.<br>Trall. 9.<br>Tars. 1.<br>Ant. 1.<br>Philip. 2.<br>Eph. 6.<br>Philip. 1.<br>Eph. 1.<br>Ant. 11.<br>Philip. 13.<br>Ant. 9.<br>Ant. 9.<br>Tars. 9.<br>Philad. 4.<br>Philad. <i>inscr.</i><br>Eph. 13.<br>Eph. 13. | Titus                              | i. 18.<br>ii. 9.<br>*ii. 9.<br>*ii. 23.<br>iv. 7.<br>*v. 2.<br>i. 4.<br>*i. 7.  | Magn. 1.<br>Philad. 4.<br>Eph. 9.<br>Eph. 10.<br>Eph. 10.<br>Ant. 8.<br>Philip. 2.<br>Smyrn. 3.  |
| Philippians   | *ii. 2.<br>*ii. 2.<br>*ii. 2.<br>*ii. 18 sq.<br>*iii. 8.<br>*iii. 15.<br>iii. 18.<br>*iii. 18 sq.  | Philip. 1.<br>Philad. 6.<br>Ant. 6.<br>Ant. 6.<br>Ant. 8.<br>Philip. 1.<br>Trall. 11.<br>Magn. 9.  | 1 Peter                            |   |  |
| Colossians    | *i. 15.<br>*i. 15 sq.<br>*i. 15.<br>*i. 15.  | Tars. 4.<br>Tars. 4.<br>Smyrn. 1.<br>Eph. 20.  | 2 Peter<br>Revelation              |   |  |

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- P. 2, l. 9. On these two divergent routes to Smyrna see vol. I. pp. 33 sq., 349 sq., with the Addenda.
- P. 7, l. 22. Since this was passed through the press, Funk's edition (1878) has appeared.
- P. 24, l. 20. For ἦν *τίτες* read ἦν *τιτες*.
- P. 25, l. 4. For ἡνυσμένην read ἡνυσμένην.
- P. 26, l. 34. For ἡμᾶς read ὑμᾶς.
- P. 30, l. 39. For *Magn.* 13 read *Magn.* 1.
- P. 38, l. 45. Add παλαιστρίτης, Macar. *Magn. Apocr.* iii. 26 (p. 113).
- P. 43, l. 21. To the examples of ἀνακρίνασθαι add Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 12.
- P. 45, l. 40. Add *Magn.* 10 οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ.
- P. 47, l. 18. For 'passages' read 'passage.'
- P. 58, l. 34. Add Euseb. *V. C.* iii. 47 τῷ κοινῷ σωτῆρι μεμαθητεῦσθαι.
- P. 69, l. 3. Euseb. *H. E.* x. 4 (p. 469) οἷα τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν βασιλείας ἐναργῆ δείγματα, ὅτι καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς εἶπε καὶ ἐγενήθησαν.
- P. 70, l. 1. See also *Philad.* 1 ὃς σιγῶν πλείονα δύναται τῶν λαλούντων, and compare Carlyle's account of his hero in *Cromwell's Life and Letters*, Introd. c. 2, 'His words—still more his *silences*, and unconscious instincts, when you have spelt and lovingly deciphered these also out of his words—will in several ways reward the study of an earnest man.'
- P. 70, l. 43. See also the note on *Mart. Ant.* 2, below, p. 479.
- P. 72, l. 15. μύρον ἔλαβεν. Comp. *Apost. Const.* vii. 27 εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι...καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐωδίας τοῦ μύρου καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀθανάτου αἵωνος οὐ ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ κ.τ.λ. See also Harnack *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* II. p. 295 (1878).
- P. 74, l. 19. ὃ ἔστιν σκάνδαλον. On the reference to the Docetics in this and similar language see above, I. pp. 359 sq., 568 sq.
- P. 75, l. 25. ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ. See especially Tertull. *de Carne Christi* 21, 22.
- P. 82, l. 5. For the reading of Σ see below, pp. 665, 674.
- P. 84, l. 15. Comp. Euseb. *Laud. Const.* 13 § 4 καταδέσμοις τισὶν ἀπειρημένης γοητείας.
- P. 90, l. 1. I am glad to find that the same view of this passage, which I have maintained, is held by Bull *Defens. Fid. Nic.* ii. 2 § 6 (*Works* v. p. 114 sq.).
- P. 110, l. 1. Δαμᾶ. For this name see Woods *Ephesus Inscr.* iv. 3 (p. 6), *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* VII. p. 311.
- P. 115, l. 20. For ἡμᾶς... 'us,' read ὑμᾶς... 'you.'
- P. 126, l. 1. A reminiscence of John viii. 29.
- P. 126, l. 29. See a similar insertion of ἀτίος μὲν with ἀρχιερεὺς (speaking of Christ) in the text of Euseb. *Quæst. ad Steph. Op.* IV. p. 900 (comp. p. 965), in order to save the orthodoxy of the writer.
- P. 128, l. 2. μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες. See Ussher's *Works* XII. p. 585.
- P. 129, l. 1. Comp. Col. iii. 4.
- P. 146, l. 1. For Zeus Larasius see *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.* III. p. 468 (1879), and *Papers of the American School at Athens* I. p. 112, in which latter also illustrations of other points mentioned in this introduction to the Trallian Epistle will be found.



- P. 153, l. 2. οὐ κατὰ χρῆσιν κ.τ.λ. See Cope on Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 7. 33 (p. 145).
- P. 160, l. 1, 2. Hilgenfeld *Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.* xxi. p. 541 sq. (1878) has some speculations on the reading here, but he does not seem to me to be on the right track.
- P. 190, l. 2. προκἀθηται. See the inscription in *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* vii. p. 283 Τάρσος...τῶν γ' ἐπαρχειῶν, [Κιλικίας], Ἰσαυρίας, Λυκαονία[s, προ]καθεζομένη, with the reference (*ib.* p. 285) to Basil of Seleucia *Op.* p. 275 (Paris, 1622) Σελεύκεια...προεδρεύουσα καὶ προκαθεζομένη πόλεως Ἰσαυρίδος πόλεως. Leo the Great thus apostrophizes Rome herself at a later date (*Serm.* 82, *Op.* i. p. 322, Venet. 1753), 'civitas sacerdotalis et regia, per sacram beati Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latius praesideres religione divina quam dominatione terrena.'
- P. 195, l. 1. For the construction comp. Aristid. *Op.* i. p. 466 σκέπης ἔδει πλείονος ἢ φέρειν δυναμην.
- P. 196, l. 15. Add Polyc. *Phil.* 9 εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰσί.
- P. 199, l. 30. Add Ephrem Syrus *Evang. Concord. Expos.* pp. 3 sq., 39 (ed. Moesinger), where in like manner the difference between the 'voice' and the 'word' is emphasized in connexion with the preaching of John the Baptist.
- P. 200, l. 1. It will be seen from the authorities that τρέχων must be rejected. Wordsworth (*Church History* i. p. 143) translates πάλιν τρέχων 'renegade,' 'backslider,' referring to his note on παλινδρομεῖν, *S. Hippolytus* p. 124 (ed. 2).
- P. 212, l. 28. In Cant. iv. 8 'pardorum' is quoted 'leopardorum' by Jerome *Adv. Jovin.* i. 30 (II. p. 286).
- P. 213, l. 44. For στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα comp. Euseb. *Quaest. ad Marin.* (*Op.* iv. p. 984) ἡ γὰρ κονστωδία στρατιωτικὸν ἐστὶ τάγμα, *Vit. Const.* iii. 44, 47, iv. 56, 68, 70, 71. For the number ten comp. Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 6. 2 τούτοις ἀφ' ἐκάστης ἑκατονταρχίας ἠκολούθουν δέκα κ.τ.λ., and see esp. Leo Tacticus iv. 2 (quoted by Marquardt *Röm. Staatsverw.* II. p. 580 sq.).
- P. 224, l. 1. On the other hand the Holy Spirit is a πῦρ αὔλων 'ignis materiae expers' in the Liturgy of S. Cyril (Renaudot *Liturg. Orient.* i. p. 38).
- P. 225, l. 12. A good illustration of the distinction between βίος and ζωή is Dion Cass. lxi. 19 βιοὺς μὲν ἔτη τόσα, ζήσας δὲ ἔτη ἐπτά.
- P. 246, l. 25. Read 'a column in a scene of ruins.'
- P. 279, l. 23. The names *Raius*, *Raia*, occur many times in the indices to vols. ix, x, of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
- P. 291, l. 25. Read σταυρόν.
- P. 298, l. 19. The expression ἀνθρωπόμορφον θῆρα occurs in Euseb. *H. E.* x. 4 (p. 467); comp. Ps-Ign. *Tars.* i.
- P. 299, l. 3. For τῷ δοκεῖν read τὸ δοκεῖν.
- P. 306, l. 4. For πεινῶντος read διψῶντος.
- P. 310, l. 13. Insert 'except' after ἡγείσθαι.
- P. 310, l. 34. Add. Iren. iii. 11. 8 τὰ καθολικὰ πνεύματα, of the four principal words.
- P. 364, l. 28. It has escaped the notice of Funk (1881), whose text of this martyrdom (*Patr. Apost.* II. p. 218 sq.) is a great improvement on Dressel's. Funk has collated *Laud. Græc.* 69, but has made no use of the important Coptic Version.
- P. 375, l. 39. The Acts of the Metaphrast have since been published by Funk (*Patr. Apost.* II. p. 246 sq.) from fuller materials (see p. xlvii).
- P. 377, l. 34. See however i. p. 147 for the correct reading of Jerome's text. The omission of 'quum' makes Pearson's interpretation, to which I have here objected, much more tenable.

- P. 385, l. 13. For *ἔτι* read *ἤδη*; see I. pp. 542, 592. The correct reading strengthens the argument in the text.
- P. 390 sq. Since these tables were drawn up, Klein's *Fasti Consulares* (Lips. 1881) have appeared. They would have saved me much trouble, if I could have availed myself of them. The consuls of A.D. 117 were T. Aquilius Niger and M. Rebilus Apronianus.
- P. 434, l. 13. Speaking of the extravagances of the Tübingen School, Renan (*Les Évangiles* p. xxxiv) gives this instance; 'Dans la question d'Ignace, n'a-t-on pas prétendu corriger les traditions du 11<sup>e</sup> siècle avec Jean Malala?'
- P. 443, l. 7. To the examples of the preposition here given, add  
Theodor. Presbyt. (Photius *Bibl.* 1) Ἰγνάτιος δὲ ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ τὸν διὰ μαρτυρίου ἠθλήσεν ἀγῶνα.  
Suidas s. v. Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης...μαρτυρίῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τελειοῦται ἐπὶ Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτε καὶ ὁ θεοφόρος Ἰγνάτιος τὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας διήθλησεν ἀγῶνα.
- P. 450, l. 18. The chronology of the Antiochene bishops has since been made the subject of two papers by C. Erbes in *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* v. p. 464 sq., p. 618 sq. (1879). The speculations of Harnack and Erbes are discussed by R. A. Lipsius *ib.* vi. p. 233 (1880).
- P. 461, l. 5. Another striking example will be found in Seeley's *Expansion of England* p. 266 sq.
- P. 485, l. 19. Portus is mentioned in Clem. Hom. xii. 10 *εἰς Πόρτον*. This is a gross anachronism, since even the harbour of Claudius was not constructed at the time of which the writer speaks.
- P. 486, l. 6. For *μὲ* read *μῆ*.
- P. 494, l. 4. Compare Ps-Prochorus *Act. Joann.* p. 48 (ed. Zahn) οἱ οὖν δέκα προ-  
τῆκτορες ἔρχονται κ.τ.λ. For the 'protectores Augusti' see Mommsen in *Ephem. Epigr.* v. p. 121 sq., p. 647 sq. (1884). The earliest mention of them in the inscriptions is after the middle of the third century.
- P. 521, l. 4. ὡς κύβον ἤδρασεν. It ought not to have escaped me (in common with all editors) that this is a reference to the LXX of Job xxxviii. 38 *κεκόλληκα δὲ αὐτὸν* [i.e. τὸν οὐρανὸν] ὥσπερ λίθῳ κύβον (or λιθόκυβον); comp. *Apost. Const.* vii. 35 *οἶδεν οὐρανὸς τὸν ἐπὶ μηδενὸς αὐτὸν καμαρώσαντα ὡς λίθῳ κύβον* (v. l. λιθόκυβον). These passages also point to some such sense as a 'vault' or 'dome.' The Hebrew, at least as commonly interpreted, is different.
- P. 591, l. 2. This sheet was struck off some years before Funk's transcript appeared (A.D. 1883). Of this I have spoken already in the *Additions and Corrections* to the first volume. I have not had time to collate my text with his.
- P. 717, l. 22. Funk's edition appeared after my text was struck off. It is an improvement on its predecessors in many points. For his collations see the *Additions and Corrections* to I. pp. 102, 110.
- P. 721, l. 15. There was a Marinus of Anazarbus, a martyr in the persecution of Diocletian. His day is Aug. 8. His name was probably present to the mind of the Ignatian forger, when he indulged in this fiction.
- P. 737. *χριστέμποροι*. The word occurs first in the *Didache* p. 12, *προνοήσατε πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ζήσεται χριστιανός· εἰ δ' οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν, χριστέμπορός ἐστι*. This fact detracts somewhat from the force of the argument in I. p. 250.
- P. 825, l. 12. For the *κοπιатаί* see *Bull. de Corresp. Hellén.* vii. p. 238, where also other Church functionaries are mentioned.
- P. 841, l. 15. [ὁ]. Omit the brackets, and see I. p. 265.

- P. 863, l. 7. Read *εαταμαρτε*.  
 P. 863, ll. 9, 10. Read *εφο ησαρρικος* and *εφο ηοτα*.  
 P. 863, l. 24. Read *εφο ηατσοοτη*.  
 P. 863, l. 30. Read *επηρομολοει*.  
 P. 864, l. 5. Read *πειποεις* for *τεπποεις*.  
 P. 864, l. 10. Read *μπετροοτι*.  
 P. 864, l. 12. Read *εφκαειτ εφοε[ε]*. The previous corrections are in accordance with my own transcript, being oversights or errors of the press. In this instance for *εφοε* Ciasca has *εφορ[ε]*. For reasons which I have stated in the *Additions and Corrections* to the first volume I have had no opportunity of verifying my readings where they differ from his. But my word here corresponds with the Greek *διψωντος*, whereas he gives a different word. The manuscript is blurred.  
 P. 900, l. 34. For an additional Greek MS *Andrius* see I. p. 533.  
 P. 901, l. 14. This Latin Version has been re-edited quite recently (1883) by Funk, *Echtheit der Ignat. Briefe* p. 205 sq. (comp. p. 149 sq.). He has had the advantage of new collations of several of the MSS.  
 P. 934, l. 29. 'Omnibus vestris.' So Ign. *Smyrn.* 11 *πέμψαι τινα των υμετέρων*, Iren. i. 13. 5 *των εν τη Δσίq των ημετέρων*, comp. v. 28. 4 *ειπέ τις των ημετέρων*.  
 P. 953, l. 28. Wieseler (*Christenverfolg.* p. 70) identifies the Quadratus of Aristid. I. pp. 451, 521, with the Quadratus of Aristid. I. p. 116, following Friedländer *Sittengesch.* III. p. 119. But he has failed to observe that Friedländer corrects the error in his *Nachträge* p. 654. Plainly they are different persons, and I ought to have used more decided language. For the earlier Quadratus (of Aristid. I. p. 116), see Waddington *Fastes Asiatiques* p. 174.  
 P. 955, l. 33. On the *ειρηναρχος* see Waddington's note *Asie Mineure* Inscr. III. 57 (p. 27), Mommsen *Röm. Gesch.* v. p. 324; and to the references given in my text add *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* VII. p. 273 (Nysa), *Papers of the American School at Athens* I. pp. 99, 108 (Tralles).  
 P. 956, l. 38. On *δωγμαται* see Waddington's note, *Asie Mineure* Inscr. III. 992 (p. 255).  
 P. 967, l. 5. See *Passio Cypriani* 17 (Ruinart's *Act. Sinc. Mart.* p. 17) 'Sectae signifer et inimicus deorum.'  
 P. 969, l. 22. Read *κυνηγείσια*.  
 P. 990, l. 2. I am pleased to find that the identity of the two offices is held by Mommsen in his new volume (1885), *Röm. Gesch.* v. p. 319 sq., note 1. He considers however that in the case of the smaller provinces, like Galatia and Lycia, the High-priest was distinct from the Galatarch, Lyeiarch, etc.  
 P. 1009, l. 27. See I. p. 626 sq.  
 P. 1038, l. 26. See the inscription Lebas and Waddington *Asie Mineure* III. 86.





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